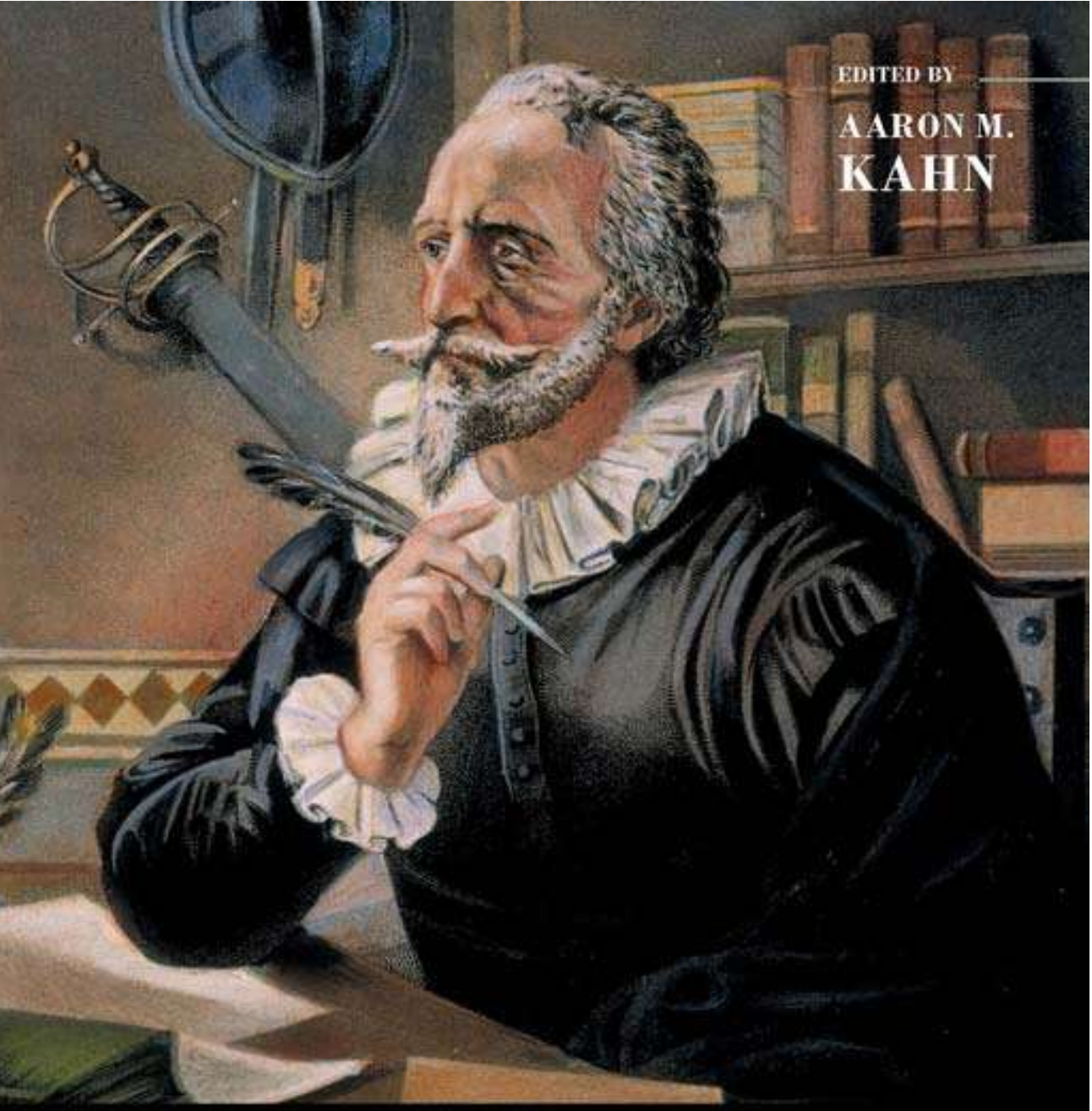

EDITED BY
AARON M. KAHN

The Oxford Handbook *of* CERVANTES

THE OXFORD HANDBOOK OF

CERVANTES

THE OXFORD HANDBOOK OF

CERVANTES

Edited by

AARON M. KAHN

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Great Clarendon Street, Oxford, OX2 6DP,
United Kingdom

Oxford University Press is a department of the University of Oxford.
It furthers the University's objective of excellence in research, scholarship,
and education by publishing worldwide. Oxford is a registered trade mark of
Oxford University Press in the UK and in certain other countries

© Oxford University Press 2021

The moral rights of the authors have been asserted

First Edition published in 2021

Impression: 1

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in
a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, without the
prior permission in writing of Oxford University Press, or as expressly permitted
by law, by licence or under terms agreed with the appropriate reprographics
rights organization. Enquiries concerning reproduction outside the scope of the
above should be sent to the Rights Department, Oxford University Press, at the
address above

You must not circulate this work in any other form
and you must impose this same condition on any acquirer

Published in the United States of America by Oxford University Press
198 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10016, United States of America

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
Data available

Library of Congress Control Number: 2020944180

ISBN 978–0–19–874291–3

Printed and bound in the UK by
TJ Books Limited

Links to third party websites are provided by Oxford in good faith and
for information only. Oxford disclaims any responsibility for the materials
contained in any third party website referenced in this work.

In loving memory of

Jude del Pozo Bauer.

In your three short years, you were such a force of wonder and love that you left a lasting impression on all who met you.

'God brings His children to heaven by many paths.' Don Quixote (I.8)

Table of Contents

Notes on Contributors xi
Note on Translations xxi
List of Cervantes's Works xxiii
Introduction xxvii
Aaron M. Kahn

SECTION 1: BIOGRAPHY

1. Cervantes's Life 3
   Jean Canavaggio
2. Cervantes and Warfare 21
   Stacey Triplette
3. Cervantes and Empire 38
   Frederick A. de Armas
4. Captivity in Cervantes 51
   María Antonia Garcés

SECTION 2: *DON QUIXOTE DE LA MANCHA*

5. *Don Quixote*, Part I (1605) 87
   Edwin Williamson
6. *Don Quixote*, Part II (1615) 118
   Edwin Williamson
7. *Quixote* and Counter-*Quixote*: The Cervantes-Avellaneda Duel and Its Impact on the History of the Novel 149
   James Iffland
8. *Don Quixote de la Mancha's* Narrative Structure within the Literary Tradition 175
   Yolanda Iglesias

9. *Don Quixote*: Humour in Philosophy and Philosophy in Humour 189
Donald Palmer

SECTION 3: CERVANTES'S PROSE

10. 'para empresas más altas y de mayor importancia': The *rota Virgilii* and the Orphic Poet in Miguel de Cervantes's *La Galatea* (1585) 215
Benjamin J. Nelson

11. *Novelas ejemplares* (1613) 233
Barry Ife

12. *Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda: historia setentrional* (1617) 257
Michael Armstrong-Roche

13. Cervantes and Madness 297
Rachel N. Bauer

14. Cervantes and Genre 315
Brian Brewer

SECTION 4: CERVANTES THE DRAMATIST

15. First Writings for the Stage (1580s): Pre-Lopean Successes and Failures 335
David G. Burton

16. *Ocho comedias* (1615) 352
Melanie S. Henry

17. The Ignominies of Persuasion in Cervantes's *Entremeses* (1615): An Overview of Cervantine Farce 376
Carolyn Lukens-Olson

18. Cervantes and the *comedia nueva* 391
Moisés R. Castillo

19. Versification in Cervantes's Drama 409
Kathleen Jeffs

SECTION 5: CERVANTES'S POETRY AND OTHER WRITINGS

20. Cervantine Poetry: History and Context 433
ADRIENNE L. MARTÍN

21. Confessing on the Move: *Viaje del Parnaso* and 'Adjunta al Parnaso' (1614) 445
ESTHER FERNÁNDEZ RODRÍGUEZ

22. Attributions and Lost and Promised Works 467
AARON M. KAHN

SECTION 6: SOURCES, INFLUENCES, AND CONTEMPORARIES

23. Cervantes's Sources and Influences 491
STACEY TRIPLETTE

24. Cervantes and Lope de Vega 514
JONATHAN THACKER

25. Cervantes and Other Literary Circles 531
VICTORIA RÍOS CASTAÑO

26. Windmills of Reality, Giants of the Imagination: Cervantes in British Literature 546
ZENÓN LUIS-MARTÍNEZ

27. Cervantes in/on the Americas 572
DIANA DE ARMAS WILSON

SECTION 7: RECEPTION

28. Cervantes's Biographers 587
KRZYSZTOF SLIWA

29. Cervantes on Screen 600
DUNCAN WHEELER

30. Cervantine Criticism until 1999 625
R.J. Oakley

31. Cervantine Criticism since 2000 and into the Future 648
Bruce R. Burningham

Index 681

Notes on Contributors

Michael Armstrong-Roche is Associate Professor and former Chair of the Department of Romance Languages and Literatures at Wesleyan University (Connecticut, USA). He has all three degrees from Harvard, held a National Mellon Fellowship in the Humanities (1989–94), was a member of the Executive Council of the Cervantes Society of America (2014–16), and is now on the editorial board of the *Bulletin of the Comediantes* and the advisory board of the UK's Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC)-funded *Early Modern Women's Performance and the Dramatic Canon Project* (2018–20). He has published steadily on *Persiles*, including a book called *Cervantes's Epic Novel: Empire, Religion, and the Dream Life of Heroes in 'Persiles'* (University of Toronto Press, 2009) and essays in Spanish, most recently for *Persiles* special issues (the *eHumanista Cervantes* issue in 2016; the December 2017 issue of the *Revista de Occidente*; and two subsequent collections (published in 2019) based on the 2017 international *Persiles* conferences in Norway and Lisbon, where he was a plenary speaker). He has published on Cervantes's plays and is writing a book about them called *Cervantes and the Theatrical Revolution*. As a long-time member of the *Theater without Borders* research collaborative, he looks comparatively at how the presence of boy actors on the English stage and of actresses on the Spanish stage might have shaped the writing of plays on shared sources.

Rachel N. Bauer is Assistant Professor of Spanish Literature and Language in the Department of Modern Languages and Literatures at Rhodes College, in Memphis, Tennessee. Her work to date has mainly focused on the relationship between madness, laughter, and journey in *Don Quixote*.

Brian Brewer is Assistant Professor and Head of the Department of Hispanic Studies, Trinity College Dublin. His current research focuses on the importance of early modern economic theory and political economy in the development of Cervantes's poetics of the novel. He has published articles in scholarly journals including *Bulletin of Spanish Studies*, *Cervantes*, *Revista Canadiense de Estudios Hispánicos*, *Revista de Estudios Hispánicos*, and *Revista Hispánica Moderna*.

Bruce R. Burningham is Professor of Hispanic Studies and Theatre at Illinois State University where he currently serves as Chair of the Department of Languages, Literatures, and Cultures. Since 2011, he has served as Editor of *Cervantes*, the official journal of the Cervantes Society of America. He is also the President of the Association for Hispanic Classical Theater (AHCT). His research and teaching interests include

medieval and early modern Spanish and Latin American literature, Hispanic theatre, and performance theory. His publications include two monographs and an edited volume: *Tilting Cervantes: Baroque Reflections on Postmodern Culture* (Vanderbilt University Press, 2008), *Radical Theatricality: Jongleuresque Performance on the Early Spanish Stage* (Purdue University Press, 2007), and *Millennial Cervantes: New Currents in Cervantes Studies* (University of Nebraska Press, 2020). He has also published articles in *Theatre Journal*, *Cervantes*, *Journal of Commonwealth Literature*, *Bulletin of the Comediantes*, *Comedia Performance*, *Romance Quarterly*, and *eHumanista/Cervantes*. He received his PhD from Yale University, and has taught at Florida Atlantic University and the University of Southern California. He is a recipient of an Andrew W. Mellon Postdoctoral Fellowship and a National Endowment for the Humanities grant. His theatrical directing credits include a recent production of Griselda Gambaro's *The Walls*.

David G. Burton is Professor Emeritus of Spanish in the Department of Modern Languages at Ohio University (Athens, OH). For over twenty years he led study abroad programs in Mexico and, in Athens, taught courses in language, Hispanic theatre, Medieval Spanish literature, historical linguistics, and *Don Quijote*. His scholarship includes studies on *Conde Lucanor*, *Celestina,* and the theatre of Juan de la Cueva. He is the author of three books: *An Anthology of Medieval Spanish Prose*, an edition of the *Conde Lucanor*, and *A Literary Companion to Don Quijote*. Current research interests include medieval Spanish hagiography, especially the presence of St Mary Magdalen in pre-sixteenth century Spain.

Jean Canavaggio is a professor emeritus at the University of Paris Nanterre, and former director of the Casa de Velázquez in Madrid. He is author of numerous articles, as well as individual and collective books, mainly on Spanish Literature of the Golden Age. He was the editor of a *History of Spanish Literature* (Fayard, 1993–1994) and of the French translation of Cervantes's Works in the Bibliothèque de la Pléiade (Gallimard, 2001). Among his books, he has published *Cervantès dramaturge: un théâtre à naître* (PUF, 1977), *Cervantès* (Mazarine, 1986, Prix Goncourt for Biography), *Cervantes entre vida y creación* (Biblioteca de Estudios Cervantinos, 2000), *Un mundo abreviado: aproximaciones al teatro áureo* (Iberoamericana/Vervuert, 2000), *Don Quichotte, du livre au mythe: quatre siècles d'errance* (Fayard, 2005), a selection of Teresa of Avila and John of the Cross's works (Gallimard, Pléiade, 2012), *Retornos a Cervantes* (IDEA, 2014), *Les Espagnes de Mérimée* (Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica, 2016), and he is preparing the *Diccionario Cervantes*, which will be published at the end of 2020.

Moisés R. Castillo is Associate Professor of Early Modern and Colonial Studies in the Department of Hispanic Studies at the University of Kentucky. With a B.A. in philosophy from the University of Granada, Spain, and an M.A. and Ph.D. in Hispanic literature from the University of Minnesota, he currently serves as a member of the Executive Council of the Cervantes Society of America. He is the author of *Indios en escena: La representación del amerindio en el teatro del Siglo de Oro* (Purdue University Press,

2009); guest editor of the special number of *Romance Quarterly* vol. 61, no 2, 2014 devoted to Cervantes's *Exemplary Novels*; numerous chapters in volumes, and articles in refereed journals. His research focuses on Golden Age theatre and Cervantes studies. At present, he is writing a manuscript on the Cervantine *comedias*, and preparing an edited volume in memory of John Jay Allen, forthcoming in 2021.

Frederick A. de Armas is Andrew W. Mellon Distinguished Service Professor in Romance Languages and Comparative Literature at the University of Chicago, where he has also served as Chair of the Department and is now Director of Graduate Studies. He has been President of the Cervantes Society of America and President of Asociación Internactional Siglo de Oro (AISO). He is the author of more than 200 essays on early modern literature. His more recent books and collections include: *Writing for the Eyes in the Spanish Golden Age* (2004); and *Ekphrasis in the Age of Cervantes* (2005); *Quixotic Frescoes: Cervantes and Italian Renaissance Art* (2006); *Hacia la tragedia áurea* (2008); *Ovid in the Age of Cervantes* (2010); *Calderón: del manuscrito a la escena* (2011); *Objects of Culture in the Literature of Imperial Spain* (2013); *Nuevas sonoras aves: catorce ensayos sobre Calderón de la Barca* (2015); *Las memorias de un honrado aguador: Ámbitos de estudio en torno a la difusión de Lazarillo de Tormes.* (2017); and *La astrología en el teatro clásico europeo: de Lope de Vega a Shakespeare* (2017). He is also the author of short stories and a novel entitled *El abra del Yumurí* (2016). His book *Don Quixote among the Saracens: Clashes of Civilizations and Literary Genres* (2011) was recognized with honourable mention for the PROSE Award in Literature 2011.

Esther Fernández Rodríguez is Associate Professor at Rice University. She received her doctorate in 2005 from the University of California at Davis and is the author of *Eros en escena: Erotismo en el teatro del Siglo de Oro* (Juan de la Cuesta, 2009), editor of *Don Gil de las calzas verdes* (Cervantes&Co., 2013), co-editor of *El perro del hortelano* (Cervantes&Co., 2011), in addition to co-ordinating and editing the multi-author collaboration *Diálogos en las tablas: Últimas tendencias de la puesta en escena del teatro clásico español* (Reichenberger, 2014). Fernández's journal articles have also principally attended to eroticism and the Spanish *comedia*; visual and material culture; and performance analysis of classical theatre's most contemporary adaptations. Fernández's current work includes the co-edition of a volume that explores Anglo-Spanish relations vis-a-vis the contentious image of Elizabeth I in early modern Spain, *The Image Of Elizabeth I Tudor In Early Modern Spain* (U of Nebraska P, 2019), the coordination of a festschrift in honour of Adrienne L. Martín, *Sex and Gender in Cervantes* (Reichenberger, 2018), as well as a new monograph entitled *To Embody the Marvelous: The Making of Illusions in Early Modern Spain* (Vanderbilt UP, 2021).

María Antonia Garcés is Professor Emerita of Hispanic Studies at Cornell University. She obtained an M.A. from Georgetown University in English (1987), and a Ph.D. from the Johns Hopkins University in Golden Age Spanish Literature (1994). A specialist in Cervantes and early modern Iberian literatures and cultures, she focuses her

particular interest on the contacts between Islam and Christianity in Spain and the Mediterranean. In 2003, Garcés received the James Russell Lowell Prize of the Modern Language Association of America (MLA) for her book *Cervantes in Algiers: A Captive's Tale* (Vanderbilt UP, 2002; rev. 2nd ed. 2005), a study of Cervantes's Algerian captivity (1575–80) and its effects on his fiction. Her own revised and expanded translation of this study was published in Spain in 2005: *Cervantes en Argel: historia de un cautivo* (Gredos). Her archival research has produced another major project on the socio-political world of Algiers, with Professor Diana Wilson (translator): *An Early Modern Dialogue with Islam: Antonio de Sosa's* Topography of Algiers *(1612)* (University of Notre Dame P, 2011). Her publications include: ' "Alabado por sus acciones": Maḥmud siciliano en *El amante liberal*.' Special issue *Cervantes y el Mediterráneo*. Guest editors: Steven Hutchinson and Antonio Cortijo. *eHumanista/Cervantes* 2 (2013): 427–61; and more recently: 'La captivité de Cervantès à Alger.' In *L'Algérie et l'Espagne. Des ponts à travers l'Histoire*. Ed. Rafael López Guzmán, Juan Manuel Cid, and Jerónimo Páez. Granada: Editorial Almed, 2017. 229–38. At present, Professor Garcés is preparing the edition of Volume 2 of this monumental work, tentatively titled *Pashas and Pirates of 16th-Century Algiers*.

Melanie S. Henry 's research focuses primarily on Cervantes's theatrical writings. Her book, *The Signifying Self*, explores Cervantes's representation of freedom in his *Ocho comedias* as a counter-perspective to prevailing theatrical trends and early modern Spain's dominant ideologies. Her current research aims to extend this work across Cervantes's entire dramatic corpus. Melanie has also written on the *Novelas ejemplares* and is particularly interested in issues of performativity and theatricality in Cervantes's prose. She previously lectured at Durham University and is now based at Queen's University Belfast.

Barry Ife held the Cervantes Chair of Spanish at King's College London from 1988–2004 and was Principal of the Guildhall School of Music & Drama from 2004 to 2017. He specialises in the cultural history of Spain and Spanish America from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries; Spanish Golden-Age poetry, fiction and drama; and Spanish music. He has published widely on Spanish Golden-Age prose fiction and is currently working on a book on the voice in Cervantes, together with a variorum commentary on the keyboard sonatas of Domenico Scarlatti. He was appointed CBE in the 2000 Queen's Birthday Honours for services to Hispanic Studies and received a knighthood in the 2017 New Year Honours for services to performing arts education.

James Iffland is Professor of Spanish and Latin American Studies at Boston University. He is the author of *Quevedo and the Grotesque* (2 vols), *De fiestas y aguafiestas: risa, locura e ideología en Cervantes y Avellaneda*, *Ensayos sobre la poesía revolucionaria de Centroamérica*, and editor, or co-editor, of *Quevedo in Perspective: Eleven Essays for the Quadricentennial*, *El* Quijote *desde América*, *El* Quijote *desde América (Segunda Parte)*, 'One More Crossroads: *Don Quijote* at Four Hundred' (special issue of *Cervantes*), and Quevedo's *La vida del buscón llamado don Pablos*. He has been an elected member

of the Executive Council of the Cervantes Society of America and currently serves as Associate Editor of *Cervantes*. He has been awarded a 'Cruz de Oficial' of the Orden de Isabel la Católica by the Spanish government and a Diploma of Recognition from the Universidad de El Salvador. He is currently at work on a book on Roque Dalton, Salvadoran writer and revolutionary, as well as a collection of essays on what he calls the 'social destiny' of *Don Quixote*.

Yolanda Iglesias (PhD, Boston University) is Associate Professor at the Department of Spanish and Portuguese and at the Centre for Medieval Studies at the University of Toronto. Her current research interests and teaching includes Studies in Medieval Iberian Literature, *La Celestina*, Alfonso X el Sabio, *Siete Partidas*, Cervantes, and Writing and Culture in Early Modern Spain. She is the author of a book entitled 'Una nueva mirada a la parodia de la novela sentimental en *La Celestina*' (Iberoamericana-Vervuert, 2009). She has publications in academic journals such as *Corónica*, *Cahier*, *Celestinesca*, *Revista Canadiense de Estudios Hispánicos*, *Romance Quarterly*, *Lemir*, and *E-Humanista*. She is currently working on two main research projects on Las *Siete Partidas*, and on money and economy in medieval literature and monasteries. She currently serves as Associate Chair, Undergraduate Studies of the Spanish and Portuguese Department and she has been elected as the President of the Canadian Association of Hispanic.

Kathleen Jeffs is Associate Professor and Chair of the Theatre and Dance Department at Gonzaga University in Spokane, Washington. She served as dramaturg for the Royal Shakespeare Company's Spanish Golden Age season and completed her D.Phil. at the University of Oxford (New College). She has lectured on Golden Age drama at Oxford and Cambridge, and taught drama at the University of Sussex. She served as post-doctoral research assistant on the AHRC project Out of the Wings (www.outofthewings.org), a virtual environment geared for theatre practitioners and educators to spark new performances of Spanish drama in English translation. Publications include *Staging the Spanish Golden Age: Translation and Performance* (Oxford University Press, 2018) and a new translation of *The Force of Habit (La fuerza de la costumbre)* by Guillén de Castro (Liverpool University Press, ed. Machit, 2019). Selected other publications appear in *Metacritical Cervantes* (Juan de la Cuesta, ed. Hessel, 2018); *Comedia Performance* (Spring 2016); in *Connecting Past and Present: Exploring the Influence of the Spanish Golden Age in the Twentieth and Twenty-first Centuries* (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, ed. Kahn, 2015); in *The Reinvention of Theatre in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (Modern Humanities Research Association and Maney Publishing, Legenda, ed. Earle and Fouto, 2015); in *Remaking the Comedia: Spanish Classical Theatre in Adaptation* (Tamesis, ed. Erdman and Paun de García, 2015); and in *On Wolves and Sheep: Exploring the Expression of Political Thought in Golden Age Spain* (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, ed. Kahn, 2011).

Aaron M. Kahn has been in post at the University of Sussex since 2008. He graduated with Magna Cum Laude honours at Ohio University, USA (2000), and completed his

DPhil in Golden Age Spanish Literature at the University of Oxford (Linacre College) in 2005. His current teaching includes Twentieth-Century Spanish Literature and Film, Translation, and Oral Interpreting, along with Spanish Golden Age Literature. His publications include *On Wolves and Sheep: Exploring the Expression of Political Thought in Golden Age Spain* (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, ed. Kahn, 2011), *The Ambivalence of Imperial Discourse: Cervantes's* Numancia *within the Lost Generation of Spanish Drama (1570–90)* (Peter Lang, 2008), and various articles published in peer-reviewed journals; his 2010 article 'Towards a Theory of Attribution: Is *La conquista de Jerusalén* by Miguel de Cervantes?' (in *Journal of European Studies*), and the 2013 follow-up 'Even Further Towards a Theory of Attribution: Re-Visiting the Cervantine Attribution of *La conquista de Jerusalén*' (in *Cervantes*) contribute to the attribution of this play the author of *Don Quijote*. Most recently, Kahn collaborated on a project co-funded by Creative Europe of the European Commission exploring theatrical recreations of *Don Quixote* in Europe (2017–19); he provided the Spanish translation of *The Comical History of Don Quixote* (1694) by Thomas D'Urfey (Florence: Società Editrice Fiorentina, 2019).

Zenón Luis-Martínez is Senior Lecturer of English at the University of Huelva (Spain), where he teaches medieval and early modern literature. He has edited Abraham Fraunce's *The Shepherds' Logic and Other Dialectical Writings* (2016) for the Modern Humanities Research Association (MHRA) Critical Texts Series. He is the author of *In Words and Deeds: The Spectacle of Incest in English Renaissance Tragedy* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2002). He has published articles and book chapters on English Renaissance and Restoration literature, as well as early modern Anglo-Spanish literary relations (particularly Shakespeare and Cervantes). He has also coedited several collections, among them, with Luis Gómez Canseco, *Between Shakespeare and Cervantes: Trails along the Renaissance* (Newark, NJ: Juan de la Cuesta, 2006), and, with Sonia Hernández-Santano, the special issue *Poetry, the Arts of Discourse and the Discourse of the Arts: Rethinking Renaissance Poetic Theory and Practice* for *Parergon* (the Journal of the Australian and New Zealand Association for Medieval and Early Modern Studies). His current project is a critical edition of George Chapman's early poetry for the MHRA Critical Texts Series. Since May 2018 he has been President of the Spanish and Portuguese Society for English Renaissance Studies (SEDERI).

Carolyn Lukens-Olson is Professor of Spanish in the Department of Modern Languages and Literature at Saint Michael's College, Vermont (USA). Her degrees are from Ohio University and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, where she completed her Doctorate in Romance Languages. Her primary areas of research are Cervantes and Renaissance rhetoric. Her related publications include an edition of Cervantes *Los entremeses* as well as articles in the *Anuario de Estudios Cervantinos*, the *Journal of the Association of Core Texts and Curricula*, and the *Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America*.

Adrienne L. Martín received a Ph.D. in Romance Languages and Literatures from Harvard University. She is Professor Emerita of Golden Age Spanish Literature at the

University of California, Davis, where she also served as Vice Provost, Global Affairs. She is former President of the Cervantes Society of America and of the Society for Renaissance and Baroque Hispanic Poetry. She has published on all genres of Golden Age Literature and a wide range of topics, including Cervantes, Góngora, humor, sexuality, eroticism, women's lyric, and animal studies. She is the author of *Cervantes and the Burlesque Sonnet* (U. California P, 1991) and *An Erotic Philology of Golden Age Spain* (Vanderbilt UP, 2008), guest editor of a special issue of the journal *Calíope* 12.2 (2006) on erotic poetry, and co-editor of two anthologies of essays on erotic literature: *Venus venerada: Tradiciones eróticas de la literatura española* (Ed. Complutense 2006); and *Venus venerada II: Literatura erótica y modernidad en España* (Ed. Complutense 2007); as well as *Lives and Works of Early Modern Women in Iberia and the Americas: Studies in Law, Society, Art, and Literature* (Artepoética Press, 2014). She is currently writing a book about animals in the works of Cervantes.

Benjamin J. Nelson is an associate professor of Spanish at the University of South Carolina Beaufort, where he is currently the program coordinator of the Spanish Degree Program and Chair of the Faculty Senate. He earned his doctorate degree from the University of Chicago. He has published in various journals and edited collections on the Spanish pastoral, including Juan de Encina's attempts to court patronage in his eclogues, the use of Ovid to garner fame in sixteenth-century poetry and prose, and the suicidal tendencies of shepherds and shepherdesses within seventeenth-century *libros de pastores*. His most recent publication is co-editing and contributing an essay about Jorge de Montemayor's *La Diana* to: *'Los cielos se agotaron de prodigios': Essays in Honor of Frederick A. de Armas*. From 2008 to 2010, he also served as the president of the Early Modern and Image and Text Society (EMIT). He is currently working on the presence and use of body parts within *El Quijote*.

R.J. Oakley taught Spanish and Luso-Brazilian language and literature at the University of Birmingham until retirement in 2002. He has written widely on medieval and early modern Spanish and Portuguese literature. In addition to essays on the picaresque and Golden Age drama, principally Tirso, he collaborated with D.W. Lomax in translation with critical commentary of the fifteenth-century Portuguese chronicle of Fernão Lopes. Since retirement, he has been able to take up visiting fellowships awarded by the Brazilian Ministry of Education and Culture to deliver postgraduate courses in comparative literature at the State Universities of São Paulo (2004–5) and Paraná (2009). His latest book is *Lima Barreto e o destino da literatura* (São Paulo State University Press, 2011).

Donald Palmer received his Bachelor's and Master's degrees at the Univ. of California, Berkeley and his Doctorate of Philosophy and Letters at the University of Navarra in Pamplona, Spain. He has published a number of philosophy books, including *Looking at Philosophy*, *Does the Center Hold?*, *Why It's Hard to Be Good* (McGraw-Hill), and, more popularly, *Kierkegaard for Beginners*, *Sartre for Beginners*, and *Structuralism and Post-Structuralism for Beginners*. He taught for many years at the College of Marin, in

California, and finished his teaching career at North Carolina State University. He and his wife divide their time among North Carolina, the San Francisco Bay Area, and the Lot Valley in Southwestern France.

Victoria Ríos Castaño is lecturer in Spanish at Coventry University (UK). She received her BA and Master's degrees from the University of Salamanca, and her Doctorate in Colonial Latin American Literature and in Contemporary Latin American Literature from the University of Nottingham and the Sorbonne University, respectively. She is the author of *Translation as Conquest: Sahagún and Universal History of the Things of New Spain* (Iberoamericana Vervuert, 2014) and guest editor of special issues of *Les Ateliers du Séminaire Amérique Latine* and *Colloquia* (online journals of the Department of Latin American Studies, Sorbonne). She has published several book chapters and peer-refereed articles on cultural translation and colonial Mexico in journals such as *The Americas*, *Target: International Journal of Translation*, and *Bulletin of Latin American Research*. She is currently working on a monograph on Julio Cortázar and his relationship with literary agents, translators, and critics.

Krzysztof Sliwa is Professor at Universidad del Atlántico, Barranquilla, Colombia, Cervantine biographer, documentalist, and author of 12 books: *Bibliografía de* Vida ejemplar y heroica de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *de Luis Astrana Marín* (Juan de la Cuesta, 2010); *Cartas, documentos y escrituras de Pedro Calderón de la Barca Henao de la Barrera Riaño, Fénix de los ingenios y lucero mayor de la poesía española (1600–1681) y de sus familiares* (Parnaseo, 2008); *Cartas, documentos y escrituras del Dr Frey Lope Félix de Vega Carpio (1562–1635)*, (Juan de la Cuesta, 2007); *Vida de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra* (Edition Reichenberger, 2006); *Cartas, documentos y escrituras de Garcilaso de la Vega (1499–1536) y de sus familiares* (Centro de Estudios cervantinos, 2006); *Cartas, documentos y escrituras de Francisco Gómez de Quevedo y Villegas (1580–1645), caballero de la Orden de Santiago, señor de la villa de la Torre de Juan Abad y de sus parientes* (Universidad de Navarra, 2006); *Documentos de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra y de sus familiares* (Texas A&M University, 2005); *Cartas, documentos y escrituras de Luis de Góngora y Argote (1561–1627) y de sus parientes* (Universidad de Córdoba, 2004); *El licenciado Juan de Cervantes. Efemérides del licenciado Juan de Cervantes. Documentos y datos para una biografía del abuelo paterno del autor* del Quijote (Edition Reichenberger, 2001); *Documentos cervantinos: Nueva recopilación; lista e índices* (Peter Lang, 2000); *Documentos de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra* (Universidad de Navarra, 1999). He has also put in print numerous articles, reviews, and prefaces in peer-reviewed research journals, principally on Spanish Literature of the Golden Age, written in English, German, Polish, and Spanish. His most extensive contribution consists of 'Efemérides cervantinos', which begins in 1463 and concludes in 1652, edited in *La Gran Enciclopedia cervantina* (Editorial Castalia, 2006), directed by Doctor Honoris Causa Carlos Alvar, Director del Centro de Estudios Cervantinos, Alcalá de Henares. His new biography of Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, based on 2520 Cervantine documents, of which 717 are new legal discoveries, will be printed in 'Vida de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra,' in 2020.

Jonathan Thacker is King Alfonso XIII Professor of Spanish Studies at the University of Oxford and Fellow of Exeter College. He has edited Lope de Vega's *El castigo sin venganza* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), co-edited *A Companion to Lope de Vega* (Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2008), and is author of *A Companion to Spanish Golden Age Theatre* (Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2007), as well as a monograph and numerous articles on early modern Spanish drama. In addition to teaching and writing about Spanish Golden Age theatre, he has acted as adviser to the Royal Shakespeare Company, has translated works by Cervantes and Tirso de Molina into English, and is editor of the Aris and Phillips Hispanic Classics series.

Stacey Triplette is Associate Professor of Spanish at the University of Pittsburgh at Greensburg. Her book, *Reading, Chivalry, and Women's Culture in Early Modern Spain: From Amadís de Gaula to Don Quixote* (Amsterdam University Press, 2018) explores the representation of literate women in Iberian chivalric romance and *Don Quixote*. Her essays on Cervantes and romances of chivalry have appeared in *Bulletin of Spanish Studies, La corónica*, and *Cervantes: The Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America*. Other essays appear in *Connecting Past and Present: Exploring the Influence of the Spanish Golden Age in the Twentieth and Twenty-First Centuries* and the *Journal of Translation Studies*. Her current research focuses on the figure of the Amazon in early modern Spanish literature. Other projects include digital humanities approaches to Robert Southey's English translation of *Amadís de Gaula* (http://amadis.newtfire.org) and gender in the plays of Lope de Vega (http://lope.newtfire.org).

Duncan Wheeler is Professor of Spanish and holds the Chair of Spanish Studies at the University of Leeds. He is the Editor (Hispanic Studies) for *Modern Language Review* and General Editor of the 'Golden Age Studies' series for Peter Lang International Publishers. A published translator and author of over thirty peer-reviewed journal articles/book chapters, his monographs include *Golden Age Drama in Contemporary Spain: The Comedia on the Page, Stage and Screen* (2012) and *Following Franco: Spanish Culture and Politics in Transition* (2020). Duncan writes for journalist outlets such as *JotDown*, *The London Review of Books*, *The Observer*, *La Revista de Libros*, and *The Times Literary Supplement*. He has been Visiting Professor at the Carlos III University in Madrid and Fellow of St Catherine's College, University of Oxford, currently belongs to the 'Grupo de estudios cervantinos', based at the University of Oviedo, and is a Fellow of the Spanish Academy of Stage Arts.

Edwin Williamson is King Alfonso XIII Professor Emeritus of Spanish Studies, University of Oxford and Emeritus Fellow of Exeter College. He is a Corresponding Fellow of the Real Academia Española and a Comendador de Número de la Real Orden de Isabel la Católica, awarded for services to Hispanic Studies. He has written extensively on Cervantes and fiction in the Golden Age, including: *The Half-Way House of Fiction: 'Don Quixote' and Arthurian Romance* (1984); *Cervantes and the Modernists: The Question of Influence* (ed., 1994); *Cervantes: Essays in Memory of E.C. Riley* (ed. with J. Robbins, 2005); *Autoridad y poder en el Siglo de Oro* (ed. with I. Arellano and

C. Strosetzki, 2009); *La autoridad política y el poder de las letras en el Siglo de Oro* (ed. with J. M. Usunáriz, 2013). His publications also reflect his interest in Latin America, and include *The Penguin History of Latin America* (1992, updated and expanded 2009), which has been translated into Spanish (Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2014) and Portuguese (Ediçoes 70, 2012); the biography *Borges: A Life* (2004), translated into Spanish (Seix Barral, 2006) and six other languages; and *The Cambridge Companion to Jorge Luis Borges* (ed., 2013). He is currently working on a critical study of *Don Quixote* in the context of Cervantes's evolution as a writer, a project for which he has been awarded a Leverhulme Trust Major Research Fellowship and elected to a visiting *Cátedra de Excelencia* at the Universidad Carlos III de Madrid.

Diana de Armas Wilson is Professor Emerita of English and Renaissance Studies, with a BA from Cornell University and a PhD from the University of Denver. She is the author of *Allegories of Love: Cervantes's Persiles and Sigismunda* (Princeton UP, 1991) and *Cervantes, the Novel, and the New World* (Oxford UP, 2000). She was awarded three different NEH grants: to teach a summer seminar, for archival research in Madrid, and to translate a Spanish captivity chronicle by Antonio de Sosa, a fellow captive of Cervantes in Algiers. Volume 1 of this translation is published as *An Early Modern Dialogue with Islam* (Ed. María Antonia Garcés, Pub. U of Notre Dame Press, 2011), and Volume 2 is forthcoming. Wilson is sole editor of the latest Norton Critical Edition of *Don Quijote,* forthcoming in 2020 in her revised translation.

Note on Translations

One of the stated aims of this volume is to foster awareness of the works of Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra beyond the academic borders of Hispanic Studies and linguistic barriers. For the purposes of accessibility, authors have quoted text from primary sources in Spanish so that people who would like to read closely the original language analysed may do so. A translation into English will follow in each instance appearing in square brackets. Some authors have chosen to use a published English translation, which they have clearly cited; others have chosen to translate the text themselves, notifying the reader of this in a footnote. In cases of secondary readings not originally written in English, just a translation by the author of the chapter was acceptable unless a close reading of that particular text was deemed of interest to the reader.

Translations of and references to the titles of Cervantes's works have varied over the centuries, so in the interest of consistency, I have provided a list of all his works with translated titles at the beginning of this volume. Within the chapters, only the original Spanish title remains. Titles of works by other authors, however, have been translated in individual chapters.

AMK

List of Cervantes's Works

Works listed chronologically by genre

Drama

Los tratos de Argel [*Life in Algiers*] (*c.*1581)

Note: Cervantes twice refers to the title of this work as *Los tratos de Argel* (*tratos* in plural), but on the two extant manuscripts the title is given as *El trato de Argel* (*tratos in singular*).

La destrucción de Numancia [*The Destruction of Numancia*] (*c.*1583)

Note: Cervantes refers to the title of this work as *La destrucción de Numancia* or simply *La Numancia*. On the two extant manuscripts, the title is given as *El cerco de Numancia* [*The Siege of Numancia*] and *Tragedia de Numancia* [*Tragedy of Numancia*].

La conquista de Jerusalén por Godofre de Bullón [*The Conquest of Jerusalem by Godfrey of Bouillon*] (1586; attributed)

Ocho comedias, y ocho entremeses nuevos, nunca representados [*Eight Comedies, and Eight New Interludes, Never Performed*] (1615)

Comedies

- *El gallardo español* [*The Gallant Spaniard*]
- *La casa de los celos y las selvas de Ardenia* [*The House of Jealousy and Woods of Ardenia*]
- *Los baños de Argel* [*The Bagnios of Algiers*]
- *El rufián dichoso* [*The Fortunate Ruffian*]
- *La gran sultana Doña Catalina de Oviedo* [*The Grand Sultana Doña Catalina de Oviedo*]
- *El laberinto de amor* [*The Labyrinth of Love*]
- *La entretenida* [*The Diversion*]
- *Pedro de Urdemalas* [*Peter Mischief-Maker*]

Interludes

- *El juez de los divocios* [*The Divorce Judge*]
- *El rufián viudo llamado Trampagos* [*The Widowed Pimp Called Trampagos*]
- *La elección de los alcaldes de Daganzo* [*The Election of the Magistrates of Daganzo*]
- *La guarda cuidadosa* [*The Watchful Guard*]
- *El vizcaíno fingido* [*The Sham Biscayan*]
- *El retablo de las maravillas* [*The Marvellous Puppet Show*]
- *La cueva de Salamanca* [*The Magic Cave of Salamanca*]
- *El viejo celoso* [*The Jealous Old Man*]

Several titles of plays from the 1580s offered to us by Cervantes in other works that have since been lost

- *La confusa* [*Confusion*] (1585)
- *El trato de Constantinopla y muerte de Selín* [*Life in Constantinopla and the Death of Selim*] (1585)
- *La gran turquesca* [*The Great Turkish Lady*]
- *La batalla naval* [*The Naval Battle*]
- *La Amaranta, o la del Mayo* [*The Amaranth, or the Lady of May*]
- *El bosque amoroso* [*The Forest of Love*]
- *La Única y La bizarra Arsinda* [*Arsinda, Courageous and Unique*]

Prose

Primera Parte de La Galatea [*First Part of Galatea*] (1585)

- 'Canto de Calíope' ['Song of Caliope']

El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quixote de la Mancha [*The Ingenious Nobleman Don Quixote de la Mancha*] (1605)

- El curioso impertinente [*The Impertinent Curious Man*]
- El capitán cautivo [*The Captive's Tale*]

Segunda Parte del ingenioso caballero Don Quixote de la Mancha [*The Second Part of the Ingenious Knight Don Quixote de la Mancha*] (1615)
Novelas ejemplares [*The Exemplary Novels*] (1613)

- *La gitanilla* [*The Little Gypsy Girl*]
- *El amante liberal* [*The Generous Lover*]
- *Rinconete y Cortadillo*
- *La española inglesa* [*The Spanish English Woman*]
- *El licendiado Vidriera* [*The Glass Graduate*]
- *La fuerza de la sangre* [*The Force of Blood*]
- *El celoso extremeño* [*The Jealous Man from Extremadura*]
- *La ilustre fregona* [*The Illustrious Washer Woman*]
- *Las dos doncellas* [*The Two Damsels*]
- *La señora Cornelia* [*The Lady Cornelia*]
- *El casamiento engañoso* [*The Deceitful Marriage*]
- *El coloquio de los perros* [*The Dialogue of the Dogs*]

Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda, historia septrional [*The Travails of Persiles and Sigismunda, a Northern Tale*] (1617)

Poetry

Viaje del Parnasso [*Voyage to Parnassus*] (1614)
'Adjunta al Parnaso' ['Addition to Parnassus'] (1614)
Various poems and lyrical ballads.
'Al túmulo de Felipe II' ['To the burial (catafalque) mound for Philip II']

Other lost works of indeterminate genre

Las semanas del jardín [*Septenaries for the Garden*]
Bernardo del Carpio

Introduction

AARON M. KAHN
University of Sussex

In his biography of Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, Donald McCrory aptly titles the study *No Ordinary Man*, and when one delves into the life and works of this unique individual, the more one realizes how impactful his existence has been. Although best known the world over for his masterpiece novel, *Don Quixote de la Mancha*, published in two parts in 1605 and 1615, the antics of the would-be knight-errant and his simple squire represent only a fraction of the trials and tribulations, both in the literary world and in society at large, of this complex man. Poet, playwright, soldier, slave, satirist, novelist, political commentator, and literary outsider, Cervantes achieved a minor miracle by becoming one of the rarest of things in the early modern world of letters: an international best-seller during his lifetime, with his great novel being translated into multiple languages before his death in 1616.

The son of a travelling barber-surgeon born in Alcalá de Henares outside of Madrid in 1547, no one knows the precise date of Cervantes's birth. He was baptized on 9 October of that year, with speculation that he was born eleven days earlier on 29 September, the feast day of St Michael, his namesake. However, Catholic baptisms would normally take place within a few days of birth to ensure the cleansing of the young soul as soon as possible in case the child succumbed to the variety of maladies that could cause the death of a fragile new-born body, so eleven days after birth seems a long wait. Very little is known of his early years, which is to be expected of someone of relatively common beginnings in early modern times, but he likely accompanied his father as the elder Cervantes tried to make a living in Andalucía, Castilla la Mancha, and Madrid. Miguel would have received a Jesuit education, exposing him to the great European thinkers of the sixteenth century; even in the face of growing Counterreformationism, young Miguel would have had access to the works of Erasmus, Thomas More, and Juan Luis Vives, some of whose works were eventually censored by the Inquisition.

In his early twenties, Miguel found himself in Italy at the service of the young Cardinal Acquaviva, and in 1571 he was on the galley *Marquesa* fighting for the Holy League against the Ottoman Empire in the Battle of Lepanto. Here, he received life-altering injuries after a harquebus shot rendered his left arm paralyzed for the remainder of his life. In 1575, after his military service, he had begun his long-awaited return to Spain but was captured by Algerian corsairs within sight of the Spanish coast. He then spent the

next five years as a slave in Algiers, surviving deprivation, torture, and, most miraculously, four failed escape attempts.

In 1580, he returned to Spain having been ransomed with funds raised by the Trinitarian Order and began to experience a sense of marginalization that would pervade many of his works. He failed in his attempt to get a professional appointment from King Philip II, he struggled financially, and became dejected by the apparent shift in focus of the king away from fighting Islam in the Mediterranean and towards the conquest of Christians in Europe; Philip had become King of Portugal in 1580 and assumed the defeat of Protestantism as a personal responsibility, seemingly turning his back on the tens of thousands of Christians still in bondage in North Africa. Cervantes began his first foray into being a professional writer in this decade, forging a momentarily successful run as a playwright, if we are to believe his own review of his works' reception. However, the rise of Lope de Vega and the *comedia nueva* once again pushed Cervantes to the side.

While Cervantes abandoned the stage, he took up various governmental posts in the late 1580s and early 1590s, which not only required that he travel throughout Spain, but also resulted in two incarcerations. Perhaps this was the cause of his apparently frosty marriage to Catalina de Salazar in 1584. The couple would remain childless, but Cervantes had an illegitimate daughter, Isabel de Saavedra, born several months before his marriage. Only later, though, would Isabel have a significant presence in his life.

By the early seventeenth century, and for the remaining twelve to thirteen years of his life, Cervantes could finally live as a professional writer. His works that still survive to this day and that he chose to publish show a prolific writer demonstrating a mastery of language. His themes are historical, satirical, and political, while casting comments on topics such as the Church, the state of Spanish letters, the literary academies, the institution of marriage, the tragedy of warfare, and an emphasis on those people at the margins, which included him. His works evade form and convention; they at times exaggerate or mock existing generic constructions, and at other times are completely original.

Cervantes was an ambiguous writer in terms of his characters, plot, and generic structure, and this lack of clarity leads many scholars not to trust him fully, if at all. Many of his works prompt varying and often conflicting interpretations. In his prologues, in *Viaje del Parnaso*, and in 'Adjunta al Parnaso' (1614), he creates an avatar of himself through which he provides us with the only description of his physical appearance that we have; no contemporary portraits of him survive, if they ever existed at all. His prologues mention an unnamed friend with whom he speaks and discusses matters, but his references are often too vague to get a clear understanding of his meaning.

We find an example of Cervantine ambiguity in the narration of *Don Quixote*. In I.9, the action pauses as a second unnamed narrator, speaking in the first person, recounts to the reader how he purchased the manuscript of the tale we are reading from a marketplace in Toledo. As it was written in Arabic script, he (without difficulty) finds a *morisco aljamiado*, or one who speaks Castilian, who informs him that the story was written by Cide Hamete Benengeli, an Arab historian. The unnamed *morisco* describes the exploits of Don Quixote, whom our second narrator recognizes immediately, but later in the

chapter he tells us that all Arabs are liars, so can we really believe either the original manuscript or the translation? How do we judge the validity of the text? Finally, in this chapter, the second narrator pays the *morisco* to do the work, which takes a month and a half to complete. In Part II, published ten years later, the story continues with only one month having lapsed since the end of Part I. In this second part, many of the characters have read Part I and are fully aware of who Don Quixote and Sancho are. However, if the original translation took a month and a half, how can the characters in Part II know of Don Quixote and Sancho only a month after the action of Part I has ceased? This is especially confusing considering that Part I takes place in the late 1580s, while Part II makes reference to, among other things, the expulsion of the *moriscos* in 1609.

Despite his international success, he reaped little financial reward and repeatedly found himself relegated to the side, either in reality or from his own perspective. Even his dynamic duo of Don Quixote and Sancho were at times belittled by his literary rivals, due in part, perhaps, to being envious of their global fame. His forays into the literary academies in Spain resulted in a rather bitter reflection on the poor quality of writing that was being celebrated by his contemporaries, a position that at times caused him to be further marginalized.

Just days before his death, he finished the dedication of his final work, *Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda*. Those who like to romanticize this time period and the truly artistic creations that emerged from it like to say that Cervantes died on 23 April 1616, the exact same day as William Shakespeare. In reality, Cervantes most likely died on 22 April, and with Spain having changed to the Gregorian Calendar in 1582 while Protestant England would cling to the Julian Calendar until 1752, they in fact died eleven days apart. However, it is certainly a serendipitous twist of fate that the writers considered by many as the greatest ever in their respective languages lived and died at the same time.

It is impossible to measure or even to put into words the impact that the surviving works of Miguel de Cervantes have had on global human culture. This volume contains seven sections, exploring in depth Cervantes's life and how the hardships he endured influenced his writing. Twenty-nine specialists from numerous countries offer their expertise with the most up-to-date research and interpretations to complete this wide-ranging, but detailed, compendium of a writer not known for much other than his famous novel outside of the Spanish-speaking world; even the average Spaniard might struggle to name more than three or four other Cervantine works. His famous novel *Don Quixote*, his other prose works, his theatrical output, his poetry and other writings, his sources, influences, and contemporaries, and finally reception of his works over the last four hundred years provide a comprehensive 'handbook' consisting of thirty-one chapters. All chapters are part descriptive and part analytical, allowing for accessibility beyond scholarly experts; anyone interested in learning more about this complex writer and his even more complex writings will find this volume informative. For academics or anyone seeking deeper analytical studies, the chapters within provide the most up-to-date research from world-renowned specialists. While there is some cross-referencing between studies, readers do not need to follow any particular order or chronology to attain meaning.

In addition, all chapters appear in English and include citations and titles of works in their original form and in translation. This allows those who can read Spanish and who wish to conduct a close reading of the text to consult the original version, while also granting access to the wonderful verses, lyrics, and prose to readers who prefer an English translation. Authors have clearly indicated if the translation used is their own or if has come from a published source. In order to avoid repetition of translation of titles, all works by Cervantes only appear in the original Spanish within chapters; there is a comprehensive list at the beginning of this Handbook with translations into English provided to avoid repetition or differing translations.

Section 1 provides the reader with a biographical exploration of Miguel de Cervantes in order to establish a background for reference throughout the volume. While we need to consider a writer's life with a degree of caution when studying his or her literary output, as the risk of confusing author with narrator can potentially lead us astray, Cervantes's rich experiences of success, failure, pain, and imprisonment inform his representations of Spanish and European culture and society during his lifetime. Chapter 1, written by the world-renowned Cervantine scholar and biographer Jean Canavaggio, provides a detailed sketch of Cervantes's life story addressing in detail his humble beginnings, his travels, his military service, his captivity, his forays into writing for the stage, his various professions, and finally his stint as a professional writer. Relying on decades of research and internationally acclaimed biographies, Canavaggio contributes an excellent building block for the volume.

References to warfare appear throughout Cervantes's literary production, serving as a metaphor, background, or interpolation, even in texts that concern themselves primarily with civilian life. Though Cervantes celebrates his personal career as a soldier, particularly his participation in the Battle of Lepanto, he subjects the theme of warfare more generally to the irony and distance with which he treats other cultural phenomena of early modern Spain. According to Stacey Triplette in Chapter 2, for the individual soldier, citizen, or knight-errant, personal heroism and correct behaviour appear to be possible, but on the scale of the nation, warfare leads inevitably to financial opportunism and human suffering.

Cervantes was born during the imperial reign of Charles V and within the context of the largest empire seen on Earth. In Chapter 3, Frederick de Armas studies how Cervantes reflects upon his experiences throughout his works, both celebrating the great military achievements of his era, especially those in which he fought, and problematizing questions of empire, from specific tactics in war, to the morality of waging war against other Christian nations, to general questions of imperial expansionism. De Armas focuses on a continuing wavering and ambiguity in Cervantes's relations to empire, starting from his first substantial works in the early 1580s until his death in 1616.

Because the relationship between autobiography and fiction are central to the theme of captivity in Cervantes, María Antonia Garcés initially examines Cervantes's military career in the Mediterranean in Chapter 4. Simultaneously, she explores the soldier's experience as a captive in Algiers and the way that this five-year ordeal in his life reappears in his fiction. As the bibliography elicited by the subject of captivity in

Cervantes covers an uncountable number of scholarly pages, this chapter is illustrative of classic and current scholarship regarding this motif in the Spanish writer's fiction, demonstrating that perhaps above all other aspects of Cervantes's life his five years as a slave prove most influential.

Section 2 of this *Handbook* delves into the two-volume novel that has given Cervantes legendary status throughout the world. The seemingly simple concept of a quirky old gentleman who has his own unique perspective on the world, accompanied by a rustic, ignorant sidekick in fact created one of the most important works in the literary canon. Its popularity was instantaneous and sustained, and as it has not been out of print in over four-hundred years, it can be considered as the second-best selling book of all time. The significance of *El ingenioso hidalgo don Quixote de la Mancha* cannot be understated, and the chapters in this section give the reader a glimpse into the reasons why.

Part I of *Don Quixote* was published in 1605, and in Chapter 5, Edwin Williamson provides a comprehensive overview of this ground-breaking piece of fiction about fiction. Cervantes explored the question of fiction's influence and the limits of artistic illusion by allowing the question to play out in the form of fiction itself. In so doing, he created a lively satire, at once critical and convivial, profoundly poignant and seriously playful. In addressing that age-old question about the risks or rewards of 'living in' an artful illusion, the novel's versatility transcends the parochial concerns of its time to remain pertinent and compelling today.

In Chapter 6, also by Williamson, the author offers the reader an informative study of Part II, published ten years after Part I. He discusses how on his previous sallies, Don Quixote had transformed everyday things into chivalric fantasies—inns into castles, windmills into giants, and so on; however, in Part II he tends to see reality as it appears, but is mostly taken in by pseudo-chivalric episodes invented by other characters. Cervantes's different approach in Part II allows him to address more of the social reality of early seventeenth-century Spain than was possible in Part I. In the sequel, knight and squire are invited to people's houses, attend a wedding, stay as guests at the castle of a duke and duchess, come across a gang of Catalan bandits, and visit the city of Barcelona, all of which provide opportunities for social observation and critique.

Evidence suggests that Cervantes had been composing Part II over a relatively extended period of time, and as shown by the flurry of printed production of his works between 1613 and 1617, his attention was divided along various literary lines. Perhaps if he had waited too long he might not have finished it before his death in 1616, but as James Iffland discusses in Chapter 7, Cervantes soon found himself facing yet another challenge to his prosperity. In 1614, someone writing under the pseudonym of Alonso Fernández de Avellaneda published his own continuation of Cervantes's masterpiece entitled the *Segundo tomo del ingenioso hidalgo don Quijote de la Mancha*, allegedly printed in the city of Tarragona. Iffland's chapter explores this incident and the affect that it had on the original author of *Don Quixote*. While most studies of the so-called apocryphal second part focus on ascertaining the name of the author, whose identity remains unknown to this day, Iffland's concentrates on the aesthetic and literary value of the illicit novel.

Chapter 8 by Yolanda Iglesias presents a study on narrative structure and the literary tradition pertaining to *Don Quixote*. As stated above, this is a book that skews, imitates, satirizes, and criticizes conventional literary forms and devices, making it the unique piece of fiction that it is. Firstly, Iglesias provides an overview of recent scholarship when trying to establish what Cervantes intended his narrative structure to be, or even if he intended there to be a definitive structure, as this is an issue yet to be resolved. Secondly, this chapter addresses some of the unexplained gaps in the narrative and frames the relevance of the structure in *Don Quixote*, thus supporting the argument that Cervantes's masterpiece is the first modern novel.

In Chapter 9, Donald Palmer explores the five ways in which philosophy appears in *Don Quixote*, from the author's familiarity with philosophical thought from antiquity to his own times to how later philosophers considered his work. Palmer shows that one of the reasons for the apparent modernity of *Don Quixote* is Cervantes's comprehension of the philosophical past and his eventual escape from its grasp through his intellectual strategies that are anticipatory of our own period. These strategies are related both to the philosophical perspicacity of the novel, and to its sharp humour.

It is a safe argument to make that outside the of the field of Hispanic Studies, *Don Quixote* is the only Cervantine work that most people could successfully identify; even within the Spanish-speaking world, few would be able to name many more beyond it. However, as the following sections demonstrate, Cervantes proved to be a very prolific writer and produced works in varying styles and structures. Section 3 enters into his prose works other than *Don Quixote*, along with works that are attributed to him, lost, or promised by him, whether or not they ever materialized.

Benjamin J. Nelson dedicates Chapter 10 to Cervantes's first published work, the pastoral novel *La Galatea*, which appeared in print in 1585. Nelson argues that by choosing the pastoral genre as his first substantial narrative, Cervantes not only continues the tradition of *libros de pastores*, but surpasses it. Simultaneously, in true Cervantine fashion, he deviates from the norm by introducing himself as an Orphic poet who participates in the famed *rota Virgilii*, or Virgil's Wheel. Nelson addresses the issue of why Cervantes chose the pastoral for his first published piece of writing, along with the positive and negative reception that it has received among Cervantes scholars.

In his *Novelas ejemplares*, published nearly three decades after *La Galatea*, Cervantes claims to have been the first to write novels in the Spanish language. In Chapter 11, Barry Ife studies this collection of twelve short novels printed in 1613 with precision and addresses the issue of the title itself. Even to contemporary Spaniards, the title of exemplary novels would have been a curiosity and perceived perhaps as arrogant. Widely studied and often imitated worldwide, in some cases almost immediately, Cervantes's *Novelas ejemplares* represent a crucial component of understanding Cervantes as a writer.

A novel in the Byzantine style, *Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda*, published posthumously in 1617, serves as the subject of Chapter 12 by Michael Armstrong-Roche. Proud of the 1605 *Quixote*'s wild popularity, Cervantes was also anxious to shape his literary legacy so that it would *not* be swallowed up by the run-away success of that bur-

lesque about the mad knight and his proverb-spouting sidekick. Armstrong-Roche provides a comprehensive overview of the work that Cervantes considered the jewel in his crown.

A prominent theme of Cervantes's writings, most notably *Don Quixote*, known even by people who have never read it, is madness, and in Chapter 13, Rachel Noel Bauer writes a compendium of the topic to serve as a guide to future Cervantistas. She sheds light on how madness was perceived in sixteenth-century Spanish society, how Cervantes represents it within his works, and how this behaviour has been interpreted by critics from different fields and viewpoints. Within Cervantes's voluminous output, containing countless characters, no two characters display the same causes or symptoms, and none displays mental imbalances or instabilities throughout an entire work. As the son of a travelling barber-surgeon, Cervantes could feasibly have had access to medical books from the era that covered such ailments, even if today they are not considered medically accurate, and this combined with his own potential demons from his years in captivity allowed him to depict various manifestations of mental illness.

In Chapter 14, Brian Brewer contends that Cervantes's entire practice of creative fiction is based on a critical engagement with heroic romance narratives and the inclusion of multiple discourses; this is evident from *La Galatea* to *Persiles y Sigismunda*. *Don Quixote* and the *Novelas ejemplares* likewise reflect this interplay of romance tropes and discursive multiplicity. These, the most prevalent prose works by Cervantes, form the focus of Brewers study of Cervantes's relationship with generic forms and his willingness to stray from them.

Cervantes's prose works, particularly *Don Quixote*, have received the lion's share of scholarly attention, but had he experienced more success in the 1580s in the writing profession he initially entered, and apparently preferred, there exists the speculative possibility that they might not have come to fruition. Section 4 imparts an in-depth look into Cervantes's dramatic works, beginning immediately after his return from captivity in 1580 and extending through to his final years. The 1580s represented a time of transition in Spanish drama, and Cervantes was caught up in the middle of it; preferring to follow a more classical style, albeit once again with his own twists and turns, and refusing to adhere to the new dramatic form championed by his rival Lope de Vega, Cervantes's dramatic career proved frustrating.

As David G. Burton writes in Chapter 15, the theatre had long been a popular form of entertainment in Spain, and Cervantes records having seen the great Lope de Rueda on stage as a young man. With the advent of professional acting troupes and permanent theatres, Cervantes looked to join the likes of Juan de la Cueva in the theatre world. Burton studies Cervantes's two extant plays from this era, *Los tratos de Argel* and *La destrucción de Numancia*, along with the attributed *La conquista de Jerusalén*, to establish a context for the pre-Lopean successes and failures that Cervantes experienced in this milieu.

Perhaps what demonstrates Cervantes's desire to be known as a dramatist most is the fact that he never gave up writing plays. In 1615, he took the unusual step of publishing his *Ocho comedias, y ocho entremeses nuevos, nunca representados*, a collection of eight

plays and eight comic interludes that, according to Cervantes, had never been performed; unusual because these were plays that were printed before ever having been performed. Although they were printed in one collection, they typically receive scholarly attention separately. Due to the popularity of *Don Quixote* and the works of Lope de Vega, it is only recently that Hispanists have returned to Cervantes's dramatic production with a positive perspective.

In Chapter 16, Melanie S. Henry's analysis of the *Ocho comedias* divides the plays into three thematic sections, and rather than studying the collection in relation to Lope de Vega and the *comedia nueva*, instead Henry emphasizes Cervantes's prioritization of the spoken word over exaggerated and overly-adorned set designs. Cervantes certainly resisted what he deemed to be a form of drama that appealed more to the populace than to the more educated audience, but the departure of the *Ocho comedias* from what had become the established norm, long seen as the Cervantes's main *modus operandi*, is convincingly reassessed.

Chapter 17, then, investigates the second part of this publication, the *ocho entremeses*, or comic, often farcical, interludes typically performed between acts of full-length plays. Carolyn Lukens-Olson writes that they 'brought life and relevancy back to a tired, outmoded, and ill-regarded genre of Spanish theatre'. Although they are structurally simple, brief in length, and often seen as vulgar and insignificant, Cervantes's revitalization of the genre included his own satire and social commentary, thus making them much more than entertaining farces.

Despite the achievement of finally having theatrical works of his printed, Cervantes still displayed the frustration of not having seen them performed on stage. His uneasy relationship with the *comedia nueva* and his refusal to submit to its rule did not signal the death knell of his dramatic aspirations. Moisés R. Castillo devotes Chapter 18 to the theatricality and stagecraft that flows through Cervantes's works, regardless of whether or not they were specifically written for the stage, and he did so perhaps more than any other prose writer of the era. His *Novelas ejemplares* and various aspects of *Don Quixote* and the *Persiles* contain shifting scenes, dramatic characters, and dialogue of a Humanist nature, all of which find their roots in Cervantes's relationship with the theatre.

In Chapter 19, Kathleen Jeffs focuses on the use of polymetric verse in Cervantes's drama, including his full-length plays and his interludes. As an experienced international traveller and a learned writer, Cervantes made use of different types of poetic verses in his theatrical works, including more Italianate verses. His influences were wide-reaching, and like other dramatists, Cervantes used different verses to reflect situations and social status of characters. Jeffs demonstrates Cervantes's sophistication in his dramatic composition.

Section 5 of the *Oxford Handbook of Cervantes* encompasses Cervantes's poetic compositions and other writings. In Chapter 20, Adrienne L. Martín tells the reader that Cervantes wrote poetry throughout his entire life, often referring to its importance in his prose works, many of which contained poems and songs. Despite poetry's significance to the great writer, there are surprisingly few studies dedicated to it compared to those of his dramatic and prose works.

Following Martín's study, Esther Fernández devotes Chapter 21 to Cervantes's great mock epic poem, *Viaje del Parnaso*, along with its prose epilogue 'Adjunta al Parnaso', published in 1614. Ignored for so long by Cervantine scholars or dismissed as a minor work, it contains biting satire and criticism of the state of arts and poetry in Spain in the early seventeenth century, at least in Cervantes's view. Fernández correctly emphasizes that Cervantes chose to devote time and energy to completing this long poem and somewhat enigmatic 'Adjunta' at a time when, although in poor health physically and financially, he was also in the process of completing his *Novelas ejemplares*, the second part of *Don Quixote*, and *Persiles*.

Studying Cervantes's works that were printed or that still exist in manuscript form has enriched the field of Hispanic Studies incalculably, but Chapter 22, my own contribution to this volume, centres on what we either do not have or on what possibly has survived to the twenty-first century. A writer as prolific as Cervantes most certainly wrote more than what we can access today; in fact, in his works he provides us with numerous titles of past compositions that have been lost, along with others that he promises his devoted readers, such as sequels to *La Galatea* and the *Persiles*; no trace of these latter two survive. In addition, a number of anonymous pieces have been attributed to him and others that have carried his name have disputed authorship.

Section 6 represents a step away from considering Cervantes and his works exclusively, and places the writer in the historical and literary context in which he lived. Born during the reign of Charles V, a period of expansion and relative tolerance, Cervantes lived through the entire reign of Philip II and much of Philip III's, witnessing increasingly more staunch Counterreformationist policies, which created a decidedly intolerant atmosphere. This section explores Cervantes's sources of inspiration, those who influenced him, and his interaction with contemporaries in Spain and abroad.

Beginning this section is Stacey Triplette's second contribution to the volume on Cervantes's sources and his own influences. Chapter 23 informs the reader of how Cervantes's works reference a complex set of ancient, medieval, and early modern sources. Cervantes in particular is aware of his own historicity and of his place in a chain of imitation, and he adapts and combines sources in ways that are often difficult to unravel. This chapter offers the reader a guide to many of the most important influences on Cervantes's literary production.

Chapter 24 details the often conflictive relationship between Cervantes and Lope Félix de Vega Carpio, the two most influential literary figures of early modern Spain. Jonathan Thacker writes how, although both men created success for themselves and appeared to maintain a level of mutual professional respect, such a conclusion would be misleading and would mask an intriguing, deep, productive, and at times unsavoury relationship between the two men and their work.

Cervantes's uneasy coexistence with Lope de Vega is representative of a wider sense of disillusionment and marginalization he felt in the literary circles in which he participated. Victoria Ríos Castaño informs us in Chapter 25 of the manner in which Cervantes ridicules these literary circles in his published works, particularly the *Viaje del Parnaso* and 'Adjunta al Parnaso'. Cervantes's references to the literary academies he frequented

and to contemporary poets, playwrights, and patrons shed light on his uneasy relationship with those around him.

In Chapter 26, Zenón Luis-Martínez takes us beyond the borders of Spain and provides a comprehensive overview of Cervantes's reception in and influence on readers and writers in England. Even during Cervantes's own lifetime, *Don Quixote* as a novel and the various episodes and tales it contains gained immense popularity in England. From the first English adaptations and recreations only two short years after its initial 1605 publication, through the numerous incarnations of Cervantine writings in the subsequent four centuries, Luis-Martínez demonstrates how England embraced the would-be knight errant and his squire.

Continuing with the theme of Cervantes abroad, Diana de Armas Wilson offers a look into Cervantes's perception of the Americas and the successes of Cervantine works in the Americas. Demonstrating the universal appeal of Cervantes's works, Chapter 27 studies his impact in the Spanish and English-speaking countries throughout the continents from the first arrival of *Don Quixote* in the Indies in 1606.

The seventh and final section of the *Oxford Handbook of Cervantes* considers the reception of Cervantes's works, which has varied over the centuries since his death; scholarly interest in who he was has played a central role in our perception of the man and the writer. Research has resulted in the discovery of numerous documents and the creation of a more comprehensive picture of his life. Krzysztof Sliwa dedicates Chapter 28 to a study of Cervantes's biographers and how they have contributed to our knowledge of the creator of Don Quixote.

Chapter 29 by Duncan Wheeler focuses on Cervantes's presence on the screen. Just as the various theatrical representations and adaptations of *Don Quixote* and Cervantes's other great works brought the stories to countless numbers of people who otherwise would not, or could not, have read them, so do the film versions; film also creates a subbranch of Cervantine studies. In this chapter, Wheeler explores the dialectic between commemorative culture and Spanish screen fictions based on the life and works of Cervantes.

Chapter 30 by Robert Oakley and Chapter 31 by Bruce Burningham end the volume by giving us a thorough overview of Cervantine criticism throughout the centuries. Chapter 30 describes the reception, interpretations, and literary critical approaches to Cervantine works through to the end of the twentieth century. Burningham takes over in the year 2000 and considers the current and future state of Cervantine studies. While it is impossible to study all approaches and critical responses to Cervantes since his first publication in 1585, these two scholars write comprehensive overviews of the most important trends and movements associated with Cervantine criticism.

SECTION 1

BIOGRAPHY

CHAPTER 1

CERVANTES'S LIFE

JEAN CANAVAGGIO
Université Paris Nanterre

Translated by
JONATHAN THACKER AND AARON M. KAHN

Most of what we know about the life of Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra comes from information assembled by those researchers who dedicated their efforts to exploring public, parish, notarial, and private archives beginning in the first third of the eighteenth century. The documents they published deal above all with his Algerian captivity and his activities as a functionary in Andalusia, as well as other events that touched upon his life, such as, for example, the death of Gaspar de Ezpeleta, who was mortally wounded close to Cervantes's house in Valladolid in 1605. Very little of the documentation sheds light upon Cervantes's life as a writer, let alone his personality. Thus, using this material as a base, one has to proceed with considerable caution in order to go through the successive stages of a life 'tan escasa de noticias como rica en sinuosidades' ['as lacking in detail as it is rich in suggestive possibilities'].[1]

A biography of Cervantes cannot be limited to a mere succession of events, as it first of all needs to incorporate the analyses and conclusions of scholars. In order to establish with the necessary rigour what these findings tell us, we must dispense with the myths that flourished in different periods, such as, for example, a crypto-Jewish Cervantes or an avid reader of the Kabbalistic texts, so crucial to his masterpiece. Secondly, it is important to contextualize within his era a writer who, in the eyes of the layman, tends to sum up the Golden Age or even incarnate it either by being considered to have reflected its norms or, conversely, to have represented its contradictions. Finally, we must approach Cervantes as closely as possible, following the course of an existence which, a mere journey during his lifetime, has become a destination that we strive to reach. From

[1] Castro, p. 169n. All translations into English have been done by the translators of this chapter unless otherwise noted.

such suppositions it is necessary to contemplate a trajectory that, taking us from the writer's birth to his death, presents us with a good number of grey areas.

We know nothing, or almost nothing, of his childhood and adolescence; on several occasions, during the months and even years between the end of his Andalusian assignments and settling permanently in Madrid, we lose his trail. We know nothing about the underlying motivations for the majority of his decisions: his sudden departure for Italy, joining up with the galleys of Don Juan de Austria, his marriage to a young woman twenty years his junior, his decision to leave the marital home after three years of life together, or his return to writing after a silence of close to twenty years. We have lost a good number of his works, and we question the authenticity of those which were attributed to him in the nineteenth century; as far as those on which his reputation is based are concerned, we have only the smallest details of how they came into being. In his own hand, we possess only notarial documents, some accounts, and two or three letters. Finally, none of the apparent portraits of him is trustworthy. This explains the many myths about his life, myths which reflect our desire to fill the gaps in our knowledge, no matter the cost. They represent above all a deeper aspiration to discover the personality of the man who lived them beyond just the succession of events, even at the risk of producing an invented image of him.

In this situation, instead of dedicating themselves to a piece of mere detective work concentrating simply on material facts, biographers of Cervantes have to understand the logic of their endeavour. To discover a life means to construct it; to make Cervantes live again is, like it or not, to determine who the man is for eternity. As a result, it is essential to take into account everything that allows us to approach him intimately, returning to the texts not to search for the man—a mere illusion—but to extract from them everything that might shed light upon an existence that, as the years went by, became gradually mixed up with the routines of a writer reconciled in his final years with his first calling. To follow this path, it is important to grant the right degree of value to these texts since what Cervantes tells us about himself has to be treated with the utmost caution, not only in his works of fiction, whose testimony has not always been skilfully utilized, but also on the pages in which he is writing as himself. Dedications, prologues, and poems of an autobiographical nature offer us fragments of a portrait of an artist whose truth, by definition, does not require verification. Cervantes in the first person is not a real-life person but an imaginary being. He is made up, of course, of elements taken from the lived experience of the soldier of Lepanto, but engendered by a specific way of wording things that reveals that the boundary between life and creation is not as well-defined as it at first might seem.

Childhood

We have known that Cervantes's birthplace was Alcalá de Henares since the mid-eighteenth century, and that the date of his baptism was 9 October 1547, but his exact

date of birth has not been established. It may well have been 29 September, St Michael's Day. What is more interesting to note when it comes to situating this event in its context is the fact that it occurred in such an important year—one in which Francis I of France and Henry VIII of England passed into history. Emperor Charles V, victorious over the German Protestant princes at Mühlberg, reached the height of his power, and the establishment of the Council of Trent two years earlier initiated profound reforms of the Catholic Church. Within the peninsula, worthy of note in that same year are two decisions that are indicative of the attitudes that would become typical of the Spain of the first three Habsburg kings: the promulgation of the first Papal Index prohibiting seditious books and, as a result of the vote of the Cathedral Chapter of Toledo, the adoption of the first *limpieza de sangre* [purity of blood] statutes.

In such a context, the ancestry of the writer has been and continues to be a controversial topic. Although he was considered to be an Old Christian in the report prepared at his own behest on his return from Algiers, he never presented tangible proof of his blood purity. His paternal grandfather, the graduate Juan de Cervantes, collaborated as a judge with the *Santo Oficio*, but the latter's wife, Leonor de Torreblanca, belonged to a family of doctors from Córdoba, and as such may well have possessed some Jewish blood. Miguel's father, Rodrigo, married Leonor de Cortinas in about 1542, and she belonged to a family of peasants from Old Castile. His modest occupation of travelling surgeon and his constant wanderings around the peninsula while his children were young have not failed to arouse suspicions about his origins, leading Américo Castro to consider him a Jewish convert, though other Cervantes specialists refuse to admit any such hypothesis. Whatever the case, one should not exaggerate the importance of this controversy. Were it to be shown one day that Cervantes came from New Christian stock, this discovery would maintain intact the bridge that spans the chasm between his vision of the world and that of Mateo Alemán, his contemporary, who certainly was not an Old Christian. As Antonio Domínguez Ortíz puts it, 'el autor del *Quijote* pudo tener algún antepasado converso, pero eso ni está demostrado ni influyó en su obra. Las raíces del sereno criticismo que campea en la novela inmortal hay que buscarlas en otras fuentes' ['the author of *Don Quixote* might have had an ancestor who was a convert, but we do not know for sure and it did not influence his work. The roots of this sober criticism that pervades the immortal novel must be sought in other sources'].[2]

Following the births of his two sisters, Andrea and Luisa, Miguel became the third of five children, with two others known to have been born but presumed to have died in infancy. A younger brother, Rodrigo, who shared his captivity in Algiers, and another sister, Magdalena, followed Miguel. In 1555, a brother, Juan, came into the world, but no other information about his life exists. Nothing certain is known about the first twenty years of Miguel's life, including his education. Neither is it known whether he was with his father during the latter's stays in Córdoba and then Seville, perhaps as a pupil of the Jesuits who had founded a school there. However, he was with his family in Madrid in 1566 a few years after Philip II had established his court there. And three years later

[2] Domínguez Ortiz, p. 231.

Cervantes took his first steps as a writer with four poetic compositions included by his teacher, the Humanist Juan de López de Hoyos, rector of the Estudio de la Villa, in the *Relación oficial* [*Official Account*] published on the death of the queen, Isabel de Valois, in 1568. Its editor calls Cervantes 'amado discípulo' ['much-loved disciple'], though this brief mention does not help us judge the level of education reached by a young man who did not matriculate in any university and who was given the epithet, during his lifetime, of 'ingenio lego', a man of intelligence without having studied.[3]

Lepanto

In the year that this *Relación* was published, Cervantes headed to Italy, a departure said to have been prompted by a duel in which a master of works called Antonio de Sigura was injured.[4] Perhaps a more likely reason for his departure is the possible recommendation from a family member of Cardinal Espinosa, High Inquisitor and President of the Council of Castile, which allowed him to spend a few months in Rome in the service of the young Cardinal Acquaviva. We can infer that his intimacy with Ascanio Colonna resulted from this post, and the relationship was revealed subsequently in the dedication to *La Galatea*. Soon, however, probably in the summer of 1571, he embraced a military life, enlisting in Diego de Urbina's company, with which his younger brother Rodrigo was already fighting. This decision, taken just as the Holy League's armada under Don John of Austria was about to confront the Turkish threat—all the greater after the Ottoman conquest of Cyprus—led to his embarkation on the galley, *Marquesa*. On board, at the Battle of Lepanto on 7 October 1571, he fought 'muy valientemente' ['very bravely'] according to his comrades. Despite suffering from a fever, he refused to 'meterse so cubierta' ['go below decks'], since he 'más quería morir peleando por Dios e por su rey' ['preferred to die fighting for God and for his king'].[5] And in the particularly dangerous position assigned to him, where the skiffs are situated at the stern of the ship, he was hit by harquebus shots twice in the chest and once in his left hand, causing the permanent loss of its use. Hence the epithet that posterity would bequeath to him: 'el manco de

[3] This description was applied by Tamayo de Vargas in his catalogue of Spanish books, *Junta de libros, la mayor que ha visto España, hasta el otoño de 1624*. However, it had circulated before that date, since Cervantes himself alludes to it in Chapter VI of his *Viaje del Parnaso* (*Viaje del Parnaso y poesías sueltas*, p. 97).

[4] This information comes from a royal dispatch discovered in the nineteenth century in the Simancas archives. Judging by the contents of the document, the guilty party, a certain 'Miguel de Zerbantes, student', had fled to Seville having been condemned in his absence to have his right hand publicly cut off and to a ten-year exile from the kingdom. However, Sliwa has drawn attention to the baptismal records of two men of the same name—one the son of Miguel López de Cervantes and Lucía Alonso and the other of Blas de Cervantes Saavedra and Catalina López—born in the same decade and in neighbouring towns (Sliwa, 'Semblanza documental…', p. 107).

[5] Testimony of Mateo de Santisteban, on 20 March 1578 (Sliwa, *Documentos*…, p. 51).

Lepanto' ['the one-handed man of Lepanto']. He himself would evoke the events when replying to the insults of Avellaneda in the prologue to Part II of *Don Quixote* in 1615:

> Lo que no he podido dejar de sentir es que me note de viejo y de manco, como si hubiera sido en mi mano haber detenido el tiempo, que no pasase por mí, o si mi manquedad hubiera nacido en alguna taberna, sino en la más alta ocasión que vieron los siglos pasados, los presentes, ni esperan ver los venideros.[6]
>
> [What I couldn't help resenting is that he attacks me for being old and one-handed, as if it had been in my power to halt time and prevent it from ravaging me, or as if I had been maimed in some tavern brawl rather than at the greatest battle that past or present ages have ever seen or that future ages can ever hope to see.][7]

Once he had recovered from his wounds in Messina, Cervantes took part in the military campaigns undertaken by Don Juan de Austria in 1572 and 1573—with mixed success—in Navarino, Corfu, and Tunis. He was deeply marked by his years in Italy, where part of the action of several of his prose works takes place (*El curioso impertinente*, *El licenciado Vidriera*, *Persiles y Sigismunda*, etc.), and he seems to have had a special fondness for his months spent in Naples, where it is assumed he belonged to various literary circles. Finally, he decided to return to Spain to reap the rewards for his service with Don Juan of Austria and the Duke of Sessa. On 26 September 1575, the galley *El Sol* in which he had embarked three weeks earlier in Naples fell into the hands of the corsair Arnaut Mamí—not close to the Tres Marías, as was thought for a long time, but, as Juan Bautista Avalle Arce has shown, close to the Catalan coast, not far from Cadaqués.[8]

Captivity

Taken to Algiers as a slave, Cervantes endured a five-year period of captivity which left a profound impression on his *oeuvre*, especially the two plays set in the city—*Los tratos de Argel* and *Los baños de Argel*—and the captive's tale, interpolated in the first part of *Don Quixote*. We possess a broad understanding of this period of captivity thanks to three things: the declarations gathered together at the author's behest in the reports of 1578 and 1580, which include testimony of friends, military comrades, and fellow slaves; the surviving evidence of the efforts undertaken by their family to ransom Miguel and his brother; and the details provided in the *Topographía e historia general de Argel* [*Topography and General History of Algiers*], published in 1612 under the name of Fray Diego de Haedo. More recently, this work has been partially attributed to Antonio de Sosa, Cervantes's companion, and, by others, to the author of *Don Quixote* himself. It is a work of great interest in which we are told that the captivity and deeds of the one-handed

[6] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, I, p. 673.
[7] Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, p. 483.
[8] See Avalle-Arce, pp. 237–80.

man of Lepanto 'pudiera hacerse particular historia' ['are worthy of a story to themselves'].[9]

Amongst these deeds his four escape attempts stand out. Two were by land and two by sea, and he took full responsibility for them upon himself. On the last of these occasions, in November 1579, he was betrayed by a Dominican from Extremadura, Doctor Juan Blanco de Paz, and he appeared before Hasan Pasha, King of Algiers, a man with a reputation for vengeance and cruelty. However, he escaped the death penalty. The reason for this treatment, according to what can be gleaned from the testimony of some of his companions, seems to have been the relationships that Cervantes had apparently established with Turks, renegades, and Algerians. These links were closer and more complex than one might have expected, especially those with 'un arraez muy grande amigo del rrei, que se dice morato atarraez maltrapillo, renegado español' ['a captain who was a great friend of the king, said to be Morato Atarraez Maltrapillo, a Spanish renegade'].[10] Finally, with his family making a great effort to secure his freedom, he was ransomed on 19 September 1580 by the Trinitarian friars at a cost of 500 ducats.

Return to Writing

Despite presenting details of his military service, Cervantes did not reap the expected rewards. This might have been because he was unable to take advantage of the sort of support that was essential at a time when factional in-fighting intensified on Philip II's departure to be crowned King of Portugal, a realm recently added to his dominions. As a result of a journey to Thomar, where the king had summoned the Portuguese *Cortes*, he was entrusted with a short mission to Oran in May or June of 1581, where he had an interview with the mayor of Mostaganem. The exact purpose of the visit is unknown.

His return to Madrid saw developments in Cervantes's personal life: he apparently fell for a certain Ana de Villafranca, also known as Ana Franca de Rojas, the wife of an innkeeper, who, in the autumn of 1584, bore him an illegitimate daughter, Isabel; and in December of the same year he married Catalina de Salazar, the daughter of a recently deceased minor nobleman from Esquivias, a place known for its vines and olive groves. This marriage led him to settle in his wife's town but not to lose contact with the literary circles of the court. These were precisely the years in which the foundations of the theatre industry were cemented in place. This development was supported by the partnership of the guilds, which were able to subsidize the hospices and hospitals in each city thanks to the money generated by performances of both sacred and profane plays. The companies of itinerant actors played their part, and there were favourable conditions for the construction in each major city of permanent theatrical premises, the so-called *corrales de comedias*. Cervantes had his part in this process, though he failed to achieve the

[9] Haedo, vol. III, p. 165.
[10] Testimony of Diego Castellano, 10 October 1580, in Sliwa, *Documentos*…, p. 81.

results he had hoped, composing several plays of which two are extant in manuscript copies: *Los tratos de Argel*, inspired by memories of his Algerian captivity, and *Numancia*, a work that was to be well and truly resurrected in the middle of the twentieth century. It is difficult to know how these works were received by audiences, since we have no testimony to guide us other than the author's own words: 'sin que se les ofreciese ofrenda de pepinos ni de otra cosa arrojadiza' ['without their being greeted with cucumbers or other projectiles'].[11] In any case, the whereabouts of the 'veinte o treinta comedias' ['twenty or thirty plays'] that Cervantes claims to have penned in those years are unknown, and he gives us the titles of only ten of them.

At the same time, Cervantes wrote the *Primera parte de la Galatea, dividida en seis libros*, a work which emerges from the presses of the bookseller Blas de Robles in March of 1585. It is a major contribution to the genre of the pastoral romance, itself initiated in the mid-1500s by Jorge de Montemayor's *La Diana*. Years later, in his *El coloquio de los perros*, Cervantes would recall, not without irony, the clichés of the genre—a bucolic setting, permanent spring-time, the complaints of the lover faced with his beloved's indifference—satirizing them through the words of the wise dog, Berganza, who concludes his diatribe with the declaration that 'todos aquellos libros son cosas soñadas y bien escritas para entretenimiento de los ociosos, y no verdad alguna' ['all of those books belong to a world of dreams and are well-written entertainment for the leisured, but not at all true'].[12]

Assignments in Andalusia

At the beginning of June of 1587, Cervantes was in Seville, having bid farewell to his wife in circumstances about which we know little. 'Tuve otras cosas en que ocuparme; dejé la pluma y las comedias' ['I had other things to do; I left behind my pen and my playwriting'].[13] Whether he felt frustrated at the failure of his literary career to prosper, whether he was unwilling to dedicate the rest of his life to tending the olive trees and grape-vines belonging to his mother-in-law, or whether he was attracted to work which resonated better with his desire for independence, he took advantage of the preparations for the naval expedition against England, decreed by Philip II, to obtain a position as a commissioner, responsible for providing wheat and oil for the fleet. In this role Cervantes travelled the roads of Andalusia requisitioning the necessary supplies, very unpopular with the well-to-do peasants and the prebendary canons, who were even more reluctant contributors after the disastrous failure of the Invincible Armada in the summer of 1588.

Keen to obtain a post in the New World, he presented a petition to the king on 21 May 1590 with his accompanying service record via the President of the Council of the Indies.

[11] Cervantes, *Comedias y tragedias*, I, p. 12.
[12] Cervantes, *Novelas ejemplares*, p. 555; *The Complete Exemplary Novels*, p. xxxi.
[13] Cervantes, *Comedias y tragedias*, I, p. 12.

In it he mentions amongst 'los tres o cuatro que al presente están vaccos' ['the three or four posts at present vacant'], 'la contaduría del nuevo reyno de Granada' ['the accountancy of the new kingdom of Granada'], the 'gobernación de la provincia de Soconusco en Guatimala' ['government of the province of Soconusco in Guatemala'], that of 'contador de las galeras de Cartagena' ['accountant of the Cartagena galleys'], and that of 'corregidor de la ciudad de la Paz' ['magistrate of the city of La Paz']. He concluded that 'con qualquiera de estos officios que V. M. le haga merced, la resçiuirá, porque es hombre auil y suffiçiente y benemérito para que V. M. le haga merced' ['he would accept any one of these offices you were kind enough to grant him, because he is an able, competent, and worthy man, at your service']. On 6 June, Doctor Núñez Morquecho, Clerk of the Council, inserted a refusal in the margins of the document: 'Busque por acá en que se le haga merced' ['Look here in Spain for something to be granted'].[14]

This painful experience was certainly tempered by the fascination that Cervantes felt for Seville, and this helps to explain his lengthy stays on the banks of the Guadalquivir, far from Esquivias and his wife. He accumulated a rich stock of experiences of which he took advantage in his works set in Seville, such as the play *El rufián dichoso* and amongst the *Novelas ejemplares*, *El celoso extremeño*, *Rinconete y Cortadillo*, and *El coloquio de los perros*. However, without concrete facts, it is hard to understand the process that took him from lived experience to literary creation. As far as his literary career is concerned, there is little to go on apart from the odd poem and an (apparently unfulfilled) contract with the actor manager, Rodrigo Osorio, to produce six plays 'en los tiempos que pudiere' ['at his convenience'].[15]

Imprisonment

In August 1594, Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra was offered a new assignment, which took him to the kingdom of Granada in order to collect two and a half million *maravedís* of tax arrears. By this time he had been using a second surname for four years, one no doubt taken from a distant relative, but which could possibly have referred to the word 'Shaibedraa'. This word comes from the dialect of Algiers and was a nickname that might refer to his use of only one hand during his years of captivity.[16] After travelling through Guadix, Baza, Motril, Ronda, and Vélez-Málaga, a journey notable for various complications, he ended his rounds and returned to Seville. That was when the bankruptcy of the businessman Simón Freire, in whose house Cervantes had deposited the collected sums, caused his guarantor, the suspicious Francisco Suárez Gasco, to summon him to court. Entrusted to notify Cervantes of this order, Judge Vallejo sent him to the royal prison in Seville, thus committing a veritable abuse of his power either by error or through malice.

[14] Sliwa, *Documentos*…, pp. 225–6.
[15] Sliwa, *Documentos*…, pp. 255–6.
[16] See López Baralt, pp. 404–26.

This imprisonment, which over the course of several months gave him the chance to engage at length with the colourful underworld of the city, a parallel society with its own hierarchy, rules, and slang, appeared to be the same one in which *Don Quixote* was conceived, if we are to believe what he tells us in the prologue to its first part: a prison 'donde toda incomodidad tiene su asiento y donde todo triste ruido hace su habitación' ['where every discomfort has its seat and every dismal sound its room'].[17] It could well have been here, then, that there emerged at least the initial idea for a book which eight years later would garner immediate success.

We do not know the exact date of Cervantes's release; however, it seems he bade farewell for good to Seville in the summer of 1600, just as the terrible Black Death moved south after devastating Castile the previous year. Meanwhile, on 13 September 1598, Philip II died, and a poem in five-line stanzas attributed to Cervantes points out with notable irony the financial disaster that cast a shadow over the final years of his reign:

> Quedar las arcas vacías
> donde se encerraba el oro
> que dicen que recogías,
> nos muestra que tu tesoro
> en el cielo lo escondías.[18]
>
> [Empty the chests where the gold was locked up, the gold they say you gathered, shows us that you were hiding your treasure in heaven.]

The Ingenious Gentleman

As has been noted, almost nothing is known of Cervantes's life during those crucial years in which he was composing the first part of *Don Quixote*. It is very likely that in the summer of 1604 he moved with his wife to Valladolid, which had been chosen by Philip III as the new capital three years earlier. He re-joined his sisters and his daughter, Isabel, who had lived in Madrid up until then, and he met a publisher by the name of Francisco de Robles, son of Blas de Robles, publisher of *La Galatea*. On 26 September he was granted the *privilegio* [royal approval] that he required for printing, and news of the imminent publication of his new book spread, as seen in a letter written by Lope de Vega. In the final days of December 1604, *Don Quixote* emerged from the presses of Juan de la Cuesta, with the first signs of its success very soon evident. In March 1605, as Cervantes was obtaining a new *privilegio*, extending beyond Castile to Portugal and Aragon, two pirate editions were published in Lisbon, and the second Madrid edition hit the presses, coming out that summer. Meanwhile the first shipments of the *princeps* were registered

[17] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, I, p. 9; *Don Quixote*, p. 11.
[18] Cervantes, *Viaje del Parnaso*…, p. 223.

in Seville and sent to the Indies. At the same time, Don Quixote and Sancho appeared everywhere in festivities, dances, and masquerades.

A short time later, at the end of June, our author strangely became mixed up in the violent death of a gentleman of the Order of Santiago, Gaspar de Ezpeleta. Wounded in a night-time duel, which took place in the area of the city in which the writer and his family lived, Ezpeleta was given shelter by Cervantes in his house and died two days later without having confessed the name of his attacker. The investigation undertaken by the local official resulted in depositions being collected in the case, which are now preserved in the archives of the Real Academia Española. They record the imprisonment of Cervantes for a couple of days because of the insinuations by a female neighbour about the behaviour of his sisters and daughter, and this information throws a curious light on the life and livelihood of the writer and his relatives. From Andrea de Cervantes's deposition we can infer that her brother was 'un hombre que escribe e trata negocios, e que por su buena habilidad tiene amigos' ['a man who writes and does business, and who has friends as a result of his gifts'].[19] Amongst these friends were a Genoese supplier, Agustín Raggio, linked to a whole network of Italian businessmen based in Genoa, Antwerp, and Madrid, and a Portuguese financier, Simón Méndez, treasurer and chief tax-collector of the marine tithes in Castile and Galicia. There was also a gentleman of the chamber of Kings Philip II and Philip III, Fernando de Toledo, señor de Higares, who was implicated in certain political projects that would lead him to spend his fortune extravagantly. We can thus gradually, even if in broad brush-strokes, learn something of the 'other face' of the author of *Don Quixote*, in particular the fact that an ex-tax-collector maintained relations with these representatives of the business community, some of whom, because of their debts, had run-ins with the law at a time when Castilian merchants were going under and some Genoese were becoming spectacularly rich.

In the Capital

After the court's return to Madrid in 1606, Cervantes settled with his family in the Atocha district of the capital, behind the Antón Martín Hospital, where we know he was living in February 1608. A year later he moved to calle de la Magdalena, near the Duke of Pastrana's palace, and then to the calle de León in what was called the *barrio de las Musas* [district of the Muses], home also to Lope de Vega, Francisco de Quevedo, and Vélez de Guevara. At the start of 1612 he moved again, though not far, to calle de las Huertas, behind the cemetery of San Sebastián. Finally, in autumn of 1615, he abandoned this house for another on the corner of calle de Francos and calle de León. During these last eight years of his life, he did not often leave the capital, except for brief trips to Alcalá and Esquivias. The only point at which his destiny might have taken a different course was in the spring of 1610 when the Count of Lemos, his patron, was appointed Viceroy of

[19] Sliwa, *Documentos*…, p. 327.

Naples. Cervantes, like Góngora, harboured dreams of forming part of his literary court. From the evidence taken from Martín de Riquer's minute examination of the chapters in *Don Quixote*, Part II, which relate the knight's stay in Barcelona, it is possible to claim that he might have undertaken a journey to that city in July to argue his case as Lemos was about to depart.[20] However, neither the viceroy's secretary, the poet Lupercio Leonardo de Argensola, nor his brother, Bartolomé, made good on their promises.

These years are also marked by several family events. Cervantes had disagreements with his daughter, Isabel, and successive sons-in-law, Diego Sanz and Luis de Molina, over money and the ownership of a house in calle de la Montera. His older sister, Andrea, died suddenly in October 1609, and his granddaughter, Isabel Sanz, died six months after that. His younger sister, Magdalena, died in January 1610. These events might explain a change in Cervantes's attitude to forms of devotion and an increasing engagement with ritual practices. In April 1609, he affiliated himself to the Congregación de los Esclavos del Santísimo Sacramento [Congregation of the Slaves of the Holy Sacrament], although we cannot be certain whether he complied with the strict rules that this body imposed on its members, such as fasting and abstinence on prescribed days, daily attendance of services, spiritual exercises, and hospital visits. In July 1613, he was admitted as a novice to the Franciscan Tertiaries, as his wife and sisters had been, and on 2 April 1616, shortly before his death, he took his vows.

Cervantes at work

What is most striking about these years, however, is Cervantes's definitive return to writing at a moment when his renown was starting to spread beyond the Pyrenees. He took part in literary competitions held by the Academia Selvaje, founded by Don Francisco de Silva y Mendoza, with sessions taking place in his palace on the calle de Atocha. This is where, one day in March 1612, Lope de Vega asked Cervantes for his glasses so that he could read some of his verses. In the poet's words, they were glasses 'que parecían guevos estrellados mal hechos' ['which looked like badly made fried eggs'].[21] New editions of *Don Quixote* appeared in Brussels in 1607 and Madrid in 1608; Thomas Shelton went to press with *The Delightful History of the Valorous and Witty Knight-Errant Don Quixote of the Mancha*, an enjoyable English version, which appeared in 1612; and in 1611, César Oudin began what would become a four-year task to render the novel into French.

Meanwhile, Cervantes had just completed the composition of the twelve works that would make up the *Novelas ejemplares*, some of which—*Rinconete y Cortadillo* and *El celoso extremeño*, for example—were most probably written during the time he spent in Andalusia, and with others apparently dating from his time in Valladolid. Judging by allusions to the court's return to Madrid and the growing hostility towards the *moriscos*,

[20] See Riquer, *Cervantes en Barcelona*.

[21] Sliwa, *Documentos*…, p. 354.

expelled in 1609, we can conjecture that others are later works. However, the chronology of the novels cannot be established with much certainty. Official approval having been obtained in July 1612, the volume emerged from the printing presses of Juan de la Cuesta the following July with a dedication to the Count of Lemos, whom Cervantes had hoped to accompany to Italy. The prologue is worthy of special attention since it contains the verbal self-portrait of a writer whose face was never painted during his lifetime:[22]

> Éste que veis aquí, de rostro aguileño, de cabello castaño, frente lisa y desembarazada, de alegres ojos y de nariz corva, aunque bien proporcionada; las barbas de plata, que no ha veinte años que fueron de oro, los bigotes grandes, la boca pequeña, los dientes ni menudos ni crecidos, porque no tiene sino seis…; el cuerpo entre dos extremos, ni grande, ni pequeño, la color viva, antes blanca que morena; algo cargado de espaldas y no muy ligero de pies; este, digo, que es el rostro del autor de *La Galatea* y de *Don Quijote de la Mancha*.[23]
>
> [This man you see here, with aquiline face, chestnut hair, smooth, unwrinkled brow, joyful eyes, and curved though well-proportioned nose; silvery beard which not twenty years ago was golden, large moustache, small mouth, teeth neither small nor large, since he has only six…; of middling height, neither tall nor short, fresh-faced, rather fair than dark; somewhat stooping and none too light on his feet; this, I say, is the likeness of the author of *La Galatea* and *Don Quixote de la Mancha*.]

Cervantes went through this creative phase just when the passion for the theatre that he had experienced since adolescence had taken over the whole country. The theatres had been closed for several months upon the death of Philip II, but after the court had returned to Madrid they re-opened, creating the conditions in which playwrights and actors, who were behind the theatrical productions on a truly massive scale, were to give a large boost to the world of the theatre.

With the support of a cohort of disciples, Lope de Vega had become the idol of both the masses and the educated elite with his fecundity and his inventiveness. In 1605, through the mouths of the canon and the priest, Cervantes had reproached Lope, without actually naming him, for the crowd-pleasing simplicity of his drama. Now, if we are to make judgements based on what we are told at the start of Act II of *El rufián dichoso*, he appears to admit that 'los tiempos mudan las cosas y perficionan las artes' ['time changes things and perfects the arts']. However, one should not exaggerate the extent of the change he had undergone, since 'añadir a lo inventado no es dificultad notable' ['to add to what has been invented is not very difficult'].[24] While recognizing at the end of his life that Lope de Vega had managed to dominate this world and put 'debajo de su juris-

[22] The portrait ascribed to Jáuregui is clearly inspired by this self-portrait. It was probably done at the beginning of the twentieth century by a forger by the name of José Albiol. The portrait discovered in the collections of the Marquis of Casa Torres is from the period but is not of Cervantes. It is in fact of Don Diego Mesía de Ovando, Count of Uceda. See Lafuente Ferrari.

[23] Cervantes, *Novelas ejemplares*, p. 16; *The Complete Exemplary Novels*, p. xxxi.

[24] Cervantes, *Comedias y tragedias*, I, p. 13.

dicción a todos los farsantes' ['the whole acting profession under his jurisdiction'],[25] Lope's monarchy appeared to Cervantes to be akin to that of a skilful businessman. The success of his theatrical product was the result of its perfect adaptation to the predominant tastes of the time.

Cervantes's misgivings faced with the Lopean *comedia* allow us to make sense of the rejection he had experienced since his return to Madrid at the hands of the theatre professionals, the all-powerful *autores de comedias* [actor-managers], who refused to include in their repertory the works he had written after returning to his 'antigua ociosidad' ['former leisure'].[26] His disappointment is evident, and he expresses it movingly in the prologue to his *Ocho comedias*:

> Pensando que aún duraban los siglos donde corrían mis alabanzas, volví a componer algunas comedias; pero no hallé pájaros en los nidos de antaño; quiero decir que no hallé autor que me las pidiese, puesto que sabían que las tenía, y así las arrinconé en un cofre y las consagré y condené al perpetuo silencio.
>
> [Thinking that the times when my stock was high were still with us, I went back to writing plays. But I found no birds in the nests of yesteryear; I mean I found no actor-manager who would ask me for the plays, though they knew I had them and so I put them away in a trunk and gave them up and condemned them to everlasting silence.][27]

This explains his decision to dispense with actors. Instead of having his plays performed, he published them, offering them up to an avid reading audience 'para que se vea de espacio lo que pasa apriesa, y se disimula, o no se entiende, cuando las representan' ['so that they can see at their leisure what happens rapidly, or is missed or not picked up when they are performed'].[28] In September 1615, this unusual decision, which, running counter to established practice, upset the usual means of diffusion, came to fruition: the bookseller, Juan de Villarroel, put on sale a volume significantly titled *Ocho comedias, y ocho entremeses nuevos, nunca representados*.

Avellaneda

What would be a bigger undertaking in this period was the continuation of the adventures of Quixote and Sancho, a second part of which was advertised by the author at the end of the first with the promise that the last sally of the ingenious gentleman would end with his death. It tends to be claimed that Cervantes began this composition a few months after his return to Madrid, perhaps at the behest of Robles, but had to stop

[25] Cervantes, *Comedias y tragedias*, I, p. 12.
[26] Cervantes, *Comedias y tragedias*, I, p. 12.
[27] Cervantes, *Comedias y tragedias*, I, p. 13.
[28] Cervantes, *Viaje del Parnaso* . . . , p. 135.

working on it on several occasions in order to conclude the other works that he had underway. In the prologue to the *Novelas ejemplares*, written in 1612 and published in 1613, Cervantes informed his readers that they would see 'con brevedad dilatadas, las hazañas de don Quijote y donaires de Sancho Panza' ['very shortly the further exploits of Don Quixote and more quips from Sancho Panza'].[29] A year later, in Chapter 36, he dates a letter written by Sancho to his wife, Teresa, 20 June 1614. During the summer, in little more than two months, he writes no fewer than twenty-three chapters. It is at this juncture that the bookseller, Felipe Roberto, publishes, in Tarragona, the *Segundo tomo de las aventuras del ingenioso hidalgo Don Quixote de la Manch*a, written by the licentiate Alonso Fernández de Avellaneda from Tordesillas.

This was not the first time that a successful book had spawned imitations. In the sixteenth century, the *Celestina*, *Lazarillo de Tormes*, and Montemayor's *La Diana* had all inspired continuations with differing degrees of faithfulness to the original. More recently, Mateo Luján de Sayavedra had brought out a *Segunda parte del Guzmán de Alfarache* [*Second part of Guzmán de Alfarache*], while Mateo Alemán was working towards the conclusion of his own. This apocryphal *Quixote* was the product of fraud, evident from the use of a false printer's name and place of publication. What is more, 'Avellaneda' was nothing more than a mask, behind which was concealed an unknown person, whose name remains a mystery even today.

Some years ago, Martín de Riquer found a clue from a number of indications—habits of writing, errors and stylistic infelicities, repeated reference to the rosary—which pointed to Jerónimo de Pasamonte, a soldier and writer who seems to have inspired the character of the galley slave, Ginés de Pasamonte in I.32, and who turns into Maese Pedro, the famous puppeteer in Part II.[30] Jerónimo de Pasamonte from Aragon, runs the argument, would have served Lope de Vega with his pen in order to leave Cervantes high and dry. However, as the late Edward Riley pointed out, this hypothesis lacks the evidence necessary to support it.[31] Whoever wrote the novel, Avellaneda's prologue, attributed by some to Lope de Vega, caused Cervantes deep hurt. It attempted to bring him down a peg or two, inviting him to show more modesty, as well as mocking him for his age and accusing him, above all, of being 'más lengua que manos' ['all talk and no action']. It concluded thus: 'Conténtese con su *Galatea* y comedias en prosa, que eso son las más de sus Novelas: no nos canse' ['Be content with his *Galatea* and his plays in prose, because that's what most of his *novelas* are: let him put an end to his tiresome writing'].[32]

Cervantes responded to these accusations in a dignified manner in his Part II: first, in the prologue, he defended the loss of his hand, originating 'en la más alta ocasión que vieron los siglos pasados, los presentes, ni esperan ver los venideros' ['in the greatest battle that past or present ages have ever seen or that future ages can ever hope to see'];[33] then, within the story itself, he has Don Quixote flick through Avellaneda's book at an

[29] Cervantes, *Novelas ejemplares*, p. 20; *The Complete Exemplary Novels*, p. xxxiii.
[30] See Riquer, *Cervantes*, *Passamonte y Avellaneda*. [31] Riley, pp. 85–96.
[32] Fernández de Avellaneda, p. 8. [33] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, I, p. 673; *Don Quixote*, p. 483.

inn when he bumps into two of its readers who are disappointed by the nonsense they have just read. Finally, he incorporated into the plot of his own book one of the characters invented by the plagiarist—Don Álvaro Tarfe—giving him the opportunity to meet the true Don Quixote and learn that Avellaneda's hero was passing himself off as someone else. This last episode occurs just before the final real adventures of the knight. By January 1615, the last chapters of the book were complete, and at the end of October, the prologue and dedication to the Count of Lemos were also written. At the very end of November, the *Segunda Parte del Ingenioso Caballero Don Quixote de la Mancha, por Miguel de Cervantes, autor de su primera parte* was published; a second part 'cortada del mismo artífice y del mesmo paño que la primera' ['cut by the same craftsman and from the same cloth as the first one'], but in a story 'dilatado' ['prolonged'] with its new adventures, that is to say, extended, brought to its conclusion, and also expanded.[34] This was a second part that brought the novel to perfection, assuring it an immediate acclaim, one which has been confirmed by posterity.

An anecdote reproduced in his 'approval' of the novel by the licentiate Francisco Márquez Torres, one of the censors of Part II, provides evidence of the renown which Cervantes enjoyed beyond the Pyrenees. In February 1615, some French gentlemen who were accompanying the ambassador Sillery were sent to Spain to negotiate the union between Louis XIII and Anne of Austria. They received a visit from Cardinal Sandoval y Rojas, Cervantes's patron. On learning of the role that Márquez Torres was undertaking:

> Apenas oyeron el nombre de Miguel de Cervantes, cuando se comenzaron a hacer lenguas, encareciendo la estimación que así en Francia como en los reinos sus confinantes se tenía de sus obras: la *Galatea*, que alguno dellos tiene casi de memoria, la primera parte désta, y las *Novelas*.... Preguntáronme muy por menor de su edad, su profesión, calidad y cantidad. Halléme obligado a decir que era viejo, soldado, hidalgo y pobre.[35]
>
> [Hardly had they heard the name of Cervantes than they all began to speak at once, insisting on the esteem in which his works were held in France and its neighbouring realms: the *Galatea*, that one of them knows almost by heart; the first part of this work; and the *Novels*... They asked me in great detail about his age, his profession, his status and his prosperity. I had to let them know that he was old, a soldier, an *hidalgo* and poor.]

From this testimony, we cannot be certain about the financial situation of the writer. The notarial documents from this time that contain his signature demonstrate that he still had business interests. This fact causes us to question the supposed poverty, which has been taken literally up until now, but which might be, at least in part, a truism solemnly repeated by biographers.

[34] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, I, p. 677; *Don Quixote*, p. 486.

[35] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, I, p. 668.

Final Days and Death

In the last few months of his life, Cervantes dedicated his remaining strength to concluding another undertaking that he had begun much earlier, perhaps whilst in Andalusia, and that he had postponed for years. *Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda*, 'a northern story', took as its model the ancient Greek novel. The genre had been rediscovered by the Humanists in the Renaissance, who had adapted or translated into Spanish Heliodorus's *Aethiopica* and Achilles Tatius's *Leucippe and Clitophon*. These works allowed the imagination to open up by two different means—the unexpected and chance or surprise—to what Aristotle called in his theory of verisimilitude 'things that might happen'. After promising the *Persiles* year after year in the prologue to the *Novelas ejemplares*, *Viaje del Parnaso*, and the dedication to the second part of *Don Quixote*, Cervantes completed its composition four days before he died. It is his widow who hands over the manuscript to Villaroel, who would publish it posthumously in January of 1617.

On 18 April 1616, Cervantes is known to have been on his death bed, and he received the last rites. The unquenchable thirst to which he himself refers is probably a symptom of diabetes, a terminal illness in the period, and not the dropsy diagnosed by the student whom he met on his journey to Madrid, if we are to believe what Cervantes tells us in the prologue to the *Persiles*. The day after the last rites are administered, he takes advantage of a moment of relief to direct an admirable dedication to the Count of Lemos:

> Aquellas coplas antiguas, que fueron en su tiempo celebradas, que comienzan: «Puesto ya el pie en el estribo», quisiera yo no vinieran tan a pelo en esta mi epístola, porque casi con las mismas palabras la puedo comenzar, diciendo: «Puesto ya el pie en el estribo / Con las ansias de la muerte, / Gran señor, ésta te escribo». Ayer me dieron la Extremaunción, y hoy escribo ésta. El tiempo es breve, las ansias crecen, las esperanzas menguan, y con todo esto, llevo la vida sobre el deseo que tengo de vivir.
>
> [Those ancient verses that were once famous and that begin, 'With my foot now in the stirrup'. I wish they were not so relevant to my epistle for I can start it with almost the same words, saying, 'With my foot now in the stirrup / in the final torment of death, / my lord, I write you this'. Yesterday I received the last rites and today I am writing this letter. Time is short, the torment grows, hopes wane, and yet, I desire nothing more than to live.][36]

On 19 April he dictated in one attempt the prologue to the *Persiles*, and after bidding farewell to the student clad all in brown with whom he claims to have shared a journey, he concludes with words to the reader:

[36] Cervantes, *Los Trabajos*…, p. 11.

> Mi vida se va acabando y al paso de las efemérides de mis pulsos, que, a más tardar, acabarán su carrera este domingo, acabaré yo la de mi vida .... Adiós gracias; adiós donaires; adiós, regocijados amigos: que yo me voy muriendo, y deseando veros presto contentos en la otra vida.
>
> [My life is ebbing away, and at the rate my heart is beating it will have run its course by this Sunday at the latest, and with it the course of my life will be run... Farewell sweet things, farewell pleasures, farewell delightful friends, for I am slowly dying and hoping to see you before long, happy, in the next life.][37]

On Friday, 22 April, Miguel de Cervantes breathed his last. The next day, in the register of his parish, San Sebastián, his death is recorded as having occurred on Saturday 23 April, following the custom of the period of alluding only to the day of the funeral. This is the date that is remembered today and on which Book Day is celebrated annually in Spain. Cervantes was interred in the Trinitarian monastery, according to the rule of the Tertiaries, with his face exposed and dressed in the Franciscans' coarse wool. However, his remains were scattered at the end of the seventeenth century when the monastery was reconstructed and, in spite of very recent attempts to locate them, their discovery still cannot be claimed with any certainty, and his will is lost. There certainly remain the works of this 'raro inventor' ['unusual creator'], as he calls himself in the *Viaje del Parnaso*, whose *Don Quixote* turned him into a legend.

Works Cited

Astrana Marín, Luis. *Vida ejemplar y heroica de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra*, 7 vols. (Madrid: Instituto Editorial Reus, 1948–58).

Avalle-Arce, J.B., 'La captura de Cervantes'. *Boletín de la Real Academia Española*, XLVIII (1968): pp. 237–80; republished in *Nuevos deslindes cervantinos* (Ariel, Barcelona, 1975), pp. 277–333.

Byron, William. Cervantes*: A Biography* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1978).

Canavaggio, Jean. *Cervantes*, translated by J.R. Jones (New York: Norton, 1990).

Castro, Américo. *Cervantes y los casticismos españoles* (Barcelona: Alfaguara, 1967).

Cervantes, Miguel de. *Comedias y tragedias*, edited by Luis Gómez Canseco, 2 vols. (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 2015).

Cervantes, Miguel de. *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, edited by Francisco Rico, 2 vols. (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 2015).

Cervantes, Miguel de. *Don Quixote*, translated by John Rutherford (London: Penguin, 2000).

Cervantes, Miguel de. *Los trabajos de Persiles y Segismunda*, edited by Isabel Lozano-Renieblas and Laura Fernández (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 2017).

Cervantes, Miguel de. *Novelas ejemplares*, edited by Jorge García López (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 2013).

Cervantes, Miguel de. *The Complete Exemplary Novels*, edited by Barry Ife and Jonathan Thacker (Oxford: Aris and Phillips, 2013).

[37] Cervantes, *Los Trabajos*..., p. 14.

Cervantes, Miguel de. *Viaje del Parnaso y poesías sueltas*, edited by José Montero Reguera and Fernando Romo Feito (Madrid: Real Academia Española 2016).
Domínguez Ortiz, A. 'La España del *Quijote*'. In *Don Quijote de la Mancha* by Miguel de Cervantes, edited by Francisco Rico, vol. I (Barcelona: Instituto Cervantes, 1998).
Fernández de Avellaneda, Alonso. *Segunda Parte del ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha*, edited by Luis Gómez Canseco (Madrid: Anejos de la Real Academia Española, 2014).
Haedo, Diego de. *Topographía e historia general de Argel*, edited by de Ignacio Bauer and Landauer, 3 vols. (Madrid: Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles, 1927–9).
Lafuente Ferrari, E. *La novela ejemplar de los retratos de Cervantes* (Madrid: Dossat, 1948).
López Baralt, Luce. 'El tal de Shaibedraa (*Don Quijote* I, 40)'. *eHumanista/Cervantes* 2 (2013): pp. 404–26.
McCrory, Donald. *No Ordinary Man: The Life and Times of Miguel de Cervantes* (London, Peter Owen, 2002).
Predmore, Richard L. *Cervantes* (New York: Dodd, Mead, & Co., 1973).
Riley, E.C. '¿Quién era Pasamonte?'. In *Actas del III Congreso Internacional de la Asociación de Cervantistas*, edited by A. Bernat Vistarini (Palma de Mallorca: Universitat de les Illes Balears, 1998), pp. 85–96.
Riquer, M. de. *Cervantes en Barcelona* (Barcelona: Sirmio, 1989).
Riquer, M. de. *Cervantes, Passamonte y Avellaneda* (Barcelona: Sirmio, 1988).
Sliwa, K. *Documentos de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra* (Pamplona: Eunsa, 1999).
Sliwa, K. 'Semblanza documental de Miguel de Cervantes'. In *ReTrato de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra*, edited by Florencio Sevilla Arroyo (Guanajuato: Museo Iconográfico del *Quijote*, 2011), pp. 130–52.

CHAPTER 2

CERVANTES AND WARFARE

STACEY TRIPLETTE
University of Pittsburgh at Greensburg

Miguel de Cervantes travelled the Mediterranean as a professional soldier, fought in the battle of Lepanto in 1571, and endured five years in captivity in Algiers before he published his first literary work, the pastoral novel *La Galatea*, in 1585. References to warfare appear throughout Cervantes's literary production, serving as a metaphor, background, or interpolation, even in texts that concern themselves primarily with civilian life. Though Cervantes celebrates his personal career as a soldier, he subjects the theme of warfare more generally to the irony and distance with which he treats other cultural phenomena of early modern Spain. *La destrucción de Numancia* (*c.*1583) ponders the injustices of an ancient siege, bringing into question both the traditional Spanish identification with the doomed Celtiberian defenders and the justice of Spain's own imperial project, ideologically parallel to that of the Romans in the play. *Don Quixote*, Part I (1605) evokes the same issues with the addition of early modern technology, asking whether heroism and chivalric values have any place in the gunpowder-enabled warfare of the Golden Age. In turn, certain interpolated tales in *Don Quixote* and select *Novelas ejemplares* (1613) consider the civilian consequences of war. In all his texts, Cervantes expresses a concern for justice in military action. For the individual soldier, citizen, or knight-errant, personal heroism and correct behaviour appear to be possible, but on the scale of the nation, warfare leads inevitably to financial opportunism and human suffering.

War in Spain's mythic past: *La Numancia*

Cervantes's tragedy *La destrucción de Numancia* predates *Don Quixote* by two decades, but its treatment of warfare anticipates later meditations on the gap between military

and civilian life. In *La Numancia*, the suicide of an entire population is the needless consequence of an improperly conducted war. Cipión and the Romans fail to engage the Numantians in fair combat, and the apocalyptic result is no more gratifying to the conquerors than the conquered. The precise date of the first performance of *La Numancia* is unknown, but Alfredo Baras Escolá estimates it as between 1583 and 1585, approximately contemporary with the publication of *La Galatea*.[1] The play is based on the famous siege of the Celtiberian city of Numancia in 133 BC by Scipio Aemilianus. The events of Numancia had become legendary in Spain by the time Cervantes composed his tragedy, and as Aaron M. Kahn explains: 'The defence of Numancia and its inhabitants' final self-sacrifice to preserve their honour and their liberty against a foreign invader caused sixteenth-century Spaniards to admire and to relate themselves to their ancient forefathers.'[2] *La Numancia* represents both sides of the siege, beginning with Cipión's reform of his troops' behaviour and his plan to blockade the Numantians into submission. In the subsequent *jornadas*, the focus shifts to the interior of the city, where hunger and desperation rule. The virtuous Numantians choose murder-suicide as their end, with the men slaying their beloved wives and children before taking their own lives, but most of the violence takes place off stage. *La Numancia* is about the 'human consequences' of war, and the characters' suffering represents the 'loss of pure love' (Marandro and Lira) and 'the loss of friendship' (Marandro and Leoncio) on a civic scale.[3]

To a modern reader, Cipión's strategy of protracted blockade might seem sensible or even humane; the technique preserves Roman soldiers' lives, and the starving Numantians have the option to surrender. In the second *jornada* of the play, the Numantian Teóganes refers to his own group as 'varones esforzados' ['valiant men'] in contrast to the cowards on the Roman side:

> Tiénennos los romanos encerrados
> y con cobardes mañas nos destruyen;
> ni con matar muriendo no hay vengarnos
> ni podemos sin alas escaparnos.
>
> [The Romans have us closed in and destroy us with cowardly tricks; dying, we cannot avenge ourselves by killing nor without wings escape.][4]

In order to understand the Numantians' criticism of the Romans within the play as cowardly or unjust, one has to place *La Numancia*'s representation of warfare within both its classical and sixteenth century contexts. Though Cervantes is writing about an historical event, the way he does so is constrained by the models of ancient and early modern epic. Cervantes makes extensive reference to Virgil's *Aeneid* (*c.*19 BC), a privileged intertext for the representation of warfare in the early modern era. He does

[1] Baras Escolá, 'Estudio Preliminar', p. 15.

[2] Kahn, p. 179. For the identification of the Spain of Philip II with the Roman Empire; see also Dandelet, pp. 138–60.

[3] Kahn, p. 29.

[4] Cervantes, *Tragedia de Numancia*, ll. 537, 541–4. All translations from primary sources are my own unless otherwise noted.

not, however, cite Virgil exclusively in support of the project of empire; much of what David Quint observes about the representation of the 'losers' of classical epic is true of *La Numancia*. Marandro and Leoncio's doomed excursus into the Roman camp imitates Virgil's famous episode of Nisus and Euryalus, and the Duero's speech about the future of Iberia echoes Dido's dying prediction that a redeemer (Hannibal) will rise from her lineage to challenge the might of Rome. Lucan's *Pharsalia* (AD 65), an influential text for the Iberian context, is usually classified among the epics that align themselves with the defeated and is also a potential source for *La Numancia*.[5] What is most interesting about the use of epic in Cervantes's play is that the double identity of the Celtiberans in history—they are immediate losers but eventual winners—complicates the usual epic characterizations of victor and vanquished. Though the depiction of defeat in *La Numancia* provides what Quint would term 'a rival narrative of resistance coexisting alongside the triumphalist history', both winners and losers can be ideologically identified with Spain, complicating the issue.[6] The binary between winners and losers breaks down, as the play both praises Spain and criticizes the project of empire.

More modern representations of warfare might also have factored into *La Numancia*. Alonso de Ercilla's epic of conquest in the New World, *La Araucana* (1569–89), had broad appeal in Spain and was saved from destruction in the scrutiny of books in Don Quixote's library in I.6. Moreover, Cervantes might reasonably be thought to have drawn on two Italian chivalric epics, Matteo Boiardo's *Orlando Innamorato* (1483–95) and Ludovico Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* (1515); *Orlando Furioso* in particular garners many specific mentions in *Don Quixote*. Both *Orlando Innamorato* and *Orlando Furioso* feature the Saracen king Agramante's siege of Paris, and the protracted stalemate in these Italian texts might well have influenced Cervantes. As Michael Murrin explains, the siege had a special place in sixteenth century war writing.[7] While the siege was a frequent tactic in medieval as well as early modern military campaigns, medieval chivalric romance rarely represents sieges, as 'knights had little to do in a siege'.[8] In early modern Iberian texts, writers use various techniques to add interest to long sieges. Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo, arguably the most influential of Iberian chivalric writers, pulls individual characters out of the siege of Constantinople in *Las Sergas de Esplandián* (1505) for one-on-one duels. *La Araucana* contains a siege at Penco in which Mapuche attackers greatly outnumber Spanish defenders. Instead of depicting the chaotic movements of an army, Ercilla turns his narrative focus to the heroic actions of individuals.

La Numancia, however, presents a siege without relief; characters talk about Marandro and Leoncio's heroic sortie into the Roman camp, but the public does not see it. The play's tragic ending reinforces the sense of enclosure that permeates the entire work. Though the Romans make a show of offering clemency to the last Numantian survivor, Bariato, they may not be entirely trustworthy; the Romans may simply want a prisoner to serve as an example to other populations who resist. It would not be usual practice to show mercy to a vanquished population at the end of a long and costly siege. Writing about the campaigns of the medieval Iberian Reconquest, which would have been

[5] Quint, pp. 9–11; De Armas, pp. 246–58. [6] Quint, p. 9. [7] Murrin, p. 79.
[8] Murrin, p. 82.

familiar to Cervantes and his sixteenth-century public, Lomax explains that 'if the citizens of a Muslim town surrendered immediately, they would usually be allowed to stay there and keep their lives, religion, and property; if they surrendered during the siege they were allowed to depart with their lives and what they could carry; if they did not surrender and their city was stormed then they were either killed or enslaved'.[9] As a form of resistance to siege, however, mass suicide is difficult to understand or interpret.

The Numantians' defiant self-sacrifice indicates that they care about more than physical survival. They adhere to a code of honour, and the mode in which they express this value is essentially chivalric. According to Murrin, the war writers of early modern Europe, including Boiardo, Ariosto, Camões, and Ercilla, partook of military customs that descended from medieval chivalric romance. Notions of honour, especially for warriors, and especially for men, are closely related to the chivalric code. Chivalry emphasizes personal bravery and fairness in military encounters whether at the personal or collective level. Maurice Keen defines chivalry as an 'ethos in which martial, aristocratic, and Christian elements were fused together'.[10] Often described as an order analogous to religious orders, medieval chivalry had strict ties to notions of aristocracy and lineage and promoted a predictable set of virtues, including prowess, loyalty, generosity, courtesy, and frankness.[11] The medieval chivalric code established rules for fair engagement between opposing parties, emphasizing personal heroism [*esfuerzo*] and shunning any notion of fraud.[12] Chivalric fictions prefer one-on-one combat on conditions of equality. For just one example, when Amadís de Gaula, Don Quixote's idol, duels another knight, the battle progresses through recognizable stages. After a formal challenge, opponents proceed from a joust on horseback to fighting with swords on foot. If the sword of one or both parties breaks, the knights wrestle or trade blows with their fists. The duel ends only when one combatant dies, yields, or loses consciousness.[13] Such battles are ritual events, and in chivalric fictions, right makes might; a knight cannot prevail against an opponent whose moral cause is superior. Edwin Williamson refers to chivalric combat as 'a virtually automatic decoder of identities, motives, and spiritual states'; victory in battle points unerringly to the truth.[14]

In *La Numancia* a superior moral cause will not lead to victory, but the intervention of the chivalric code in the text nevertheless makes the Numantian defenders' actions more intelligible. When Numantian emissaries treat with the Romans early in the play, they attempt to negotiate a substitute for the siege in the form of an organized battle, essentially a chivalric duel among a defined group of combatants.[15] Romances of

[9] Lomax, p. 54. [10] Keen, p. 16. [11] Keen, p. 3.

[12] Iberian chivalric writer Feliciano de Silva makes the anti-fraud argument very clear; his anti-knight, an inveterate horse-stealer and trickster, is named Fraudador. See Silva.

[13] See Amadís de Gaula's ritual duel with Abies of Ireland for single combat that proceeds in the proper order under equal conditions: Rodríguez de Montalvo, *Amadís*, vol I, pp. 316–23. For the rules of chivalric combat as they are expressed in *Don Quixote*, see Triplette.

[14] Williamson, p. 44. [15] Cervantes, *Tragedia de Numancia*, ll. 267–79.

chivalry provide many examples of such arranged melees. When Cipión's party refuses, the Numantians accuse them of cowardice; chivalry prefers fair battles in which the strength of individuals rather than sheer numbers decides the outcome. The chivalric virtue *esfuerzo* appears twice in *La Numancia*, and both sides believe that they embody it. When Cipión forces his troops to lead abstemious lives, as the historical Scipio Aemilianus did, he argues that the physical force of an army must be accompanied by 'esfuerzo y cordura' ['valor and reason'].[16] Because the Romans will not fight, however, they cannot be considered to have *esfuerzo*. The personified España of the play calls the Romans 'tímidos', as opposed to the 'varones esforzados' of Numancia.[17] The Numantians ultimately express their valour as self-sacrifice, and in the terms of the play, Numantian suicide constitutes an ideological defeat for the Romans. The notion of the Roman victory as incomplete depends, at least in part, on the intervention of the chivalric code. Historical conquerors might not regard the death of an entire population as a loss, but in the play, the city's collective suicide negates any glory Cipión and the Romans might have earned as conquerors. In Emilie Bergmann's words, the Romans 'know they have won nothing' when they invade an empty city.[18] The Romans might have hoped to increase their own fame, but the play makes clear that all glory belongs to the vanquished. After killing his own children, the Numantian Teógenes boasts: 'ni el romano poderío / llevará de vosotros triunfo o palma' ['the Roman power / will not take from you the triumph or victor's palm'].[19] In chivalric texts, the reputation or fame characters gain from brave deeds is often just as important as those deeds in themselves; the victor's palm—here also a martyr's palm—is not a trivial concern. The death of the citizens is an embarrassment for Cipión, while the fame of the Numantians will live on 'en prosa y verso' ['in verse and prose'].[20]

In this text, a just war must be a fair war, with comparable numbers and without fraud. *La Numancia* may use ancient rather than modern military technology, but it nonetheless resonates with the military campaigns of Cervantes's own day. The text's praise for Spain may appear to support the ideological project of Spanish empire, but critics in recent years have emphasized *La Numancia*'s ambiguities. For Barbara Simerka, 'Spain itself is indeterminate, the sign which refers simultaneously to the morally victorious Numantians and to the decadent Roman Empire, its achievements in the early modern period shown to be both epic victories and tragic slaughters.'[21] Cervantes questions both the ideology of imperial conquest and Spain's relationship to that ideology in *La Numancia*, and in later texts, the subversive undertones of his representation of the institution of warfare become even more pronounced.

[16] Cervantes, *Tragedia de Numancia*, l. 101.
[17] Cervantes, *Tragedia de Numancia*, ll. 393, 537.
[18] Bergmann, p. 87.
[19] Cervantes, *Tragedia de Numancia*, l. 2075.
[20] Cervantes, *Tragedia de Numancia*, l. 2445.
[21] Simerka, p. 63.

Early Modern War

In the sixteenth century, armies in both the Mediterranean and the Americas encountered a technological revolution in the form of the widespread use of gunpowder. Though Europeans used gunpowder as early as the fourteenth century, it was not until the sixteenth century that it began to play a decisive role in military campaigns.[22] Bert Hall argues that the changes gunpowder brought corresponded with shifts in shifts in military techniques that date to the Middle Ages; infantry and missile weapons had become important long before the use of artillery or firearms became widespread.[23] By the sixteenth century, changes to the production of gunpowder and the weapons that used it made gunpowder warfare practical and relatively cost effective.[24]

Over time, gunpowder changed the character of military campaigns, resulting in longer sieges, larger armies, and a more democratic and extensive recruitment process.[25] Stephen Rupp explains that firearms brought with them tactics that required more soldiers than in previous eras: 'efficient use of small firearms depended on a disciplined order of fire, particularly the tactic of successive volleys that enabled parallel ranks of musketeers to fire, countermarch, load, and fire again as they advanced on the enemy'.[26] Armies turned to infantry from cavalry, recruiting common soldiers who were subject to new forms of training and from whom were expected alternate modes of heroism.[27] The collective, anonymous version of warfare gunpowder enabled in the sixteenth century was the antithesis of the chivalric values that continued to influence both cultural codes and literary texts.[28] For some writers, the era of gunpowder initiated a turn towards classical epic, with its heroic hand-to-hand combat, as a model for warfare, as opposed to the romance of chivalry, with its dependence on warriors on horseback. Others criticized the new tools of war. In his study of early modern epic, Michael Murrin finds that virtually all fifteenth- and sixteenth-century poets engaged in 'a negative critique of the gun'; they disliked the fact that deaths could occur almost at random and the weak could kill the strong.[29] Cervantes follows this trend.

Like the epic poet Alonso de Ercilla, Cervantes was an eyewitness to and participant in the wars of the Spanish Empire and the critiques of technology he undertakes in his literary works originate, at least in part, from personal experience. The young Cervantes left Madrid for Rome and enlisted in the Spanish army sometime between 1568 and 1572.[30] Scholars do not believe that he took part in campaigns in Cyprus (the setting for *El amante liberal*) but the fact that he fought at the sea battle of Lepanto in 1571 is beyond doubt.[31] The great Christian victory at Lepanto appeared at first to have 'few

[22] Hall, p. 41. [23] Hall, pp. 10–13.
[24] See Hall, pp. 67–104 for the adaptation of gunpowder and gunpowder weapons to the European context in the fifteenth century.
[25] Hale, pp. 47–8; Hall, pp. 216–19. [26] Rupp, p. 10. [27] Rupp, p. 12.
[28] Rupp, pp. 13–14. [29] Murrin, p. 123. [30] Canavaggio, p. 69. See also Rupp, p. 9.
[31] Canavaggio, p. 71.

consequences', but Fernand Braudel argues that the battle was the tipping point in the decline of Turkish supremacy in the Mediterranean.[32] Lepanto was fought at almost unprecedented scale: the Holy League, comprised of Catholic states in the Mediterranean including Spain and Venice, gathered a fleet of more than three hundred ships carrying at least eighty thousand personnel.[33] Cervantes served as a harquebusier [*arcabucero*] aboard the galley *La Marquesa* and received three harquebus wounds during the encounter, two minor ones to the chest and a major one to the left hand.[34] After Lepanto, he continued his military service, traveling, as Ruy Pérez de Viedma does in *Don Quixote*, to Navarino, Tunis, and the fortress of La Goleta, though he was not present during its fall. In 1575, on Cervantes's journey home to Spain, the renegade Arnaute Mamí captured his vessel, and he was taken to Algiers, where he was held captive for five years.[35] Cervantes mentions Arnaute Mamí briefly in *Don Quixote*, Part I, *La Galatea*, and *La española inglesa*; *Don Quixote* includes a metaliterary description of the author as a captive.[36]

Cervantes's writing contains extensive references to his career as a soldier, and he frequently features the galley, artillery, and the harquebus. Galleys are long, narrow warships with both sails and rows of oars. Their shape facilitates boarding, and artillery could be mounted on deck and used to disable enemy ships enough to permit a raiding party to cross over. The heavily armed Christian galleasses [*galeazas*] were one of the deciding factors for Christian victory at Lepanto.[37] Turnbull defines the galleass as a galley 'of double the usual size, higher built and with overhead protection for their oarsmen, and larger and more numerous guns in their bows'.[38] Battles took place near shore and were often amphibious. The goal was to capture enemy ships and their contents rather than to sink rival ships with cannon fire. Consequently, the naval strategies of such battles were transferrable to acts of piracy.[39]

Like the historical Cervantes, the soldier characters in his works are armed with the harquebus. Bert Hall describes the harquebus as a gun with 'a very long barrel . . . and a very small bore . . . Its breech was closed, making it a muzzleloader, and it was mounted on a stock that both supported the long barrel and projected a short way behind the breech, which allowed the user to hold it in a number of ways'.[40] The harquebus required a lock mechanism in order to ignite the gunpowder; many versions used a trigger that lowered a slow-burning match.

La española inglesa offers a glimpse of the matchlock mechanism in action, and, more generally, of the part small arms played in a sea battle. Deck-mounted artillery begins the encounter: 'Fuéronse entrando poco a poco, y de industria los dejó llegar Ricaredo hasta tenerlos a gusto de su artillería, la cual mandó disparar a tan buen tiempo, que con cinco balas dio en la mitad de una de las galeras, con tanta furia, que la abrió por medio

[32] Braudel, vol. 2, p. 1088. [33] Canavaggio, p. 73. [34] Canavaggio, pp. 73–7.
[35] Canavaggio, p. 100.
[36] Cervantes, *El ingenioso . . .*, vol. I, p. 496, n. 7; p. 486; Cervantes, *Novelas ejemplares*, vol. I, p. 254; Cervantes, *La Galatea*, p. 493.
[37] Braudel, vol. 2, p. 1102. [38] Turnbull, p. 101. [39] Murrin, pp. 179–80.
[40] Hall, p. 96.

toda' ['They drew closer little by little, and with manoeuvring Ricaredo allowed them to approach until he had them within range of his artillery, which he ordered to fire at such a precise moment that five cannon balls hit the centre of one of the galleys with so much force that it broke open in the middle.'][41] Ricaredo's party follows with *arcabucería*—harquebus fire—and soon overpowers the other ship. Once the Turkish combatants have perished, Ricaredo forms a boarding party: 'pasó con cincuenta arcabuceros a la nave portuguesa, todos alerta y con las cuerdas encendidas' ['he passed over to the Portuguese ship with fifty men armed with harquebuses, all of them alert and with their matches lit'].[42]

Most of the references to the harquebus in Cervantes concern the wound he received at Lepanto, which rendered his left hand unusable. In the prologue to *Don Quixote*, Part II (1615), Cervantes remarks on how ungenerous it was of Avellaneda, the author of the apocryphal second volume of *Don Quixote*, to mock him for his honourable disability: 'Lo que no he podido dejar de sentir es que me note de viejo y de manco, como si . . . mi manquedad hubiera nacido en alguna taberna, sino en la más alta ocasión que vieron los siglos pasados.'[43] ['What I do mind, however, is that he accuses me of being old and one-handed, as if . . . I had been wounded in some tavern and not at the greatest event ever seen in past or present times.'][44] In *Viaje del Parnaso*, the mythological Mercurio views the wound as a badge of honour, calling Cervantes a 'soldado / antiguo y valeroso / cual lo muestra / la mano de que estás estropeado' ['an experienced and valorous soldier, as your ruined hand shows'].[45] The prologue to *Novelas ejemplares* likewise cites the wound as a point of pride in a verbal portrait of the author: 'Perdió en la batalla naval de Lepanto la mano izquierda de un arcabuzazo, herida que, aunque fea, él la tiene por hermosa, por haberla cobrado en la más memorable y alta ocasión que vieron los pasados siglos.' ['He lost his left hand in the battle of Lepanto on account of a harquebus blast; he considers this ugly wound beautiful because he earned it in the greatest and most memorable encounter that has occurred during the past few centuries.'][46] The representation of the wound taken at Lepanto reflects the ambivalence with which Cervantes treats warfare more generally; it is at once something honourable and something ugly. While military action can bring about collective social good, the primary experience of warfare, both for soldiers and for citizens, is loss.

The Soldier and the Knight Errant

The questions Cervantes asks of the institution of warfare at the turn of the seventeenth century are the same as those he asks of the ancient siege at Numancia: what is a just war, and how should individuals behave when war is not just? In *Don Quixote*, Part I, the

[41] Cervantes, *Novelas ejemplares*, vol. I, p. 253.
[42] Cervantes, *Novelas ejemplares*, vol. I, p. 256.
[43] Cervantes, *El ingenioso . . .*, vol. II, p. 33.
[44] Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, p. 455.
[45] Cervantes, *Viaje del Parnaso*, I.211–13.
[46] Cervantes, *Novelas ejemplares*, vol. I, p. 51.

mad knight gives a speech on the relative merits of the professions of arms [*armas*] and letters [*letras*] to the assembled company of lovers, warriors, and ordinary folk at Juan Palomeque's inn. By the abstract terms *armas* and *letras*, Don Quixote designates the work of the professional soldier in the military campaigns of the Spanish Empire and that of the university-educated civil servant or *letrado*. Both career paths require sacrifices—effort, hunger, and poverty—but the risks are greater and the rewards less certain for those who choose the soldier's way. Don Quixote explains that all those who participate in these two touchstones of the emergent middle class in Golden Age Spain work, directly or indirectly, for the cause of justice. The purpose of the scholarly professional class is to 'poner en su punto la justicia distributiva y dar a cada uno lo que es suyo, entender y hacer que las buenas leyes se guarden' ['maintain distributive justice, and give each man what is his, and make certain that good laws are obeyed'].[47] Brian Brewer notes that the legal system of early modern Spain employed two different definitions of justice: 'distributive or geometric justice, which dealt with the proportional distribution of goods among the members of society, and commutative or arithmetic justice, which ensured the exact equality of the items exchanged in any contract'.[48] Distributive justice, Don Quixote's concern, adheres strictly to social hierarchy and works to repair damage to the status quo; it does not hold all citizens to be equal under the law.

The justice that military action can bring about, at least as it is invoked in *Don Quixote*, is a more absolute or universal justice; to paraphrase the mad knight, peace is the purpose of war.[49] Warfare establishes the institutions that bring order to the chaos of human life:

> Las leyes no se pueden sustentar sin [las armas] porque con las armas se defienden las repúblicas, se conservan los reinos, se guardan las ciudades, se aseguran los caminos, se despejan los mares de cosarios, y, finalmente, si por ellas no fuese, las repúblicas, los reinos, las monarquías, las ciudades, los caminos de mar y tierra estarían sujetos al rigor y a la confusión.
>
> [Laws cannot be sustained without arms, because with arms nations are defended, kingdoms maintained, cities defended, roads made secure, seas cleared of pirates; in short, if not for arms, nations, kingdoms, monarchies, cities, roads, and sea lanes would be subject to the hardship and confusion that war brings.][50]

Cervantes appears to support the military campaigns of the Spanish Empire with this passage, representing them as necessary violence. However, he combines this idealistic description with a portrait of the individual soldier's squalid existence:

> [N]o hay ninguno más pobre en la misma pobreza, porque está atendido a la miseria de su paga, que viene tarde o nunca, o a lo que garbeare por sus manos, con notable

[47] Cervantes, *El ingenioso*..., vol. I, p. 466; p. 329.
[48] Brewer, p. 11.
[49] Cervantes, *El ingenioso*..., vol. I, p. 466.
[50] Cervantes, *El ingenioso*..., vol. I, p. 469; pp. 331–2.

> peligro de su vida y de su conciencia. Y a veces suele ser su desnudez tanta, que un coleto acuchillado le sirve de gala y de camisa.
>
> [[N]o one in his poverty is as poor as he, for he depends on his miserable pay, which comes late or never, or on whatever he can steal with his own hands at great risk to his life and conscience. Sometimes he is so naked that a slashed and torn doublet is both uniform and shirt.][51]

Throughout Don Quixote's depiction of the soldier's life, idealism is at odds with reality, just as in Don Quixote's failed chivalric adventures. Chivalry and the chivalric code influence the arms and letters speech in several ways, and Don Quixote expresses a critique of early modern warfare that resembles that of the epic poets. Cervantes, like other early modern war writers, greets the technological shifts of the era and the social phenomena they enable with ambivalence. The professional soldiers of *Don Quixote* are poised at a transition point between the concept of military exercise as the proper occupation of the nobility and a new definition of the soldier as a paid worker motivated by a practical need to earn a living. The opening of the novel describes Don Quixote as a member of the lowest rank of a traditional noble class, 'un hidalgo de los de lanza en astillero, adarga antigua, rocín flaco y galgo corredor' ['one of those who has a lance and ancient shield on a shelf and keeps a skinny nag and a greyhound for racing'].[52] The trappings of warfare are part of the past of Don Quixote's family; the armour he finds so appropriate for his imagined profession as a knight-errant once belonged to his great-grandparents and presumably was used in traditional military campaigns in which the king called on the nobility to serve the greater good.[53] Warfare is what members of Don Quixote's social class were once supposed to do, but in the early modern context, Don Quixote the *hidalgo* is a ridiculous soldier, a relic from a time past.

The early modern warrior practices an occupation that has not quite caught up to his professional status; in turn, his notion of heroism has not caught up to early modern technology. Both the arms and letters speech and the captive's tale speak to the difficulty of performing brave and daring deeds in confusing, anonymous, large-scale battles. Don Quixote describes boarding an enemy ship in a heroic manner:

> Y si éste parece pequeño peligro, veamos si le iguala o hace ventajas el de embestirse dos galeras por las proas en mitad del mar espacioso, las cuales enclavijadas y trabadas, no le queda al soldado más espacio del que concede dos pies de tabla del espolón; y con todo esto, viendo que tiene delante de sí tantos ministros de la muerte que le amenazan cuantos cañones de artillería se asestan de la parte contraria, que no distan de su cuerpo una lanza, y viendo que al primer descuido de sus pies irá a visitar los profundos senos de Neptuno, y, con todo esto, con intrépido corazón, llevado de la honra que le incita, se pone a ser blanco de tanta arcabucería, y procura pasar por tan estrecho paso al bajel contrario.

[51] Cervantes, *El ingenioso* . . . , vol. I, p. 468; p. 331.
[52] Cervantes, *El ingenioso* . . . , vol. I, p. 69; p. 19.
[53] Cervantes, *El ingenioso* . . . , vol. I, p. 75.

> [And if this seems an insignificant danger, let us see if it is equalled or surpassed when the prows of two galleys collide in the middle of the wide sea, for when they lock and grapple, the soldier is left with no more than two feet of plank on the ram of the ship; despite this, seeing that he has in front of him as many ministers of death threatening him as there are artillery cannons aimed at him from the other side, only a lance's throw away, and seeing that at the first misstep he will visit the deep bosom of Neptune, despite this, with an intrepid heart, carried by the honour that urges him on, he makes himself the target of all their volleys and attempts to cross that narrow passage to the enemy vessel.][54]

The individual soldier would have to demonstrate *esfuerzo* in order to undertake such a task, but unlike a chivalric knight, he does not face a fair fight. The early modern soldier's enemies are not even personified in this passage; his enemies are technology and nature, the cannon and the sea. It is no coincidence that it is Don Quixote, the would-be knight, who calls the artillery and the harquebus 'endemionados instrumentos' ['diabolical instruments']; they make the individual heroism he longs for almost impossible in real military encounters.[55]

Civilian Consequences

As with Alonso de Ercilla, who disapproved in *La Araucana* of 'killing in cold blood', there is a curious pacifism to Cervantes's lightly fictionalized accounts of the soldier's profession.[56] Cervantes undercuts his characters' praise for military glory by weaving together stories of war and love. In Cervantes's novellas, personal and national narratives blend, and the texts emphasize the consequences of early modern warfare for civilian and family life. Military campaigns lead to crime and the commodification of human life, for civilians as well as soldiers. The interpolated tale *El curioso impertinente* from *Don Quixote*, Part I is a story about disasters in love, but it contains many references to war. War appears first as a metaphor for seduction. Curious husband Anselmo asks Lotario to make an assault on Camila's chastity, wishing to see 'si ella sale, como creo que saldrá, con la palma desta batalla' ['if she emerges, as I believe she will, triumphant from this battle'].[57] Lotario, protesting the experiment, argues that the equivalence Anselmo imagines between love and war is false; while war leads to 'honra, gloria, y provecho' ['honour, glory, and advantage'], testing a fragile woman can only result in shame.[58] Lotario is unfortunately correct. After his affair with Camila is discovered, Lotario flees into the soldier's life and dies in the 1503 battle of Cerignola. Lotario, whom the narrator describes as 'el tarde arrepentido' ['repentant too late'], appears to interpret service in

[54] Cervantes, *El ingenioso* . . . , vol. I, p. 470; p. 332.
[55] Cervantes, *El ingenioso* . . . , vol. I, p. 471; p. 333.
[56] Murrin, p. 212.
[57] Cervantes, *El ingenioso* . . . , vol. I, p. 403; p. 275.
[58] Cervantes, *El ingenioso* . . . , vol. I, p. 406; p. 378.

war as a form of penance.[59] Interestingly, in this particular battle, Spanish artillery played a decisive role.[60]

The story of the captive Ruy Pérez de Viedma, which directly follows the arms and letters speech in *Don* Quixote, likewise reworks contemporary military history. The captive was present both at Lepanto and La Goleta, and in his personality he brings together the ideals of chivalry and the profession of the modern soldier. Viedma is a model of reason, virtue, and compassion, and the reversals of fortune that comprise his story result in a happy conclusion. At the end of his tale he has found a wife, found and lost a fortune, and found his lost family, who have become wealthy enough to support him. The captive experiences both the glory and the suffering of war to an extraordinary degree. At the outset of a twenty-two-year military career, he embarks at Alicante for Genoa, travels to Milan and Flanders, and becomes part of Don Juan de Austria's force at Lepanto. During the tumult of battle, he is taken captive: 'aquél día, que fue para la cristianidad tan dichoso . . . yo sólo fui el desdichado' ['And that day, which was so fortunate for Christendom . . . I alone was unfortunate'].[61]

After Lepanto, Viedma is plunged into a world of slaves and renegades, a warfare-enabled system of human trafficking in which, as Cervantes states in *El amante liberal*, 'todo se vende y todo se compra' ['everything is for sale and everything can be bought'].[62] The captive's tale shares its detailed description of the bargaining over slaves and ransoms with *El amante liberal* and *La española inglesa*; every human life has a different price, and that price fluctuates according to market forces. Money enables the captive's escape. Zoraida, a beautiful Muslim woman who wants to convert to Christianity, offers Viedma gold for his ransom along with her hand in marriage. The Christian captives in the *baño*, the Algerian prison, buy a ship with the help of a renegade, and the captive steals Zoraida and her father from her house. The father's ill fate—to lose his fortune, his daughter, and potentially his life, as Zoraida is forced to abandon him on a deserted isle—indexes the human cost of war and the traffic in human flesh it has enabled. The money that was so important in bringing Zoraida and Viedma together is likewise lost, to French pirates, who seize upon their fellow Christians as a target of opportunity.

While a slave for renegade masters, Viedma rowed in Turkish galleys, providing labour in the dark underbelly of the maritime war machine. The role of the oarsman was even more marginal than that of the soldier in early modern Mediterranean maritime campaigns; most were slaves, convicts, or prisoners of war.[63] The heroic Viedma is not the only *galeote* in *Don Quixote*. On the road to Andalucía, Don Quixote meets a group of petty criminals on their way to row in the king's galleys. Among them is the famous *pícaro* Ginés de Pasamonte. His ten-year sentence is equivalent to a civil death; legally, he no longer exists. Moreover, this is not the heavily chained convict's first indentured service as an oarsman: 'Para servir a Dios y al rey, otra vez he estado cuatro años'

[59] Cervantes, *El ingenioso . . .*, vol. I, p. 446; p. 312.
[60] Cervantes, *El ingenioso . . .*, vol. I, p. 446, n. 23; Hall, p. 167.
[61] Cervantes, *El ingenioso . . .*, vol. I, p. 477; p. 377.
[62] Cervantes, *Novelas ejemplares*, vol. I, p. 141.
[63] Murrin, p. 180.

['to serve God and the king, I've already spent four years on the galleys'].[64] Here, as with other depictions of warfare, justice is the key issue. Don Quixote decides that the correct response to the prisoners is to free them because they are being sent to the king's galleys by force; though they soon turn on him, it does not necessarily follow that Quixote was incorrect.[65] Anthony Close traces the literary history of the *galeotes* episode, citing Miguel de Unamuno and Herman Melville among others who have interpreted Don Quixote's actions as an apotheosis of humane behaviour. Close notes, however, that the episode can also be read as a 'right-wing fable about the folly of doing good to the undeserving'.[66] Close argues that Don Quixote enacts 'justice of a humane, informal, commonsensical kind, which cuts through legalities and tempers harshness with mercy'; it must be said, however, that the question of what justice means remains in doubt for this particular episode.[67] Perhaps it is just to order Ginés de Pasamonte to expiate his sins by putting his life at risk, or perhaps rowing in the galleys is a cruel and unusual punishment, tantamount to a death sentence for petty crime.

Exemplary Warfare

In *Don Quixote* and in Cervantes's other literary works, acts of war are never simple or unambiguous in their meaning, not even in stories that end happily. Ruth El Saffar classifies the war tales among Cervantes's exemplary novels, *El amante liberal* and *La española inglesa*, as 'idealistic'.[68] Both novellas end in the triumph of true love and true religion, but like *Don Quixote*, they depict the Mediterranean cycle of war, imprisonment, and ransom. Of key importance to these stories are the ancillary social phenomena that develop in societies that engage in warfare with each other but whose citizens also interact on a personal level, whether through trade, friendship, or marriage. Multiple parties are involved in the conflict: the Protestant English, the Catholic Spaniards and Portuguese, the Ottoman Turks, and in the middle, the renegades of the Mediterranean and the secret Catholics of England, who attempt to exist between worlds but properly belong nowhere.[69]

In these two novellas, the power of money is stronger than the power of love or the power of blood, and every act of war results from financial motives. As with *Don Quixote*, historical military encounters provide inspiration. Caroll B. Johnson discusses the sack of Cádiz in 1596 as a source for *La española inglesa*; the plot turns around a captive Spanish girl whose trade value fluctuates with her beauty.[70] *El amante liberal*, which begins in Cyprus, 'follows corsairs, renegades, and captives along the contact zone between Christianity and Islam . . . mapping the Mediterranean in between'.[71] The two

[64] Cervantes, *El ingenioso . . .*, vol. I, pp. 271–2; p. 179.
[65] Cervantes, *El ingenioso . . .*, vol. I, p. 465. [66] Close, p. 23. [67] Close, p. 25.
[68] Saffar, pp. xii–xv. [69] For a description of renegades in Algiers, see Garcés, pp. 34–7.
[70] Johnson, pp. 154–60. [71] Fuchs, p. 63.

captive protagonists, Ricardo and Leonisa, come from Trapani, a city in Sicily known for its Ottoman sympathies, its salt industry, and its slave trade.[72] Cyprus, where the captives go to market, was itself long part of a contested zone; it passed into Muslim control in 1570, and many of its Christian inhabitants converted to Islam, as is dramatized with the character of Halima in *El amante liberal*.[73]

At the beginning of the story, Ricardo and Leonisa, both civilians, are caught between Muslim corsairs and Christian knights of Malta. In the tumult, they become slaves in Muslim hands. The depiction of piracy in *El amante liberal* reflects a historical context in which 'virtually the entire Mediterranean was an arena of conflict among warring civilizations, with piracy as one of the principal means by which it was carried out'.[74] Piracy affects civilians as well as soldiers, and as such, it is logical that it is the primary form of warfare in the exemplary novels, which feature women and other civilians prominently among their casts of characters.

The acts of war in *La española inglesa* are just as implicated with the trade in goods and people as those of *El amante liberal*, and they inhabit a grey area between national military activity and piracy. Cervantes explores the social consequences of the trade in human beings in *La española inglesa*; María Antonia Garcés characterizes the tale as an 'intense probing of the subject of captivity, where one captivity remits to another'.[75] In *La española inglesa*, Clotaldo, the father of male protagonist Ricaredo, is an English soldier of high status. He takes seven-year old Isabela captive in defiance of orders from his commanding officer; for Clotaldo the soldier, war is about spoils, not service to the monarch. Once Isabela is grown, she becomes a marker in a courtly status game: Clotaldo and his wife present her to Queen Elizabeth, and the queen, in a sense, ransoms her back to them. Elizabeth makes the captive girl part of her retinue and requires Clotaldo's son Ricaredo, who wishes to marry Isabela, to win her back through military exploits. Ricaredo's career as a soldier is less honourable than Ruy Pérez de Viedma's: he becomes a state-sanctioned *corsario* or privateer, and his only famous exploit involves the retaking of a Portuguese ship from Turkish corsairs. He keeps the Iberian goods, which in their turn originated from the Indies, kills the Turks and renegades, and allows the Catholics to return to their homes. Ricaredo frees the Iberians on account of his status as a secret Catholic; others alternately interpret his decision as magnanimity and weakness. Ricaredo's dubious status as both a soldier for the English crown and the captain of an actively raiding pirate vessel reflects the ideological conflict over the nature of piracy in the early modern Mediterranean. As Murrin explains, from the Iberian perspective, the fact that Ricaredo is an agent of his monarch does not exempt him from being a pirate: 'both the Spaniards and the Portuguese claimed monopolies on trade in their zones, monopolies that other powers never recognized. As a result, the Iberians considered anyone who violated their monopoly a pirate'.[76] Garcés calls piracy in this context 'tacit warfare'.[77]

[72] Johnson, pp. 129–30.
[73] Johnson, pp. 118–19.
[74] Cascardi, p. 191.
[75] Garcés, p. 243.
[76] Murrin, p. 154.
[77] Garcés, p. 29.

Cervantes exploits the slippage between soldier and pirate in this story, introducing an ideological ambiguity that has the potential to destabilize nationalistic discourses. Ricaredo is English, but he is also Catholic, and thus he has an important moral base in common with the Iberians to whom he shows mercy. Ricaredo eventually immigrates to Spain; the conclusion of the story finds him in Sevilla, claiming his bride Isabela just as she is about to take holy vows. Though it is possible to see the marriages that conclude *La española inglesa* and *El amante liberal* as a triumph of exemplary characters over the forces that separate them, it is also possible to read the finales of these novellas as a 'capitulation to the dominant forces of society', which El Saffar defines as marriage and nobility.[78]

When one considers *El amante liberal* and *La española inglesa* not just as stories of love but also as stories of war, the happy endings seem less promising, at least at the societal level. The problems of these stories are collective, but the solutions are individual. The suffering in *El amante liberal* and *La española inglesa* does not result from the characters' personalities, families, morality, individual religious faith, or any other private concern. The four protagonists, Ricardo, Ricaredo, Leonisa, and Isabela, are each so exemplary that they are almost characterless; they are near-interchangeable types of virtue. El Saffar notes that scholars have traditionally criticized these novellas for their lack of individual psychology, but I would argue that the generic nature of these stories' protagonists serves a distinct purpose within Cervantes's fiction.[79] As everymen and women, these virtuous types represent the collective suffering warfare brings to civilians and soldiers. All the forces that separate the protagonists are common concerns in the Mediterranean: sea battles, raids on cities, slave markets, shipwrecks, ransoms, intercultural contact, and cultural misunderstandings. Most of these phenomena are the consequences of warfare. Recompense for suffering in war only occurs at the level of the individual and the family, not the nation or region. Ricaredo and Isabela's union does not necessarily depict peace between England and Spain, and it does not even imagine peace between Protestants and Catholics. Leonisa and Ricardo, for their part, might begin the cycle of captivity again at any time, if pirates should return to Trapani. The miracle of these stories is not that good things eventually happen to good people, but that warfare has any positive consequences at all.

Even though certain exemplary novels have an undeniable redemptive current, the fact remains that warfare in the Mediterranean irrevocably changes the characters' lives, and not always for the good. All four characters are marked by their captivity. Isabela's relationship with her parents is forever estranged; at the end of the story, her letters to Clotaldo and his wife shows that she considers her captors her true parents.[80] Leonisa appears to assert her own will at the end of her story, but in fact Ricaredo's ostentatious public generosity to her may constrain her choices.[81] Ricaredo and Ricardo experience more material losses, and it is difficult to discern what their social status might be at the end of their tales. What is most disconcerting about these stories is that so many

[78] Saffar, p. 18. [79] Saffar, p. 139.
[80] Cervantes, *Novelas ejemplares*, vol. I, p. 274. [81] Cervantes, *Novelas ejemplares*, vol. I, p. 187.

others—less virtuous, perhaps, or simply less lucky—must have experienced war and captivity without redemption.

Conclusion

Cervantes's war writing spans his entire literary career. His works ponder both the ravages of war in the abstract, as in *La Numancia*, whose historical and symbolic overtones invite allegorical readings, and in the concrete, as in the tale of the captive Ruy Pérez de Viedma in *Don Quixote*, Part I, whose biography coincides so closely with Cervantes's own. In each of these works, Cervantes approaches the question of war with characteristic ambivalence. His concern for justice is evident throughout his depictions of armed conflict, but the texts never declare with certainty what justice means or whether it can be achieved in times of war. Present also are the horrors of war, whether overt, as in the scenes of starvation in *La Numancia*, or subtle, as in the hints at lost opportunity in the exemplary novels. The chivalric values Don Quixote holds dear—the defence of the weak and the fight against unfairness of all kinds—might seem to be a potential corrective for anonymous, gunpowder-enabled warfare, but they are ultimately a false hope, an idealistic fantasy better suited to the past than the future. The hope for redemption, if it can be found anywhere in a Mediterranean embroiled in war, exists in individual faith, virtue, and luck, not in values or actions that can be expressed at the societal level.

Works Cited

Baras Escolá, Alfredo. 'Estudio preliminar'. In *Tragedia de Numancia* by Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, edited by Baras Escolá (Zaragoza: Prensas Universitarias de Zaragoza, 2009), pp. 13–54.

Bergmann, Emilie. 'The Epic Vision of Cervantes's "*Numancia*"'. *Theatre Journal* 36 (1984): pp. 85–96.

Braudel, Fernand. *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, translated by Siân Reynolds, 2 vols. (New York: Harper & Row, 1972).

Brewer, Brian. 'From Conquest to Contract: Property, Justice, and the New Economic Empire in *Don Quijote*, Part One'. *Revista de Estudios Hispánicos* 48 (2014): pp. 3–24.

Canavaggio, Jean, *Cervantes*, translated by Mauro Armiño, 2nd ed. (Barcelona: Espasa-Calpe, 1997).

Cascardi, Anthony J. *Cervantes, Literature, and the Discourse of Politics* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012).

Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de. *Don Quixote*, translated by Edith Grossman (New York: Harper Collins, 2003).

Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de. *El ingenioso hidalgo don Quijote de la Mancha*, edited by L. A. Murillo, 2 vols. (Madrid: Castalia, 1978).

Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de. *La Galatea*, edited by Francisco López Estrada and María López García-Berdoy (Madrid: Cátedra, 1999).

Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de. *Novelas ejemplares*, edited by Harry Sieber, 2 vols. (Madrid: Cátedra, 2009).
Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de. *Tragedia de Numancia*, edited by Alfredo Baras Escolá (Zaragoza: Prensas Universitarias de Zaragoza, 2009).
Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de. *Viaje del Parnaso*, edited by Miguel Herrero García, revised by Abraham Madroñal (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2016).
Close, Anthony. 'The Liberation of the Galley Slaves and the Ethos of *Don Quijote* Part I'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 27, no. 1 (2007): pp. 7–30.
Dandelet, Thomas James. *The Renaissance of Empire in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Cambridge UP, 2014).
De Armas, Frederick. 'The Necromancy of Imitation: Lucan and Cervantes's *La Numancia*'. In *El Arte Nuevo de Estudiar Comedias: Literary Theory and Golden Age Spanish Drama*, edited by Barbara A. Simerka (Lewisburg: Bucknell UP, 1996), pp. 246–58.
Fuchs, Barbara. *Passing for Spain: Cervantes and the Fictions of Identity* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003).
Garcés, María Antonia. *Cervantes in Algiers: A Captive's Tale* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2002).
Hale, J.R. *War and Society in Renaissance Europe 1450–1620* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1985).
Hall, Bert S. *Weapons and Warfare in Renaissance Europe: Gunpowder, Technology, and Tactics* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1997).
Johnson, Carroll B. *Cervantes and the Material World* (Urbana-Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2000).
Kahn, Aaron M. *The Ambivalence of Imperial Discourse: Cervantes's* La Numancia *within the 'Lost Generation' of Spanish Drama (1570–90)* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2008).
Keen, Maurice. *Chivalry* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1984).
Lomax, Derek. *The Reconquest of Spain* (London: Longman, 1978).
Murrin, Michael. *History and Warfare in Renaissance Epic* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994).
Quint, David. *Epic and Empire: Politics and Generic Form from Virgil to Milton* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1992).
Rodríguez de Montalvo, Garci. *Amadís de Gaula*, edited by Juan Manuel Cacho Blecua, 2 vols. (Madrid: Cátedra, 1987).
Rupp, Stephen. *Heroic Forms: Cervantes and the Literature of War* (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 2014).
Saffar, Ruth S. El. *Beyond Fiction: The Recovery of the Feminine in the Novels of Cervantes* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984).
Silva, Feliciano de. *Florisel de Niquea: Cuarta parte, libros I y II* (Zaragoza: Pierres de la Floresta, 1568).
Simerka, Barbara A. ' "That the Rulers Should Sleep without Bad Dreams": Anti-Epic Discourse in *La Numancia* and *Arauco Domado*'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 18, no.1 (1998): pp. 46–70.
Triplette, Stacey. 'The Giants of Modernity from *Amadís* to *Don Quijote*'. *Bulletin of Spanish Studies* XCI (2014): pp. 819–45.
Turnbull, Stephen. *The Art of Renaissance Warfare* (London: Greenhill Books, 2006).
Williamson, Edwin. *The Half-Way House of Fiction: Don Quixote and Arthurian Romance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984).

CHAPTER 3

CERVANTES AND EMPIRE

FREDERICK A. DE ARMAS
University of Chicago

Born in 1547, at a time when Charles V was leader of the western world and ruled the largest empire ever known, Miguel de Cervantes would reflect on his imperial habitat and experiences throughout his works. Cervantes exhibits his pride at fighting for the Spanish Empire and foregrounds his role at the famous battle of Lepanto, a naval battle that saw western powers put a stop to Ottoman expansion in the Mediterranean, the second great empire of the period, with which they competed for control of the Mediterranean. At the same time, his works often problematize questions of empire, from specific tactics in war, to the morality of waging war against other Christian nations, to general questions of imperial expansionism. This essay will look at Cervantes's relations to empire in a chronological manner. Although some have sought to discover a more critical attitude starting somewhere between 1588 and 1596, this essay will point to a continuing wavering and ambiguity in his relations to empire, starting from his first substantial works in the early 1580s until his demise in 1616.

As Thomas J. Dandelet remarks, Charles V had 'the largest collection of kingdoms and territories that any European monarch had ruled since the time of Charlemagne' to which he added over time 'the Duchy of Milan (1535), the former Aztec Empire in Mexico (1520), and the former Inca Empire in Peru (1534)'.[1] Even before this happened, and as a way of announcing that he was breaking the bounds of past empires, Charles turned to mythology to express his desire for imperial expansion. Hercules, it was said, fashioned two rocks at the western end of the Mediterranean (called the Pillars of Hercules) as a warning (*Non plus ultra*) that no one should go beyond, that they should not enter the waters of Oceanus, filled with monsters and other perils. Charles responded with a new motto. A banderole would beckon the traveller or adventurer: *Plus ultra* or *Plus oultre*, go beyond.[2] It would be America—the land beyond—that would provide him with the gold for his wars of conquest.

[1] Dandelet, p. 75. [2] Rosenthal, p. 209.

As a child, Miguel de Cervantes would have been subjected to the artistic and literary representations of Charles as a ruler who revived and surpassed the greatest conquerors of the Roman Empire, albeit in a Christianized form. Indeed, the emperor paid very close attention to representations of himself, choosing Titian as his preferred painter and Leone Leoni for sculpture.[3] Antonio de Guevara would make him a new Marcus Aurelius; while others would see in his conquests a new Julius Caesar. His many Triumphs after decisive battles were classicized processions that closely imitated Roman entries.[4] As he grew up, Cervantes would then be subjected to similar praises heaped on Charles's successor, Philip II. Like his father, Philip cultivated the image of the emperor as successor to the ancient Romans. A new generation of writers from Pedro Mexía to Juan de Herrera and José Siguenza would praise Philip as a new Augustus and a new Constantine,[5] but he would also be depicted as a native Spaniard, as a new Cid or a new Bernardo del Carpio, as well as a descendant of the legendary Spanish kings: 'Tubal, Hispalo, and Hercules'.[6]

But Cervantes was not just subjected to the visions of empire as they were presented in his homeland. His travels to Italy, his experiences in wars against the Ottoman Empire, and then his five-year captivity in Algiers opened new perspectives for him. These three events reappear throughout his works. He spent much of his life 'desiring Italy', a desire often represented in his literary texts through allusion to the art, architecture, and culture of the Italian peninsula.[7] Throughout his literary works, Cervantes reminds his reader over and over again that he was a hero at Lepanto. However, some intuit even here Cervantes's well-known ambiguity and irony. Anthony J. Cascardi affirms:

> Cervantes's stated literary aim was to defeat the heroic romances, and yet he refers to the battle of Lepanto in the prologue to the *Exemplary Novels* (1613) with great pride—excessive pride, perhaps; his language bordering in hyperbole… The event seems mixed in Cervantes's memory with the same combination of admiration and irony that he associates with the romances of chivalry themselves.[8]

At twenty-eight, he was taken to Algiers where he would remain captive for almost five years. There is no question, as María Antonia Garcés states, that the trauma of captivity led him to rewrite many episodes in later life, and yet being unable to 'represent the truth of trauma' and thus inventing new plots and creating elaborate allegories and metaphors.[9]

[3] On Titian see Panofsky, p. 86 and De Armas, *Quixotic Frescoes*, pp. 117–33. On Leoni see Laguna, pp. 117–18.

[4] Dandelet, p. 107. [5] Dandelet, pp. 140–5; pp. 165–7; p. 173.

[6] Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero, p. 84. This critic also argues that an excess of Castilian pride instilled in Philip offended Aragonese and Catalan writers.

[7] De Armas, *Quixotic Frescoes*, p. 4. [8] Cascardi, '*Don Quixote*…, p. 71.

[9] Garcés, *Cervantes in Algiers*, pp. 160–1.

In spite of all the hardships, there is much that Cervantes would learn from his years in captivity, not the least, how the enemies of his empire lived. Algiers, according to Matthew Carr, 'had become something of a boomtown whose cosmopolitan population included Jews, Moriscos, Christian converts to Islam, and foreign adventurers from throughout Europe and even from the Americas'.[10] There, Cervantes would have witnessed how renegades were able to quickly climb in society, as opposed to Spain's closed society, which anxiously concealed any non-Christian ancestors. There, he would have seen how the language of trade held sway (along with lawless piracy). There, he would meet peoples from throughout the Mediterranean and even make friends with Italian writers.

Upon his return to Spain, Cervantes discovered that the glories of his military service were way in the past and that King Philip II was too busy annexing Portugal to care about yet one more petition. After a brief embassy to Oran, Cervantes had to find ways to make a living. But this did not prevent him from starting a literary career. Two of his earliest works are plays in which questions of empire are central: *El trato de Argel* and *La Numancia*. The love intrigue of the first, as Canavaggio asserts, 'is out of tune with the realistic episodes—involving the selling of slaves, apostatizing, ransom, cruelty, torture'.[11] This *comedia* thus combines personal experience of captivity with novelistic elements, creating a kind of fragmented work that reflects the decentring of the author as he writes from the space of the Other.[12] The novelistic elements also provide a 'happy ending' to an 'otherwise ghastly tale'.[13] There is a second happy ending that never comes to pass: the yearning for a Spanish fleet to come and take over Algiers. When some Moorish boys make fun of two Christian slaves telling them that Don Juan de Austria will never come to rescue them, one of the Christian slaves answers that Philip II himself will come as soon as he deals with the 'Lutherans' in Flanders. Cervantes's plea, heard through the voice of the captive, is never taken up by Philip II who seems to neglect the Mediterranean in favour of the Atlantic.[14] In spite of the play's crusading spirit and its propagandistic and testimonial nature,[15] there are cracks in the heroics of war. Aurelio critiques conquests, since the Spanish soldiers show themselves: 'codiciosos / más del rubio metal que de otra cosa'[16] [covetous / of the golden metal above all].[17] According to Stephen Rupp, Cervantes is already pointing to the decadence of the heroic: 'In bemoaning war's decline into mercantile exchange, Aurelio looks back to a remote Golden Age and also to a more recent period of heroic warfare.'[18] Is this also the greed unleashed by the gold coming from the Indies? Does Cervantes fault Philip II for diverting his attention to a more lucrative enterprise?

La Numancia, considered the best early modern Spanish tragedy, is an equally ambiguous and conflictive play in terms of empire. Here, Cervantes creates a myth of

[10] Carr, p. 122. [11] Canavaggio, p. 121.
[12] Domínguez, p. 6. [13] Garcés, *Cervantes in Algiers*, pp. 160–1.
[14] Braudel, vol. II, pp. 841–3. [15] Fernández, p. 14.
[16] Cervantes, *Teatro completo*, ll.1343–4.
[17] All translations into English are from the author of this chapter unless otherwise noted.
[18] Rupp, pp. 104–5.

origins for the Spanish Empire; the valiant defence but eventual fall of the city of Numancia to the Romans can be equated to the epic fall of Troy to the Greeks.[19] Both the Numantians and the Trojans go on to establish new empires: Spain and Rome. Cervantes portrays the two classic epic virtues, foregrounding one in each of the forces; the city's inhabitants exemplify *fortitudo* while Cipión and his army practice *sapientia*.[20] In spite of their valour, the Numantians will be overwhelmed by superior forces and a siege that strangles the city. The personification of the river Duero prophesies the fall of Numancia, but foresees a glorious future for Spain. Juan Bautista Avalle-Arce has claimed that this speech is concerned with the question of imperial *renovatio*. The ancient empire will be transformed into the Spanish Empire, which will gain its revenge through the sack of Rome in 1527 under Charles V.[21] The prophecy goes on to tell of the future union of Spain and Portugal under Philip II.

The foretelling, however, can be interpreted in different ways. After all, the Duero is actually telling what Proteus had prophesied, and Proteus is a very slippery figure. The many erased and distorted elements regarding the history of Spain (such as the absence of the Moorish invasion of Spain), question the truth of prophecy.[22] Aaron M. Kahn, who has studied the play from the point of view of moral opposition to Philip II in pre-Lopean drama, points to events that some may have considered tyrannical: 'In 1580, with the Portuguese throne vacant, he threatened to invade Portugal if he were not crowned their king, which sparked controversy in Catholic Europe . . . for considering waging war on a fellow Catholic country in a time when unity among Catholics was necessary to fend off heretics and infidels.'[23] In the prophecy by the river Duero we read: 'el jirón lusitano tan famoso, / que un tiempo se cortó de los vestidos / de la ilustre Castilla, ha de zurcirse / de nuevo'[24] ['the famed Lusitanian banner / that at one point was cut off from the dress / of illustrious Castile, should be sown back / anew']. Indeed: 'The image of Castile's torn dress which is now mended debases the endeavour and brings into question its heroic nature.'[25]

While borrowing from anti-Philip sentiment found in early plays, *La Numancia* also follows the structure of Aeschylus's *The Persians* where the defeated are the tragic heroes. Some critics believe that the Roman general Scipio is the tragic hero who intones a lament when he realizes that all the inhabitants of the city have killed themselves and destroyed their possessions so that the Romans would not be able to have a triumphal parade with the spoils of war.[26] Such triumphs were very much in fashion during the times of Charles V and Philip II. In emulating the Roman Empire, was Spain also going to be lamenting its fall? In looking at the siege of Numancia through the siege of Troy, in writing a foundation myth of the Spanish Empire through the Virgilian foundation myth of Rome, Cervantes is not only echoing the ancients so as to praise a bellicose and

[19] Johnson, '*La Numancia* . . .', p. 79. [20] De Armas, *Cervantes, Raphael*, . . . , pp. 97–115.
[21] Avalle-Arce, p. 59. [22] De Armas, *Cervantes, Raphael*, . . . , pp. 119–25.
[23] Kahn, p. 23. [24] Cervantes, *Teatro completo*, ll.517–20.
[25] De Armas, *Cervantes, Raphael*, . . . , p. 133. See also Moreno Hernández.
[26] De Armas, *Cervantes, Raphael*, . . . , pp. 77–96. On this controversy see also Lewis-Smith.

imperialistic agenda but he is also pointing to the foibles of his predecessors, and thus to the pitfalls of contemporary imperialism.

Cervantes's theatre was soon forgotten by an audience that became enthralled with Lope de Vega, who introduced major changes in the art of writing plays. Although Cervantes would publish eight plays never performed towards the end of his life, he slowly veers away from theatre. His first major work of prose fiction is *La Galatea* (1585), a pastoral romance that features the amorous feelings of Elicio and Erastro (best friends) for Galatea. A number of other love stories cluster around the main plot. For our purposes, what is most important here is the Prologue. Cervantes argues that he can still write eclogues since he is still young: 'apenas salido de los límites de la juventud, da licencia a semejantes ocupaciones' ['hardly passing the limits of youth, gives license for such occupations'].[27] Cervantes is thus announcing that his literary career will follow that of Virgil, beginning with eclogues, which should be written by the young. Such a career ends in epic, the sign of the mature poet.[28] This announcement of a literary career has at least two consequences; the first is that he commits himself to writing later in life a work related to epic, and the second that he accepts the political aspects of his own work. As David Quint has explained: 'The *Aeneid* had, in fact, decisively transformed epic for posterity… [into] a genre that was overtly political.'[29] Cervantes will include experiments that take up epic elements as early as *La Numancia*. He continues with an apprenticeship to epic in *Don Quixote*, and seeks to culminate his career with an epic in prose, *Persiles y Sigismunda*. Cervantes's preoccupation with the Spanish Empire thus makes epic (now written in prose) an ideal genre for him. His imperial concerns will find an echo in Virgil, whose hero, Aeneas, was claimed as ancestor for Charles V and Philip II.[30]

Two poems by Cervantes underline his positive attitude towards some of the wars of empire. The first one, written previous to the sailing of the Spanish Armada against England, 'Canción primera a la Armada Invencible' ['First Poem on the Invincible Armada'], is undoubtedly a poem in praise of the enterprise. For Cervantes, this is a just war that responds to English aggression, and Philip II is a new King David.[31] With the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588, the empire suffered such a total and unexpected loss that voices came together to praise their land at a time of catastrophe. In this poem, Cervantes uses the excuse of the storm that destroyed the fleet. At the same time he praises Philip as a new Moses and as the hand of justice that will destroy the Lutherans.[32] Thus, in expected triumph and in surprising loss, Cervantes backs his empire's expedition to England.

For Adrienne Martin, 'A la entrada del Duque de Medina en Cádiz' ['On the Entry of the Duke of Medina in Cadiz'] 'is the most accomplished among a group of sonnets that

[27] Cervantes, *La Galatea*, p. 156.

[28] For a detailed explanation of Cervantes's career in terms of Virgil, see De Armas, *Cervantes and*…

[29] Quint, *Epic and Empire*, p. 8.

[30] Tanner, pp. 119–45.

[31] Cervantes, *Poesías*, p. 182. Philip had already been likened to King David when he was acclaimed King of Portugal (Parker, p. 271).

[32] Cervantes, *Poesías*, p. 187.

satirize one of the darker moments in the history of Philip II's twilight reign'.[33] The English sacked the city with impunity, taking everything of value. They remained in the city for two weeks. Knowing what was happening, the Duke stayed away so as not to confront the enemy, and only came to Cadiz after they had withdrawn. Johnson calls the Duke 'a pompous and blundering coward'.[34] Cervantes certainly agrees in this brilliant burlesque sonnet. Of course, the butt of the satire is not the empire, but one of its military leaders who has failed to defend the Spanish lands. The poem also lashes out against soldiers who were not trained, armed, or prepared to fight. Exhibiting their plumes, these soldiers manifest 'their ridiculous ostentation and their impotence'.[35]

Jesús Botello asserts that the year 1598 represents a change in Cervantes's attitude toward the empire. Although I would emphasize a certain ambiguity from the very beginning of his writings, it is true that his criticisms become stronger and much more obvious at this point.[36] Indeed, the most damning view of empire, and particularly of Philip II, is found in the sonnet that Botello singles out: 'Al túmulo de Felipe II en Sevilla'. Written soon after the death of the monarch, it has as background a petty battle between the Inquisition and the Town's Council at the Cathedral.[37] The catafalque was immense, consisting of three levels with a fifteen-foot image of St Lawrence and a sixteen-foot obelisk on top, which exhibited an image of the phoenix on a bed of flames, symbolizing rebirth.[38] Myriad images covered this ephemeral architecture.[39] Since the catafalque remained at the Cathedral for a long time, many poets came to recite their verses, including Cervantes. In Cervantes's sonnet, a soldier expresses his stupefaction at the construction, using profanities and vulgar language. The sonnet's tremendous success and the fact that the lines 'fuese y no hubo nada' ['he left and there was nothing'][40] have become proverbial, show 'the immense lie that the tomb represented, the false sympathies that it inspired and the hypocrisy of the society that created it'.[41] And 'in the only allusion to the king, Cervantes insinuates that his soul, in an absurd act of arrogance, will abandon heaven to enjoy the flattery of his sumptuous, temporary, and fake tomb on earth'.[42]

We can view both the burlesque elements in Cervantes's poetry and the epic tone of some of his theatre as preludes to his masterpiece, *Don Quixote* (1605). To this mix we must add the romances of chivalry, immense and monstrous works that praised a bygone age of heroism but with roots in the epic. These romances, together with ancient epics, were used by monarchs such as Charles V and Philip II to inspire imperial expansionism. Lavish entertainments were put on in imitation of the romances, and the rulers claimed ancestry from ancient epic heroes, particularly Aeneas. We know, for example that Charles was most taken with the *Belianís de Grecia* [*Belianis of Greece*] (1545). His son Philip was able to see parts of the *Amadis* (1508) performed at the palace of Binche in

[33] Martín, p. 93. [34] Johnson, *Cervantes*…, p. 159.
[35] Martín, pp. 95–6; Cervantes, p. 198. [36] Botello, *Cervantes, Felipe II*…, pp. 85–9.
[37] Martín, p. 105. [38] Collado, pp. 113–19.
[39] For a brief description and analysis see Botello, *Cervantes, Felipe II*…, pp. 86–8.
[40] Cervantes, *Poesías*, pp. 203–4. [41] Martin, pp. 105–6. [42] Martín, p. 108.

the late 1540s, as he was presented to the court of Mary of Hungary, sister of Charles V.[43] Since Cervantes's novel is in part a parody of the romances, it also tends to parody imperial designs. While kings were able to put on amazing spectacles, Don Quixote would make a spectacle of himself, breaking his lance against a windmill or losing teeth to muleteers.

In the Prologue to *Don Quixote*, a friend comes to the aid of the befuddled 'author', suggesting that he include, among other adornments, allusions that he can annotate. Cervantes makes it appear as if many of the examples given by the friend are then inserted into the text. Names such as Cacus and Goliath will be found by the careful reader—but of course, the Prologue was written last, and these names were already present in the novel. One of the friend's functions is to alert us to the importance of allusion. As Carolyn Nadeau has explained, the six women listed in the Prologue are used in very interesting and complex ways in the novel, being metamorphosed into actual characters.[44] But these women come from specific authors: Antonio de Guevara, Homer, Ovid, and Virgil. The list immediately alerts us to their relation to empire. Let us recall that Guevara wrote most of his works for Charles V, 'for an already powerful monarch who needed the wisdom to know how to use his power'.[45] To accomplish this, he repeatedly utilized examples from Roman Emperors. Turning to the three classical writers, they are all known for their epic poems, all of which, in one way or another, dealt with empire. Thus, even though Cervantes asks that six women be included, they are all tied to empire. If we glance at the other allusions that the friend suggests, they all relate to the imperial.[46] To cite Cacus means to consider his foe, Hercules, said to be the founder of the Spanish monarchy and often associated with Iberia; to cite Goliath is to turn to David, a biblical king often used to laud Philip II; to cite Julius Caesar serves to remind the reader of Pero Mexía and all the writers who consider the Habsburgs as new Caesars; and to cite Alexander the Great means to evoke one of the great emperors of the past.[47]

The friend in the Prologue, then, insists on citations that are concerned with empire, thus foregrounding its importance in the text. Indeed, Don Quixote, from the start of the novel, wants to be more than a knight: 'Imaginábase el pobre ya coronado por el valor de su brazo, por lo menos del imperio de Trapisonda' ['The poor gentleman already imagined himself at least crowned Emperor of Trapisonda.'][48] Trapisonda or Trebizond is no mere exotic appellation. The Empire of Trebizond, whose capital was on the Black Sea, was one of the four parts into which the original Byzantine Empire was divided, and it survived the fall of Constantinople to the Ottoman Empire in 1453, becoming the last of the Greco-Christian Asian empires to be conquered by the Turks. Thus, Don Quixote wishes to be more than even emperor of the Byzantine Empire; he wishes to be emperor of the place that survived its fall. Here, Cervantes melds history with the romances of chivalry. In *La Trapesonda*, for example, Reinaldos de Montalván becomes king of

[43] Ruiz, p. 23. [44] Nadeau, p. 19. [45] Dandelet, p. 89.
[46] See Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, p. 13; *Don Quixote*, p. 18. [47] See De Armas, 'Vidas paralelas'.
[48] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, p. 31; p. 23.

Trebizond and must fight the moors.[49] This interest in Trebizond continues until the last vestiges of the popularity of the books of chivalry. A fragment of a chivalric manuscript from 1638 is called *Clarís de Trapisonda* [Clarís from Trebizond].[50] This interest in Trebizond is then a reflection of the nostalgia for a time when these were Christian lands. But in making Don Quixote into such a weak and imaginative figure, Cervantes's novel may be saying that such imperial aims are impossible and even laughable.

Cervantes's utilization of Alexander the Great, of the Byzantine Empire and the Roman Empire also serves to point to the notion of *translatio imperii*. Although there are many versions of the concept, writers envisioned the rise and fall of empires, starting in the east, and then moving to the west, that is, to Rome (a site that became the symbolic centre of the last empire).[51] If empire does not halt with the Virgilian image of an eternal Rome, and later with the Holy Roman Empire of Charlemagne and his followers, then Spain, being the westernmost European kingdom, might be heir to empire. Antonio de Nebrija expresses his concern that 'just as the decline of empires had led to linguistic corruption and oblivion, the same thing could happen to Spain if the cycle were to be repeated'.[52] His grammar would seek to halt any future *translatio*. But again, Don Quixote is a most awkward embodiment of this new empire. In order to sally forth, he dons 'unas armas que habían sido de sus bisabuelos, que tomadas de orín y llenas de moho, luengos siglos había que estaban puestas en un rincón' ['armour, which had been his great-great grandfather's, and being mouldy and rust-eaten, had lain by, many long years, forgotten in a corner'].[53] Since *Don Quixote* was published under Philip III, the grandson of Charles V, the old armour could well be pointing to that moment in time when knighthood was revived and when there was a dream of universal empire. *Don Quixote*, then, can be read through its playful or even subversive use of epic, one that links its main character to Charles V and to other imperial rulers of the past such as Alexander, Julius Caesar, Augustus, and Charlemagne.

Over the centuries, critics have debated whether *Don Quixote* is to be viewed as an embodiment of the deeds and imperial conceptions of Charles V or as a satire on this emperor's ideals—or even perhaps as a commentary of the decline of empire in the last years of Philip II and the reign of Philip III. In 1878, Díaz de Benjumea had already referred to critics of the previous century who claimed that Don Quixote 'era el retrato del alma española, la pintura de Carlos V' [was the portrait of the Spanish soul, the painting of Charles V].[54] Perhaps the most complete and engaging comparison of Charles and Don Quixote was elaborated by José Antonio Maravall. In the 1948 version of the book, he claims that Cervantes, as well as the protagonist, partook of a utopian imperial vision.[55] But years later, Maravall changed his view, demonstrating instead in 1991 how Cervantes's text is actually a critique of Don Quixote's utopianism.[56] One clue as to this critique of an imperial vision can be found in the fact that the first name ever

[49] Garza Merino, pp. 28–9.
[50] Eisenberg and Marín Pina, p. 460.
[51] Navarrete, p. 20.
[52] Navarrete, pp. 21–2.
[53] Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, p. 31; p. 23.
[54] Díaz de Benjumea, p. 124.
[55] Maravall, *El humanismo* . . . , p. ix.
[56] Maraval, *Utopia* . . . , p. 17.

given to the gentleman from La Mancha is 'Quijada' which means jaw.[57] Towards the end of the 1605 novel, Don Quixote brags that he descends from 'los valientes españoles Pedro Barba y Gutierre Quijada' ['those courageous Spaniards Pedro de Barba and Gutierre Quixada'].[58] This word is key to portraits of Charles V. Titian, who was chosen to paint him repeatedly, had a difficult time since 'we know that the ruler's extremely deformed jaw did not permit the upper and lower teeth to meet or the mouth to close'.[59] Titian solved this and other problems to the emperor's satisfaction. Cervantes, however, foregrounds the jaw to show how the knight's determination leads to failure and thus parodies representations of the emperor.

During the ten years that elapsed between the publication of Part I and the second part of *Don Quixote*, Cervantes published several works, of which the *Novelas ejemplares* is the most important. A collection of twelve lengthy novellas in the Italian manner, they are each one inventive and original. I will only discuss two of them. *El amante liberal* tells us much about the wars in the Mediterranean. Here the would-be lovers, Leonisa and Ricardo are tossed from island to island, starting out in Sicily and telling us much about the geography of the Mediterranean and its conflictive yet intertwined cultures. The novella has a striking beginning, with Ricardo meeting his old friend Mahamut, now a Sicilian renegade, in Cyprus. Ricardo's melancholy stems from his captivity and the loss of his beloved, but is reinforced by the ruins of Nicosia, once a Christian city now destroyed by the Turks. In a multicultural moment, the captive and the renegade profess their continued friendship—they were both born and raised in Sicily and had been friends since childhood. We are also surprised by the power held by the renegade, something that contrasts with a rigid hierarchical structure in Spain, and one that demeans the Other. More than that, Mahamut represents the opposite of the Orientalist view of the Turk (cruel, deceiving, lustful, and avaricious). While Muslims and Jews fight over the beauty of Leonisa, Mahamut, as the perfect friend, finds ways to rescue his friend and his beloved.[60] The Sicilian renegade becomes a go-between and a cultural broker, being able to move between two worlds, a porous space where Christians are disguised as Moors and vice versa.[61] There is, then, a certain degree of tolerance in this novella set right in the midst of the storm, the place of conflict where two empires are pitted against each other.

La española inglesa returns us one more time to the sack of Cadiz by the English, as we witnessed in an early poem. The sack is just as brutal and Spanish response just as weak. But once the English return home with a captive girl, Isabela, the whole action is transformed as she is raised in a home of secret Catholics. Isabela is raised with the family's son, Ricaredo, who at first loves her 'como si fuera su hermana' [as if she were his sister], and later asks her to become his wife.[62] But just then the queen, hearing about this Spanish-English woman, calls her to court. Cervantes inserts a curious astronomical description of Isabela precisely at the moment in the work when historicity gives way to anachronism. The real Queen Elizabeth is dead, and yet we are presented with two

[57] Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, p. 28; p. 21; De Armas, *Quixotic Frescoes*, p. 118.
[58] Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, p. 507; p. 438.
[59] Wethey, p. 19.
[60] Gil-Oslé, p. 7.
[61] Garcés, '"Alabado por…', pp. 427, 438.
[62] Cervantes, *Novelas ejemplares*, p. 219.

Isabelas, the queen and the captive, who mirror each other throughout the narrative, establishing what Carroll Johnson calls a 'reversibility' of images.[63] In a rather subtle way, Cervantes, in *La española inglesa*, is anticipating the modern alternate-world novels, which develop a 'what if' historical situation. This new queen, alive after the celestial conjunction of 1603, is a tolerant and sympathetic figure.[64] Thus, in the two novellas that we have viewed, Cervantes seems to envision a more tolerant world, one where reversibility and reciprocity might lead to peace.

Part II of Cervantes's novel, published only two years after the *Novelas ejemplares*, is a much darker continuation of his earlier text. Here, Don Quixote has lost most of his drive and imagination and is controlled by others who, having read Part I (and even the 'false' Part II by Avellaneda) seem intent on enjoying themselves at his expense. While the duke and duchess seem to be at first all that the knight would have wished for, aristocratic patrons to help him in his career (they do provide Sancho with the Isle of Barataria), they turn out to be something quite different. David Quint notes that they are 'representatives of a class habituated to exercising its power on the bodies of others'.[65] As part of their 'frivolity' they make Don Quixote and Sancho into 'toys'.[66] Henry Sullivan, who sees this episode as part of Quixote's purgatorial passage, labels their abode a 'theater of sadism'.[67] More to our point is Anthony J. Cascardi's assertion that this is a critique of aristocratic decadence.[68] This new world into which the knight enters becomes emblematic of a decadent society where imperial wars are of little concern, while its soldiers are but toys in a game that is watched with indolence and even cruelty. Perhaps it is not his defeat or his loss of Dulcinea that leads Don Quixote to return to his former self. The new world he faces may be too much to bear. Empire and its struggles have become a theatre, an entertainment, while prophecies of doom echo in the chambers of power.

Cervantes had one more work of fiction to write, one more step to take in order to become a Virgilian figure. Having written his eclogue and several apprenticeships to epic, he now turns to Heliodorus and the Greek novel to pen his final work, published posthumously in 1617. *Persiles y Sigismunda*, although a book about the perils of two lovers, is also an epic—commentators of the period came to recognize the Greek novel as epic in prose. These works rival the chivalric, rejecting all the accusations that were heaped on them. They may be encyclopaedic, but never monstrous. They hardly serve for pure political propaganda, since their matters are subtler. A careful look at Cervantes's intricate novel shows that it is about political rivalries and kingdoms in crisis. It is an epic in prose that deals with questions of the moment, such as the debate over 'barbarians', be they in the northern lands or in the Indies;[69] and it delves into 'what it meant to be an ideal ruler'.[70] In Book III we encounter the hermit Soldino who has

[63] Johnson, *Cervantes and*…, pp. 175–6.

[64] De Armas, 'Heretical…' , pp. 89–100. The alchemical images in the novella go hand in hand with the astrological in order to show a harmonious coming together (See Stoops).

[65] Quint, *Cervantes's Novel*…, p. 136. [66] González Echevarría, p. 258. [67] Sullivan, p. ix.

[68] Cascardi, *Cervantes, Literature*…, pp. 160, 171. [69] De Armas Wilson, p. 110.

[70] Armstrong-Roche, p. 13.

retired from active life after serving Emperor Charles V. He is versed in astrology and has a bent for the prophetic (predicting the victory at Lepanto). It is as if Cervantes, now looking at life from a more detached perspective, seeks to consider what is best for the empire, what kinds of rulers are needed, what kinds of ideas. He also seems to emphasize marriage as a way to further imperial ambitions over war. In many ways the novel is a summa of his wisdom, given gently, and in a more optimistic manner than in the second part of *Don Quixote*.

From the birth of empire in *Numancia* to the shocking and incisive words of his sonnet on the catafalque of Philip II; from his desire for a crusade against the pirates of the Barberry Coast in *El trato de Argel* to his image of an alternate world where a more benefic Queen Elizabeth can have commerce with Catholics; and from the witty and inspiring Part I of *Don Quixote*, which can even be read in terms of imperial determination, to the bleak outlook of Part II where people and soldiers are toys for a tired empire; Cervantes is constantly thinking of his own milieu and how to bring about transformation through fiction; how an imperial space can become less imperious and more inclusive.

Works Cited

Armstrong-Roche, Michael. *Cervantes's Epic Novel: Empire, Religion and the Dream of Life of Heroes in Persiles* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009).

Avalle-Arce, Juan Bautista. 'Poesía, historia, imperialism: *La Numancia*'. *Anuario de Letras* 2 (1962): pp. 55–75.

Botello, Jesús. Cervantes, *Felipe II y la España del Siglo de Oro*. Biblioteca Áurea Hispánica 111 (Madrid/Frankfurt, Iberoamericana/Vervuert, 2016).

Botello, Jesús. '*Don Quijote*, Felipe II y la tecnología de la escritura'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 29, no. 1 (2009): pp. 197–207.

Braudel, Ferdinand. *The Mediterranean: And the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, translated by Sian Reynolds, 2 vols. (Los Angeles and Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).

Canavaggio, Jean. *Cervantes*, translated by J. R. Jones (New York and London: W. W. Norton and Company, 1990).

Carr, Matthew. *Blood and Faith: The Purging of Muslim Spain* (New York and London: The New Press, 2009).

Cascardi, Anthony J. *Cervantes, Literature, and the Discourse of Politics* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012).

Cascardi, Anthony J. '*Don Quixote* and the Invention of the Novel'. In *The Cambridge Companion to Cervantes*, edited by Cascardi (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 58–79.

Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de. *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, edited by Francisco Rico (Madrid: Punto de Lectura, 2007).

Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de. *Don Quixote*, translated by Charles Jarvis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).

Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de. *La Galatea*, edited by Francisco López Estrada and María Teresa López García-Berdoy (Madrid: Cátedra, 1995).

Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de. *Novelas ejemplares*, edited by Jorge García López (Barcelona: Crítica, 2001).
Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de. *Poesías*, edited by Adrián J. Sáez (Madrid: Cátedra, 2016).
Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de. *Teatro completo*, edited by Florencio Sevilla Arroyo y Antonio Rey Hazas (Barcelona: Planeta, 1987).
Collado, Francisco Gerónimo. *Descripción Del Túmulo y Relación De Las Exequias Que Hizo La Ciudad De Sevilla En La Muerte Del Rey Don Felipe Segvndo*, edited by Francisco de Borja Palomo (Sevilla: Imp. de d. J. M. Geofrin, 1869).
Dandelet, Thomas James. *The Renaissance of Empire in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).
De Armas, Frederick A. 'Cervantes and the Virgilian Wheel: The Portrayal of a Literary Career'. In *European Literary Careers: The Author from Antiquity to the Renaissance*, edited by Patrick Cheney and De Armas (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002): pp. 268–85.
De Armas, Frederick A. *Cervantes, Raphael and the Classics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).
De Armas, Frederick A. 'Heretical Stars: The Politics of Astrology in Cervantes's *La Gitanilla* and *La española inglesa*'. In *Material and Symbolic Circulation between Spain and England, 1554–1604*, edited by Anne J. Cruz (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 89–100.
De Armas, Frederick A. *Quixotic Frescoes: Cervantes and Italian Renaissance Art* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006).
De Armas, Frederick A. 'Vidas Paralelas: Don Quijote y Alejandro Magno'. *Cuadernos Hispanoamericanos* 790 (2016): pp. 32–47.
De Armas Wilson, Diana. *Allegories of Love: Cervantes's* Persiles y Sigismunda (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991).
Díaz de Benjumea, don Nicolás. *La verdad sobre el Quijote* (Madrid: Gaspar, 1878; rppt Barcelona: Ediciones Rondas, 1986).
Domínguez, Julia. 'Los escenarios de la memoria: psicodrama en *El trato de Argel* de Cervantes'. *Bulletin of the Comediantes* 61, no. 1 (2009): pp. 1–24.
Eisenberg, Daniel and María Carmen Marín Pina. *Bibliografía de los libros de caballerías castellanos* (Zaragoza: Prensas Universitarias de Zaragoza, 2000).
Fernández, Enrique. '*Los tratos de Argel*: obra testimonial, denuncia política y literatura terapéutica'. *Cervantes*: *Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 20, no. 1 (2000): pp. 7–26.
Garcés, María Antonia. '"Alabado por sus acciones": Mahmud siciliano en *El amante liberal*'. *eHumanista/Cervantes* 2 (2013): 427–61.
Garcés, María Antonia. *Cervantes in Algiers: A Captive's Tale* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2002).
Garza Merino, Sonia. *La Trapesonda: Guía de lectura* (Alcalá de Henares: Centro de Estudios Cervantinos, 2002).
Gil-Oslé, Juan Pablo. 'Escipión, la amistad y la masculinidad cristiano-musulmana en *El amante liberal* de Cervantes'. In '*Novelar en lengua castellana': estudios sobre la novela corta del Siglo de Oro. Lejana: Revista Crítica de Narrativa Breve* 7 (2014): pp. 1–11.
Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero, José Luis. 'Felipe II, *Princeps Hispaniarum*: La castellanización de un príncipe Habsburgo (1527–47)'. *Manuscrits: Revista d'història moderna* (1998): pp. 65–85.
González Echevarría, Roberto. *Cervantes's* Don Quixote (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2015).
Johnson, Carroll B. *Cervantes and the Material World* (Urbana-Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2000).

Johnson, Carroll B. '*La Numancia* and the Structure of Cervantine Ambiguity'. *Ideologies and Literature* 3 (1980): pp. 74–94.
Kahn, Aaron M. *The Ambivalence of Imperial Discourse: Cervantes's* La Numancia *within the 'Lost Generation' of Spanish Drama (1570–90)* (New York: Peter Lang, 2008).
Laguna, Ana María G. *Cervantes and the Pictorial Imagination* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2009).
Lewis-Smith, Paul. 'Cervantes's *Numancia* as Tragedy and Tragicomedy'. *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 64 (1987): pp. 15–25.
Martín, Adrienne Laskier. *Cervantes and the Burlesque Sonnet* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991).
Maravall, José Antonio. *El humanismo de las armas en* Don Quijote (Madrid: Instituto de estudios Políticos, 1948).
Maravall, José Antonio. *Utopia and Counterutopia in the* Quijote, translated by Robert W. Felkel (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1991).
Moreno Hernández, Carlos. 'El "jirón lusitano" en *La Numancia*: Siglo de Oro e imperio católico'. *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 89, no. 1 (2012): pp. 15–30.
Nadeau, Carolyn A. *Women of the Prologue: Imitation, Myth and Magic in* Don Quixote*, I* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2002).
Navarrete, Ignacio. *Orphans of Petrarch: Poetry and Theory in the Spanish Renaissance* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1994).
Nebrija, Antonio de. *Gramática castellana*, edited by Pascual Galindo Romero and Luis Ortiz Muñoz (Madrid: Edición de la Junta Centenario, 1946).
Panofsky, Erwin. *Problems in Titian. Mostly Iconographic* (New York: New York University Press, 1969).
Parker, Geoffrey. *Imprudent King: A New Life of Philip II* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2014).
Quint, David. *Cervantes's Novel of Modern Times: A New Reading of* Don Quijote (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003).
Quint, David. *Epic and Empire: Politics and Generic Form from Virgil to Milton* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).
Rosenthal, E. '*Plus Ultra*, *Non plus Ultra*, and the Columnar Device of Emperor Charles V'. *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 34 (1971): pp. 204–28.
Ruiz, Teófilo F. *A King Travels: Festive Traditions in Late Medieval and Early Modern Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012).
Rupp, Stephen. *Cervantes and the Literature of War: Heroic Forms* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014).
Stoops, Rosa Maria. 'Elizabeth I of England As Mercurian Monarch in Miguel de Cervantes's *La española inglesa*'. *Bulletin of Spanish Studies* 88, no. 2 (2011): pp. 177–97.
Sullivan, Henry W. *Grotesque Purgatory: A Study of Cervantes's* Don Quijote*, Part II* (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press: 1996).
Tanner, Marie. *The Last Descendants of Aeneas: The Hapsburgs and the Mythic Image of the Emperor* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993).
Wethey, Harold. *The Paintings of Titian*, Vol 2. *The Portraits* (London: Phaidon, 1971).

CHAPTER 4

CAPTIVITY IN CERVANTES

MARÍA ANTONIA GARCÉS
Cornell University

Captivity: 'The worst evil a man can experience'

> Por la libertad, así como por la honra, se puede y se debe aventurar la vida, y, por el contrario, el cautiverio es el mayor mal que puede venir a los hombres.
>
> [In the case of freedom, as in the case of honour, one can and should risk life itself, and, on the contrary, captivity is the worst evil a man can experience.][1]

Don Quixote makes this assertion after leaving the palace of the duke and duchess, in the second part of Cervantes's masterpiece. Clearly, Don Quixote's words do not necessarily coincide with those of Cervantes, but in this case, their significance is striking. Cervantes's obsession with freedom and its opposite, captivity, evokes his long incarceration in Algiers (1575–80). In effect, the capture of the soldier Miguel de Cervantes by Barbary corsairs in 1575 and the five years he spent as a captive in Algiers left an indelible impression on his fiction. From the first works written after his liberation, such as his play *El trato de Argel* and his novel *La Galatea*, to his posthumous book *Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda*, the story of this traumatic experience continuously resonates throughout his work. The motif of captivity characterizes Cervantes's autobiographical narrative, *La historia del cautivo*, interpolated in *Don Quixote* I.39–41, as well as two of his novellas, *El amante liberal* and *La española inglesa*. Concurrently, his Barbary plays, such as *El trato de Argel*, mentioned earlier, *Los baños*

[1] Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, II.58.

de Argel, *El gallardo español*, and *La gran sultana* turn around the theme of captivity suffered by Christians in Ottoman territories during the early modern period.

Because the relationship between autobiography and fiction are central to the theme of captivity in Cervantes, this essay initially examines Cervantes's military career in the Mediterranean and his participation in the Battle of Lepanto (1571). At the same time, I explore the soldier's experience as a captive in Algiers and the way that this topic reappears in his fiction. Nevertheless, it is impossible to cover the colossal bibliography elicited by the subject of captivity in Cervantes. Rather than comprehensive, then, this chapter is illustrative of classic and current scholarship regarding this motif in the Spanish writer's fiction.

Lepanto: 'The Sea and Fire Were One'

In 1571, following the Ottoman conquest of Cyprus (1570), a Venetian territory in the Eastern Mediterranean, Pope Pius V steered the formation of a confederation of Christian states against Islam. The impressive armada of the Holy League, consisting of more than 300 ships and some 84,000 men aboard, confronted a large Ottoman fleet in the Gulf of Lepanto (Naupaktos) on 7 October 1571. As a harquebusier on the galley *Marquesa*, Cervantes fought valiantly in this battle. In spite of being sick with fever, he led a group of soldiers onto the launch emplacement, located at the front of the ship. An eyewitness states: 'the battle was so bloody and horrendous that it seemed that the sea and fire were one'.[2] During the repeated attacks of the enemy, the *Marquesa* suffered forty dead, including the captain, and 120 wounded. Cervantes received three harquebus wounds, two in the chest and a third one in his left hand. The Battle of Lepanto was the turning point in the war between the Ottoman and Habsburg Empires. The Christian allies obtained an overwhelming victory over the Turks, who lost 30,000 men dead or wounded and 8,000 prisoners.[3] Years later, Cervantes would refer to this battle as 'the most memorable and highest occasion that the past centuries saw and future centuries will ever see'.[4] After four years in military service, he decided to return to Spain, and after obtaining letters of recommendation from the Duke of Sessa and Don John of Austria, Cervantes sailed from Naples, in the galley *Sol*. Some days later, a terrible storm scattered the Spanish fleet, and on 26 September 1575, Barbary corsairs attacked the galley *Sol* along the Catalan coast, transporting the surviving passengers to Algiers.

Cervantes's military career thus coincided with a period of conflicts across the Mediterranean world, when the clashes between the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires reached their peak. Like hundreds of Spanish and Italian soldiers and travellers in the sixteenth century, Cervantes suffered the brutality of war in the Mediterranean and the vicissitudes of captivity in Barbary. The future author, however, would leave us a vivid

[2] Cited by Astrana Marín II, pp. 334–5. All translations throughout this essay are mine.
[3] On Lepanto, see Braudel, vol. II, pp. 1027–105; Rivero Rodríguez and Bicheno.
[4] Cervantes, Prólogo, *Novelas ejemplares*, vol. I, p. 51; *Exemplary Novels*, vol. I, p. 3.

literary testimony about such events.[5] Certainly, Cervantes's experience as a captive in the slave-prisons of Algiers, his relations with Muslims and renegades, and his encounters with different cultures and religions allowed him to examine these issues from a unique vantage point. As I have shown elsewhere, captivity was a life-changing experience for the writer.[6]

Captivity in Algiers

In 1575, when Cervantes arrived, Algiers was a prosperous urban centre of about 100,000 inhabitants, which held in its slave-prisons some 25,000 captives from every country in Europe. The city was a crossroads of civilizations, peopled by a sophisticated multicultural society consisting of Turks, Arabs, Berbers, Christian captives, Jews, exiled Moriscos, and renegades. Antonio de Sosa, a cleric and friend of Cervantes imprisoned in Algiers, states that around 1580, more than half of the inhabitants of Algiers were 'Turks by profession', that is, Christian converts to Islam.[7]

After his capture, Miguel fell into the hands of the Greek corsair Dali Mami, surnamed 'the Cripple', who demanded the exorbitant sum of five hundred gold escudos as the price of ransom. The letters of recommendation found on the Spaniard led his captors to believe that he was an important figure, worthy of a high ransom. The future author would always recall the image of his arrival in Algiers, with poignant words pronounced by Saavedra in *El trato de Argel*: 'When I arrived a captive, and saw this land, renowned in the world, whose bosom conceals . . . such a throng of pirates, I could not keep from crying'.[8]

The Algerians imprisoned Cervantes with other elite captives in the *bagnio* or slave-prison of the governor of Algiers. Because he did not have access to the sum of money set for his ransom, he attempted to escape four times during the period of his captivity. In January or February 1576, he tried to reach the Spanish garrison of Orán by walking through the wilderness with some friends. After their guide abandoned them, the fugitives had to return to Algiers, where Cervantes was beaten and put in chains.[9] A year later, he took fourteen Christian captives and hid them in a cave outside the city, where they spent some five months waiting for the arrival of a frigate from Mallorca. Yet a renegade betrayed them; armed guards then seized them and 'shackled Miguel de Cervantes', the organizer of the plot.[10]

In March 1578, he sent a letter to the governor of Orán, Don Martín de Córdoba, requesting his help to escape. Some spies, however, caught the messenger and returned him to Algiers, where Hasan Pasha ordered him impaled. Then in September 1579, Cervantes organized the escape of sixty Christian captives, who were to flee in an armed

[5] See Mas, vol. I, pp. 537–47. [6] Garcés, *Cervantes in Algiers*.
[7] Garcés, *Cervantes in Algiers*, pp. 31–2; Sosa, *Topography of Algiers*, pp. 125–7.
[8] Cervantes, *El trato de Argel*, I.396–9. [9] Cervantes, *Información* . . . , p. 50.
[10] Sosa, *Diálogo* . . . , pp. 178–81.

frigate secretly bought by friends. This time another captive betrayed them. After threatening Cervantes with execution, Hasan Pasha granted him life again, but incarcerated the captive in his own palace. A Spanish renegade called Morat Ra'is Maltrapillo is presumed to have intervened to save Cervantes's life.[11]

Through the great efforts of his family, complemented by funds collected by the Trinitarian Order, Cervantes obtained his ransom for 500 gold ducats on 19 September 1580. Devoted to the rescue of Christian captives in Muslim territories, this monastic order obtained funds from charities and the families of persons imprisoned in Barbary. At the time, Cervantes was thirty-three years old; he had spent almost ten years as a soldier in Philip II's armadas and as a captive in Algiers. Years later, through his spokesperson Ruy Pérez, the author evoked the taste of freedom: 'There is no happiness on earth to compare with recovering lost liberty.'[12] During his life, Cervantes testified several times about his captivity, such as in the *Información de Argel*, a notarized document composed in 1580 in Algiers. The most eloquent testimonies to this traumatic experience, however, are those embedded in his fiction.

Many critics have alluded to the marks left on Cervantes by his North African captivity. 'It was the most transcendental event in his spiritual career', affirmed Américo Castro, referring to this shattering experience.[13] Nevertheless, as Donald McCrory indicates, although his biographers consistently refer to Cervantes's confinement in Algiers, they generally do not delve into the subject: 'And yet for Cervantes, five years in a foreign gaol proved unforgettable. They left an indelible mark on his soul.'[14] Juan Goytisolo proposes that this event constitutes the fantastic vortex or whirlwind at the centre of Cervantes's fictions. My book *Cervantes in Algiers: A Captive's Tale* (2002, 2005) examines Cervantes's captivity in the Mediterranean city where he spent five years as a prisoner. I also explore the afterlife of his Algerian encounters in his fiction, from *La Galatea* to *Persiles*. Because the re-enactment of the traumatic experience in Cervantes generally 'produces an outburst of fantasy', I have suggested that the depictions of captivity in these works function both as an artistic testimony and as a stimulus for creation.[15]

El trato de Argel

As a playwright Cervantes 'was as experimental in his time as Brecht, Ionesco, or Arrabal' in the twentieth century.[16] His play *El trato de Argel*, also known as *Los tratos de Argel*, inaugurated Cervantes's career as a dramatist in 1583. The author initiated his new profession by returning to the city of Algiers, 'a universal haven for pirates and a shelter and refuge for thieves', as he calls the capital of privateering in *Persiles*.[17] As a testimony

[11] See Canavaggio, *Cervantes*, pp. 87–96; Garcés, *Cervantes in Algiers*, pp. 45–57; and Gracia, 51–79.
[12] Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, I.39. [13] Castro, p. 386. [14] McCrory, p. 9.
[15] Goytisolo, p. 60; Garcés, *Cervantes in Algiers*, p. 124.
[16] Wardropper, p. 158. [17] Cervantes, *Los trabajos*…, p. 334; *The Trials of Persiles*…, p. 247.

to the ordeals of captivity, *El trato* gave the Spanish public 'the first realist staging of the lives of captives'.[18] Antonio Rey Hazas proposes that both *El trato* and *Los baños de Argel* 'are the literary result of an inescapable vital experience, impossible to forget'.[19] Cervantes thus 'inaugurated a sort of mini-theatrical genre' that he himself improved and enriched.[20]

Testifying for the first time in Spain to the sufferings of Christian captives in Barbary, *El trato* represents 'a vivid, painful, and tragic account of the tortures of captivity in Algiers'.[21] Through his spokesperson Aurelio, Cervantes characterizes *El trato* as 'a reflection of life' in this North African city.[22] Evoking with precision the ordeals of Christian captives in Barbary—the corsair raids, the auctions of human beings, the tortures and tribulations endured by white slaves, the love affairs, apostasies, successful or failed escapes, and ransom—the play presents a vast tableau of captivity in Barbary. The vision of captivity that emerges in *El trato*, moreover, coincides with the historical and ethnographic data contained in *Topografía e historia natural de Argel* (1612), composed by Antonio de Sosa.

Yet Cervantes also superimposes various literary models on his Algerian reminiscences, particularly that of the Byzantine novel, the structure of which cements the plot of *El trato*. Beginning with this drama, most captivity plays by Cervantes present Spanish captives suffering from a double loss of freedom—that is, they are both imprisoned and in love.[23] Such characters are physically and emotionally captives, a formula that extends to *El amante liberal*. In these works, Cervantes includes love crossings between Moorish and Christian couples, taken from the Greek novel.

Among other effects of captivity, *El trato* portrays the temptation to apostatize and 'turn Turk', as well as the lure of sexual attraction to Muslim women. The character Leonardo, for instance, has become his mistress's lover, while Aurelio—a double of Cervantes—is enticed to sleep with his owner Zahara. Yet, the appearance of a Spaniard, significantly named Pedro, who has decided to apostatize albeit only in appearance to gain his liberty, is treated with great sympathy and compassion by Saavedra, who stands as another alter-ego of Cervantes.[24]

In fact, the playwright was the first to describe the tribulations that moved Christian captives to apostatize, as well as the appeal of Islam for the Christian population of Algiers. Recall that, in the 1570s, more than half of the inhabitants of the city were renegades. Called *Les chrétiens d'Allah* [Christians for Allah] by Bartolomé and Lucille Bennassar, most of these men, women, or children, born and brought up in the Christian faith, apostatized to acquire freedom and, often, financial rewards and social stability.

[18] Camamis, p. 53. For a notable bibliography on Cervantes's captivity plays, see Childers, '*El trato*…', pp. 207–18.

[19] Rey Hazas, 'Las comedias…', p. 34.

[20] Sevilla Arroyo and Rey Hazas, p. xi.

[21] Astrana Marín, vol. III, p. 32.

[22] While 'trato' means 'way of life', the term also appears in the play as '*trato feo*' [ugly traffic] (1.15), thus alluding to the central activity of Algiers, the commerce in human beings.

[23] Rey Hazas, 'Las comedias…', p. 45.

[24] Cervantes, *El trato de Argel*, IV.2142–55.

The number of these renegades apparently exceeded that of all the Moors, Turks, and Jews of Algiers.

El trato, moreover, puts forward an exaltation of Spanish national values. Spanish captives are the most valorous, the most faithful to Christianity, and the most daring when attempting to escape.[25] Not all Spaniards, however, show exemplary behaviour in this drama.[26] As mentioned earlier, the cynic character Pedro reveals his plans to apostatize in order to lead a better life, while other converts to Islam appear on the stage, such as the renegade Yusuf, an important member of Algerian society. In this sense, various critics have underscored the paradoxes of *El trato*, such as the repetitive contradictions between the defence and criticism of Christian orthodoxy.[27] Natalio Ohanna has highlighted the ideological ambiguities of *El trato*, which suggest a more complex representation of Algerian reality, particularly concerning Muslim-Christian relations and the methods used in Spain to punish apostasy. In fact, some characters reveal their intolerance of Muslims. Sebastián contrasts the 'just punishment' suffered by the Morisco Alicax, burnt alive in Valencia for embracing Islam, with the 'illicit' vengeance perpetrated on a Spanish priest in Algiers in retaliation for this death. In the play, Sebastián views Alicax's execution as morally correct, while the killing of the priest in Algiers is cruel and barbarous. The gory descriptions of these deaths, however, would imply a critical commentary regarding the penalties imposed by the Inquisition on Christian apostates.[28] The sufferings and deaths of Christian captives, dramatized by various scenes of *El trato*, turn this drama into a collective testimony of captivity.

La Galatea

In Cervantes, the reappearances of the captivity motif frequently recreate the author's own capture on the galley *Sol* and the storm associated with that event, a scene repeated across the writer's fiction. The recurrent tempest, with the ensuing corsair attack on a Spanish galleon and the dramatic capture of the passengers, appears first in *El trato de Argel*.[29] Another compelling testimonial passage comes from *La Galatea*, a pastoral novel published in 1585. Timbrio, a young man from Jeréz, recounts the horrible storm that interrupted his sea journey from Naples to Spain. In effect, a violent tempest descended upon his galley, and 'in the two days that the mistral lasted, we sped by all the islands on that course without being able to take shelter'.[30]

To be sure, the story of the ship swept out to sea by a violent storm recalls Cervantes's own crossing as he sailed from Naples to Barcelona in September 1575, a storm that led

[25] See Cervantes, *El trato de Argel*, IV. 2354–9.

[26] Sevilla Arroyo and Rey Hazas, pp. xxix–xxx.

[27] Castillo, '¿Ortodoxia cervantina?…'

[28] Cervantes, *El trato de Argel*, I.523–30; Ohanna, pp. 120–2. On the play's therapeutic aspects, see Fernández.

[29] For a discussion of these recurring scenes, see Garcés, *Cervantes in Algiers*, pp. 235–41.

[30] Cervantes, *Galatea*, pp. 484–5.

to his capture by Algerian corsairs. In *La Galatea*, however, the tempest sends the galley back to Gaeta, near Naples, where it is repaired. When Timbrio sails again, his ship encounters a squadron of fifteen Turkish-Algerian galliots. Again, the commander of the enemy fleet is Arnaut Mami—the same corsair who captured Cervantes. Timbrio sums up the combat: 'After the captain and nearly all the crew of the ship had been killed, after nine assaults, the Turks furiously boarded the ship.'[31]

Yet Timbrio's story in *La Galatea* has a fortunate ending, thanks to a second tempest that occurs after the corsair assault. Furious winds and enormous waves now crash against the Algerian galliots, scattering them over the sea and flooding the vessel carrying Timbrio and his captors. The next day, they find themselves near the coasts of Catalonia, where their ship crashes against the rocks and the captives are liberated. This is the very Catalan coast where Cervantes lost his freedom. Paradoxically, the Catalan armed guards who repel the enemy not only massacre most of the Turks, but also plunder the Christian captives.

The Captive's Tale

La historia del cautivo, interpolated in *Don Quixote*, I.39–41, offers an ideal venue for the study of the border between autobiography and fiction in the author's works. Narrated by Captain Ruy Pérez de Viedma, an alter ego of Cervantes, this tale describes the vicissitudes of captivity in Algiers, together with the story of the Algerian convert Zoraida, one of the most splendid Cervantine creations. Cervantes's story memorializes historical events that both inaugurated and closed his military career in the Mediterranean from 1571 to 1574.[32] This narrative, in fact, constitutes 'the first modern novel on captivity'.[33] As such, it transforms captivity—and the quest for freedom—into a novella of great beauty and complexity, which would inspire other writers after Cervantes. Introduced by the 'Discourse on Arms and Letters' delivered by Don Quixote at the inn in I.37–8, *The Captive's Tale* dramatizes this very discourse, as it illustrates the tribulations of the soldier, including captivity in Algiers. Significantly, the sudden arrival at the inn of a man recently released from captivity in Barbary and a mysterious veiled woman named Zoraida interrupts Don Quixote's discourse.

The Captive's Tale begins with a folkloric introduction, in which an old gentleman from the mountains of León divides his fortune among his three sons. The first-born Ruy Pérez embraces the career of arms and enlists in the army in 1567, following the Duke of Alba to Flanders. Nevertheless, in 1571, the soldier leaves Flanders in order to participate in the Mediterranean crusade 'against the common enemy, which is the

[31] Cervantes, *Galatea*, pp. 489–97.
[32] Garcés, *Cervantes in Algiers*, pp. 185–6. On autobiography, see Allen and Moner 'Du conte…'.
[33] Camamis, pp. 53–7.

Turk'.[34] The second part of the story relates the career of Captain Pérez de Viedma, who fought at Lepanto and was captured by the famous Calabrese corsair Uludj Ali as he fled from the battle. After toiling for years as a galley slave, Ruy Pérez ends up in Algiers as a captive of Hasan Pasha, recalling some of the true-life experiences of Cervantes.[35] Most importantly, Ruy Pérez's description of his incarceration in the prison compound introduces the mention of Cervantes's own name: 'Un soldado español llamado tal de Saavedra' ['A Spanish soldier called something de Saavedra'].[36] Cervantes thus emerges as a fantastic apparition in the *mise en scène* of his own captivity. In fact, the internal dates of the story suggest that the present telling of this tale takes place between 1589 and 1590. Given Cervantes's custom to indicate the date of composition in his fiction, critics have supposed that Cervantes wrote *The Captive's Tale* in 1589 and later included it in *Don Quixote*.[37]

The third section of *The Captive's Tale* recounts the story of the Moorish beauty Zoraida, her appearance at the window of the prison courtyard, and her escape with the captives from Algiers, thanks to her aid and the intervention of a Spanish renegade. This character evokes the historical Morat Ra'is Maltrapillo, a renegade who saved Cervantes's life in Algiers. Significantly, Zoraida makes her entrance into the story after the captive recalls the tortures that the ruler Hasan Pasha perpetrated upon his slaves: 'Every day he hanged someone, impaled another, cut off the ear of another.'[38] Her appearance, then, closes a narrative passage haunted by the repetition of the ominous phrase 'había de ser empalado' [he would be impaled]. The phrase not only evokes the appalling death of the Moor who was impaled for helping Cervantes in his third escape attempt, but also the former captive's terror at the prospect of being impaled himself. For this reason, I have suggested that Zoraida is the miraculous apparition that transforms this scene of death into a fantasy of escape.[39]

John J. Allen's article focuses on the similarities and differences between the captive's account and Cervantes's experiences as a soldier and captive in Algiers. The captive recounts these historical events with precision, praising the heroic defence of Tunis and La Goleta by its soldiers during the 1574 Turkish attack to these forts, and denouncing the Spanish state for abandoning them. His account is rigorously historical, down to the trench warfare employed by the Turks and the names of notable personages.[40] Through this tale, then, Cervantes bears witness to the deaths of these soldiers.

[34] Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, I.39. [35] Allen, pp. 149–55.

[36] Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, I.40; on the surname Saavedra, see Garcés, *Cervantes in Algiers*, pp. 187–95, 198–201; and 'Los avatares…'. On 'Shaibedraa'' as a nickname in Algerian Arabic, see López-Baralt.

[37] Allen, p. 151. Murillo proposes that Cervantes first redacted the story as an autonomous tale and then turned it into *Don Quixote*.

[38] Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, I.40. On the import of *The Captive's Tale* and the presence of Muslims in *Don Quixote* as an integral part of Iberia, see Childers, '*Don Quixote*', pp. 232–3; see also his bibliography, pp. 241–64.

[39] Garcés, *Cervantes in Algiers*, pp. 216–19; see also Garcés, 'Zoraida's Veil' and 'Cervantes's Veiled Woman'.

[40] Astrana Marín, vol. II, pp. 411–15; Oliver Asín; Garcés, *Cervantes in Algiers*, pp. 220–8. Mata Induráin studies the sonnets for the fallen soldiers of La Goleta.

Cervantes's story, then, offers a critical revision of the Mediterranean conflicts that followed the Christian triumph at Lepanto. Significantly, *The Captive's Tale* highlights the role played by the Spanish renegade who translates Zoraida's letters and organizes the fugitives' escape, beginning a trend in Cervantes apropos the sympathetic representation of these frontier-men who crossed political and religious lines. Indeed, Cervantes is the writer who best describes the phenomenon of the renegades in the sixteenth-century Mediterranean. The affectionate expression *nuestro renegado*, repeated seven times in *The Captive's Tale*, incarnates a new geopolitical vision that includes the renegade in the imagined communities of Cervantes's fictions. Along these lines, E. Michael Gerli has suggested that this tale is 'a plea for racial, cultural, and ideological tolerance' in response to the public debate on the Morisco question and their imminent expulsion.[41] Both the central role given to the renegade in the story, and the fictional marriage of the Muslim convert Zoraida to an Old Christian, constitute an appeal for cultural and religious tolerance at a painfully divisive time in Spain.

Los baños de Argel

Probably composed around 1608–10 and published in 1615, *Los baños de Argel* contains many of the same characters and plot elements as *El trato*, including a secondary plot from *The Captive's Tale*.[42] The central plot of *Baños* recounts the story of the captive Don Lope, ransomed by the gold of Zahara, a Moorish beauty eager to convert to Christianity—a variation of *The Captive's Tale*.[43] A thorough reading of *Baños* and other plays by Cervantes would suggest that Muslims—regardless of age, condition, or gender—are complex human beings, capable of being, like Christians, either dignified persons or despicable barbarians.[44]

As a refined re-elaboration of the experience of captivity, *Baños* bears witness to the creative reworking of these memories. In this drama, Cervantes deploys special theatrical effects intended to move the audience. *Baños* opens with a nocturnal assault perpetrated by Algerian corsairs on a coastal village of Spain, enabled by the Spanish renegade Yuzuf, who knows the territory well. Infused with epic grandeur, this scene stresses the confusion and desperation of the women, children, and old people torn from their country.

The presence of city walls and cliffs in *Baños*, as well as the clear stage directions, reveal Cervantes's keen interest in theatrical effects. Hence, the portrayal of life in the Algerian slave prisons becomes more spectacular in this play, as disclosed by the stage

[41] Gerli, pp. 42–3.

[42] On the dating of *Baños*, see Canavaggio, Introduction, pp. 35–9. Rey Hazas persuasively argues for a later composition of the play (1605) ('Cervantes se reescribe…', p 124).

[43] For a comparison of *Baños* and *The Captive's Tale*, see Fuchs, *Mimesis*…, pp. 158–63; Márquez Villanueva, *Personajes*…, pp. 92–102, 115–34; and Ruffinatto.

[44] Castillo, '¿Ortodoxia cervantina?…', p. 233; Márquez Villanueva, *Moros*…, p. 43.

directions: 'A Christian captive comes out running away from the guard, who comes after him beating him up'.[45] The captive is mortally ill, which elicits a wry comment from another slave: 'and when they see him dead, they say: "By Allah! The poor man was, in effect, sick!" '. The apotheosis of visual effects occurs with the martyrdom of Francisquito, a child captive who refuses to abandon his Christian faith and dies on stage from the tortures inflicted by his master.[46] The accumulation of sensational effects include the staging of exotic Algerian customs, such as the lavish wedding celebrated between Hajji Murad's daughter Zahara and sultan 'Abd al Malik of Morocco. These spectacular visual effects function as an integral part of the play, designed to move the spectators.[47]

Baños also includes an extraordinary scene of theatre within the theatre, a dramatic recourse used in other plays by Cervantes, such as *Pedro de Urdemalas*, and the interlude *El retablo de las maravillas*. In effect, the most remarkable scene of *Baños*, in Act III, is the staging, in the slave-houses of Algiers, of a pastoral play by Lope de Rueda, interpreted by some improvised actors (captives) for an audience of Spanish captives. The common condition of both spectators and actors—all experiencing captivity—unifies the two actions of the play within the play. Certainly, the buffooneries of the sacristan, which elicit the angry reactions of Cauralí, a corsair captain, enhance the melodramatic effects of the scene. Yet the tragic news of the death of various captives, killed by janissaries who thought that a Spanish fleet had arrived in Algiers, halt the pitiful comedy staged by prisoners.

Subversion of Stereotypes

Various critics have recently argued for the presence in this drama of a greater tolerance of ethnic and religious others, including alternative models of human interaction to that imposed by Counterreformation ideology.[48] As Márquez Villanueva suggests, the great lessons of Cervantes's Barbary plays do not reside in their autobiographical focus, nor in their support of Habsburg ideology, but in their subversion of stereotypes and illustration of the pacific cohabitation of diverse peoples.[49] Likewise, Albert Mas stressed the courteous interactions between Muslims and Christian in *Baños* and other plays by Cervantes.[50] For instance, when Cauralí arrives at the scene of the *comedia* played by captives, Don Fernando addresses him as *fende*, that is, *sir*. The corsair, in turn, asks the captives to relax in his presence. Indeed, the exchanges between Muslims and Christian captives are always polite; in contrast, the senseless fanaticism and hatred against Jews embodied by the captive sexton would represent a personification of the most

[45] Cervantes, *Los baños de Argel*, I.35.
[46] Cervantes, *Los baños de Argel* I.297–302; III.254.
[47] See Garcés, *Cervantes in Algiers*, pp. 209–10, and 'Staging Captivity'.
[48] Castillo, 'Agi Morato's Garden…', p. 40. Among the critics who view a greater tolerance in the play, see Anderson, Irigoyen-García ('La música…' and 'Moriscos…'), and Zimic, *Los cuentos*….
[49] Márquez Villanueva, *Moros*…, p. 44; see also Canavaggio, *Cervantes*, p. 74.
[50] Mas, vol. I, pp. 322–9.

deplorable and un-Christian aspects of Spanish life, which Cervantes censures in other works.[51]

Other scholars have focused on the play's complexities and contradictions, such as 'the intriguing mix of Christian fervour and humanist scepticism' that characterizes *Baños*.[52] While Francisquito, who dies on stage, exemplifies the strongest version of Christian identity in this drama, his father's desire to see him expire as a martyr rather than convert to Islam, and his refusal to let his child lie down to die so that he will resemble Christ on the cross, introduce disturbing notes in Cervantes's drama. Significantly, the character most closely connected to the Church is the sexton Tristán, mentioned earlier, who tortures the Jews of Algiers. Described by a critic as 'cowardly, inconstant, self-centred, and greedy', the sexton is also lax in his faith and patriotism. The Jew, instead, is a firm believer who shows great dignity in the face of injustices.[53] Then again, as an image of a *galán* [ladies' man], the figure of Don Lope—a superficial character given to gallantries and verbal excesses—would function as a parody of his double Ruy Pérez in *The Captive's Tale*.[54] Meregalli thus suggested that the pompous figure of Don Lope could be an allusion to Lope de Vega.

Yet *Baños* also exemplifies a Manichean view of Christian-Muslim relations. These include the array of Christian renegades represented in this drama, such as the disloyal Ysuf—surely a Morisco expelled from Spain—who directs raids on his former homeland, along with the repentant Hazén, who kills the traitor and later dies for his crime. Throughout his work, Cervantes offers a complete typological panorama of renegades, from the virulent defector, the indecisive convert, the opportunistic turncoat, to the repentant apostate. Critics have noted the author's fascination with these ambiguous figures, who lived in the in-between, partaking of various cultures at a time.[55] In Algiers, Cervantes confronted political and religious defection, which included the thorny issues of shifting beliefs and identities. Evidently, the limit situation of captivity, when life and liberty were at stake, often turned captives into informers on their fellow prisoners or into deceitful converts.[56] Yet, in contrast with its dichotomous views of Christian-Muslim relations, *Baños* offers accurate portrayals of the religious freedom that Muslims allowed their Christian captives in Algiers, such as the celebration of Mass and the performance of an Easter play inside the prison.

In addition, the episodic plurality of the play—and the fact that it has various protagonists and more than one climax—has perplexed more than one reader. The diverse perspectives and multiple characters crisscrossing the stage would refer, then, to a

[51] Castro, p. 91; Zimic, *El teatro de Cervantes*, p. 140–3. On the sexton as a buffoon, see Canavaggio, 'Lo cómico…' and *Retornos a Cervantes*.

[52] Fuchs and Ilika, p. xxiv.

[53] Kanellos, pp. 49–50; Zimic, *El teatro de Cervantes*, p. 143–4. Casalduero, Friedman, Meregalli, and Rey Hazas ('Las comedias…') believe that Cervantes added these anti-Semitic scenes in order to please his audience.

[54] Meregalli, pp. 667–8.

[55] Canavaggio, *Cervantes*, p. 89; Garcés, *Cervantes in Algiers*, p. 57–9; and 'Grande amigo…'.

[56] Bunes Ibarra, p. 149.

common predicament, not to the threads of a unique plot, as in Lope.[57] Along these lines, Friedman has suggested that Cervantes achieves unity in his plays not around 'a single action but through parallel events (or episodes) which form a conceptual unity'.[58] It follows that unity in *Baños* would lie in its subject matter rather than in its plot. Mauricio Doménici proposes, in this sense, that the general subject of the play would be the struggle for freedom or the liberation from oppression, a quest that defines the actions of the key characters: Francisquito and Zahara.[59] While the child-captive embodies a heroic resistance to a forceful conversion to Islam and being the sexual object of the Cadi, Zahara is a symbolic captive since she is a secret Christian. Connected by the subject matter of the play, they exemplify the struggle for freedom. Concerning captivity, moreover, Cervantes's theatrical reflections focus on the diversity of human behaviour when faced with limit situations.

Traitors to the Faith and Fatherland

Along these lines, recall that theatre in Spain served as a medium for ideological control of society.[60] The State and Church not only officially condemned apostasy, but also enforced a view of renegades as traitors to the faith and fatherland, a view that spilled into the theatre. Yet religious and cross-cultural defections were customary in the early modern Mediterranean. Moreover, Christians who 'turned Turk' often did not sever ties with their past in Christian Europe, including their faith.[61] The clandestine political openness of the Habsburg secret services, which regularly reached out to Christian renegades across the Mediterranean, radically contrasted with the Inquisition's stand on conversions to Islam. Spanish theatre, then, usually portrayed renegades as double traitors, such as in Lope. In contrast, Cervantes throughout his work does not generally represent renegades as infamous figures, but rather as ambiguous yet dignified characters who deserve understanding. The value of *Baños*, then, would lie in the confrontation of the varied points of view that configure both the play and the lives of captives and renegades in Algiers.

El gallardo español

This play dramatizes the terrible siege of Orán and Mers-el-Kebir between April and June 1563 by Hasan Pasha, the son of Barbarossa (*c*.1517–70).[62] Cervantes's drama also alludes to various historical personages who valiantly defended these forts, such as Don

[57] Canavaggio, *Retornos a Cervantes*, p. 108–9.
[58] Friedman, p. 21.
[59] Doménici, pp. 63–70. I follow Doménici's reading in this paragraph.
[60] Lucía Megías, p. 180.
[61] On renegades, see Graf; on Cervantes and renegades, see Garcés, 'Grande amigo mío…'.
[62] On the siege of Orán, see Braudel, vol. II, pp. 995–9.

Alonso de Córdoba, II Count of Alcaudete, and his brother, Don Martín de Córdoba, who succeeded him as military governor of Orán. We must remember that, after his repatriation in 1581, Cervantes travelled to Orán on a secret mission accomplished for Philip II.[63] This North African *presidio* (citadel) had become Spain's new frontier in the Crusade against Islam. *El gallardo español* portrays life in this citadel, where soldiers suffered incredible hardships, since payments were always late, and food was scarce. Defecting to Islam was common in these presidios, also used as sites of deportation for Iberian aristocrats punished for their crimes.[64]

Probably composed between 1597 and 1606, Cervantes's play depicts life at the presidio of Orán, defended by a meagre military garrison. The author demonstrates his familiarity with the topography of the site, down to the names of the forts—Almaxar, San Miguel, Mers-el-Kebir—and surrounding cities and villages. Act III represents the siege of Orán with much movement and spectacular staging. In spite of the stage directions, which state that the dead must fall inside the 'dressing room', Cervantes offers a colourful description of war in the North-African presidios, including a striking vision of the immense armies that circled Orán by land and sea in 1563.[65]

Yet the frontier setting and intrigue of Cervantes's play evoke the chivalric adventures and Moorish ballads that close the first part of Pérez de Hita's *Guerras civiles de Granada*, with their strong idealism, proud heroines, sentimental Moors, and heroic knights. The hero of Cervantes's play, Don Fernando de Saavedra, is also conspicuously reminiscent in both name and exploits of the valiant captive Sayavedra of the 'Río-verde' ballads that conclude Pérez de Hita's novel.[66] Saavedra, in fact, was the family name that exemplified the culture of the frontier in fifteenth-century Spain. This patronymic was associated with the defence of and forays across the border between Christian Spain and the kingdom of Granada. In addition, Don Fernando de Saavedra's name in Cervantes's play also recalls the autobiographical characters of *El trato de Argel* and *The Captive's Tale*, as well as Cervantes's own surname (*Saavedra*), adopted in 1586. That the hero of Cervantes's play is a frontier man who moves on the fringe permeable to the culture of the antagonist is significant.

'¿Que sea moro Don Fernando?'

Modelled upon the historic Don Fernando de Cárcamo, who courageously defended the fortress of Mers-el-Kebir during the 1563 siege of Orán, Don Fernando de Saavedra is a frontiersman who fluctuates between the Spanish presidio of Orán and the Bedouin encampment where the beautiful Arlaxa lives. Like a typical frontier captain, Don Fernando responds to the challenge of the noble Moor Alimuzel and crosses over to the

[63] Astrana Marín, vol. III, pp. 143–53; and Sliwa, p. 369.

[64] Braudel, vol. II, pp. 861–2. On the Spanish presidios, see Bunes Ibarra, pp. 257–74; Garcés, *Cervantes in Algiers*, pp. 224–5.

[65] Mas, vol. I, 338–9; Cazenave, I, p. 16.

[66] Pérez de Hita, *Guerras civiles*…, pp. 308–11, and Menéndez Pidal' (pp. 155–63).

enemy camp, where he becomes a voluntary captive and befriends his adversary. More than a 'complex intrigue of love and honour', which recalls questions of fame and immortality, Cervantes's drama invokes misplaced ideas of 'fame as appearance'.[67] The valiant, yet imprudent Christian hero who disobeys his commander in order to respond to a challenge to duel from a Muslim contender embodies these improper ideas.[68] With a typical Cervantine twist, the hero Don Fernando de Saavedra attracts the interest of two women—the Moorish Arlaxa and the Christian Margarita, both of whom have heard of his exploits. Arlaxa, in turn, elicits the attention of two men—the Christian Don Fernando and the Moor Alimuzel. Even so, in the midst of the Turkish-Algerian attack on Orán, the Christian hero suddenly turns against the Berber armies among which he is fighting dressed as a Moor, and heroically defends the threatened Christian bastion. His ambiguous status as both a disguised Muslim and a Christian hero is emphasized by a question posed in Orán: '¿Que sea moro Don Fernando?' [Is it possible that Don Fernando is a Moor?], a question elusively answered: 'Such is the news spread by children through the city.'[69]

Most notable is the play's emphasis on desertion to the enemy camp, evoked by a soldier's account of Don Fernando's disappearance: 'Either he left to turn Turk or he acted badly in leaving the citadel'.[70] In effect, the fluctuating cultural borders of the Barbary States facilitated contacts between the autochthonous populations and the Iberian garrisons. Orthodoxy, however, has no place in *El gallardo español*, which eliminates religious conviction in favour of a pacific Christian co-existence with the Muslim factions. Cervantes's play offers subtle yet unequivocal reflections on the question of belonging to different credos. Accordingly, Alimuzel declares to a Spaniard: 'No es enemigo el cristiano; / contrario sí' [The Christian is not an enemy; a rival, yes]. In the same vein, Don Fernando tells his Moorish ally that differing religious precepts will not impede their friendship, to which Alimuzel answers: 'Que Mahoma te proteja y te de lo que pueda' [I hope Muhammad protects you and gives you what he can].[71] Indeed, the play's portrayal of the fluid frontier-world of Orán offers a covert consideration of the grave conflicts that divided early modern Spain.

Cervantes's drama eludes any note of religious conflict, preferring instead to focus on the exquisite courtesies exchanged between Muslims and Christians of all ranks. In this context, it is impossible to forget the farewell between a soldier from Orán and the Moor Alimuzel in Cervantes's play. The Spaniard bids the Moor farewell, by saying: 'Tu Mahoma, Alí, te guarde' [May your Muhammad, Ali, protect you]. To which the Moor replies: 'Tu Cristo vaya contigo' [May your Christ go with you].[72] No other writer of the period dared present such a harmonious encounter between conflicting worlds. This

[67] Friedman, p. 29. De Armas studies the relationship between Venus and Mars in the play.
[68] Hughes, pp. 65–75.
[69] Cervantes, *El gallardo español*, II.1280–3.
[70] Cervantes, *El gallardo español*, I.1065–7.
[71] Cervantes, *El gallardo español*, I.1035–6; I.1045–52.
[72] Cervantes, *El gallardo español*, I.475–6.

may explain why the playwright closes his play by stating that his aim was to mix 'truths with fabulous intentions'.[73]

El amante liberal

Set in the Eastern Mediterranean, *El amante liberal* is, from a geopolitical perspective, the most audacious of Cervantes's *Novelas ejemplares*. Its boldness derives in part from the novella's precise mapping of, and intense engagement with, the Eastern (Muslim) Mediterranean. The narrative subverts the idea of a radically divided internal sea split into two immutable cultures: East and West, Muslims and Christians. Accordingly, this novella is a fundamental work in relation to Cervantes's vision of the Mediterranean world in the age of Philip II.[74] Unusually rich in maritime knowledge, this is a *marine* story par excellence. For these reasons, Otmar Hegyi called *El amante liberal* 'an epic of the Eastern Mediterranean', which reflects 'the atmosphere of the Ottoman vital space'.[75]

Yet Cervantes's narrative also delineates a precise cartography of the Habsburg-Ottoman frontiers in the sixteenth-century Mediterranean (Sicily, Malta, and Tunis). Although the story begins in Cyprus, it soon moves through a narrative flashback to Trapani, Sicily, where Barbary corsairs capture the protagonists Ricardo and his beloved Leonisa. Storms, shipwrecks, and cruel deaths follow across turbulent sea voyages that touch upon Palermo, Messina, Bizerte, and Tripoli in North Africa, before arriving in Cyprus, where most of the action takes place. In this way, *El amante liberal* fluctuates between two geographical axes: Spanish Sicily, a frontier between the Ottoman provinces of North Africa and the Habsburg domains of Western Europe, and Cyprus, a crossroads of cultures, where Turks, Greeks, Venetians, Jews, and renegades mingled with Christian slaves. The text also oscillates between two intertwined themes: captivity and cultural hybridity, in a play of concealment and disclosures that highlights the complex crossings of Mediterranean frontier societies.[76]

Until the 1990s, however, criticism of Cervantes's novella was generally unfavourable. Critics considered this work merely as an ingenuous creative exercise influenced by the Byzantine novel.[77] Lately, the story has received increasing scholarly attention. In his pioneering study, Hegyi highlights the amazing 'degree of realism' achieved by the narrative through the detailed 'identification of nationality, religious status, place of origin,

[73] Cervantes, *El gallardo español*, III.3133–4.
[74] Garcés, 'Alabado por sus acciones…', p. 427–8.
[75] Hegyi, p. 226. On the novella as a maritime story, see Fernández Duro, p. 29.
[76] Garcés, 'Alabado por sus acciones…', p. 435.
[77] On the influence of the Byzantine novel, see Avalle-Arce's 'Introduction' to the *Novelas ejemplares*, p. 30. Plagnard studies the influence in *El amante liberal* of Spanish and Italian epic works on the War of Cyprus.

and condition of the secondary characters'.[78] William Clamurrro examines the geographical and historical details that serve as background to the story, the subtle but important role occupied by the renegade in the plot, and the hybrid identities of the characters.[79] For Carroll B. Johnson, the novella sabotages the official version of the confrontation between Christians and Muslims, even while establishing analogies between the structures and administrative practices of Turks and Spaniards.[80] In turn, Barbara Fuchs reads this story as both a fluid and chaotic space, where, in spite of religious divisions, the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires overlap in geographical and conceptual areas.[81] Camouflaged under an exotic Oriental scenario, Cervantes's text would also function as a scathing criticism of Spain's intolerant ideology. I have elsewhere emphasized the significant role bestowed on the renegade Mahamut, a cultural broker who is the co-protagonist of the novella. His close friendship and complicity with the hero, Ricardo, stress the alliances between Christian captives and renegades in Ottoman territories.[82] Other critics have stressed the accuracy of its historical and geographical frame, its rehabilitation of the 'renegade', and its hidden satire of Spanish practices and ideology.[83]

El amante begins in *media res* with a captive lamenting his fate before the fallen ramparts of Nicosia, Cyprus, which suggests that this is again a captivity story. Yet captivity soon loses its tragic accent as the text redirects its attention to the renegade Mahamut, who commands both the narrative exposition and the climax. As the cultural broker who facilitates contacts between Christians and Muslims, captives and renegades in Cyprus, Mahamut is both a Christian and a Turk. His position as a frontiersman, who straddles various cultures, speaks to complex cultural crossings in the Mediterranean.[84]

'An Impression of Cosmopolitanism'

Still, Cervantine memories also haunt this story. Azorín highlights the web of vital encounters that underlie this novella: 'The man who writes these pages holds in his eyes the vision of the Mediterranean, of the Tyrrhenian Sea, the Adriatic, Nicosia, Cyprus, Corfu, Malta.' In this way, Cervantes would be the first Spanish writer 'to offer an impression of cosmopolitanism, of dense and modern civilizations'. Indeed, this novella evokes the multiculturalism and commercial dynamism of the Mediterranean cities ruled by the Ottoman Empire. The precise portrayal of the attacks conducted by Barbary corsairs on Sicilian territory, with their capture of human booty and ransom negotiations, also speaks to the new commercial circuits created in the sixteenth century through the exchange of men, women, and children, and the traffic in ransoms.[85]

[78] Hegyi, p. 230. [79] Clamurro, pp. 41–69. [80] Johnson, pp. 117–20.
[81] Fuchs, *Passing*…, p. 79. [82] Garcés, 'Alabado por sus acciones…', pp. 439, 445–9.
[83] Cardaillac et al., pp. 21–2, 27–9; Clamurro, p. 47.
[84] Clamurro, pp. 50–2; Garcés, 'Alabado por sus acciones…', p. 438.
[85] Azorín, p. 110; Braudel, vol. II, 883–7; Johnson, pp. 143–6.

Certainly, the inaugural scene of *El amante*, with its focus on the emotional collapse of the captive among the fallen ramparts of Nicosia, suggests that captivity is the central subject of the narrative. At that point, however, a 'Turk' named Mahamut—'a very handsome and dashing young man'—suddenly appears and engages in a lively conversation with the captive.[86] The narrator does not clarify who this 'Turk' is, or what he is doing in Nicosia. Recall that, in early modern Europe, the term Turk signified at the same time an Ottoman subject, a Muslim, or a renegade. Notably, it is Mahamut himself who alludes to his conversion to Islam and his subsequent regrets for this action. The reader also learns that the protagonists are Sicilians and childhood friends.

These characters establish the temporal frame of the narrative. While recalling the period before the Ottoman conquest of Cyprus, Mahamut evokes that time ('some *two years ago*'), when 'this celebrated and wealthy island' was 'basking in peace and tranquillity'. In turn, Ricardo situates his abduction on 'a particular day last May, which today is *one year three days and five hours ago*'.[87] His capture, then, took place in May 1571, meaning the initial plot of *El amante liberal* occurs between May 1571, when the corsairs capture Ricardo and Leonisa in Trapani, and May 1572, when the protagonists encounter each other in Cyprus. The meticulous construction of a historical frame for *El amante* ties the story, however obliquely, to the seminal event of Lepanto. The novella also features fierce storms of the Mediterranean that frequently arise in winter and that affect both corsairs and prisoners.

One of the great innovations of *El amante* is its positive presentation of a Sicilian renegade, who is a close friend of the protagonist. Likewise, most of the secondary characters in the story are renegades. Still, Mahamut is both the privileged interlocutor of the captive Ricardo and the mediator who organizes the encounter between the Christian lovers in Cyprus.[88] More importantly, he is a *passeur* or crosser of spatial, social, and religious boundaries. His role as a cultural broker who facilitates interactions across linguistic, religious, and social boundaries is essential for the *dénouement* of the story. This makes the 'Turk' Mahamut not only a confidant and accomplice of Ricardo, but also a co-protagonist of the novella. His figure thus inverts early modern European values that denigrated the Turks as enemies.

In contrast to other Spanish works of the period, then, *El amante* stands out for the tolerance and genuine warmth with which Cervantes portrays renegades, as well as for his praise of Islamic justice. Accordingly, Mahamut's conversion to Islam does not seem to alienate his friend Ricardo, who appears to accept this as a common occurrence in the Mediterranean borderlands. The fact that both characters are Sicilians promotes their alliance as compatriots over and above the dictates of religion. Cervantes's fiction not only subverts the shared Spanish State and Church's injunctions against renegades or non-Catholics, but also suggests that personal alliances with a region of origin were

[86] Cervantes, *The Generous Lover*, p. 111.

[87] Cervantes, *The Generous Lover*, p. 111 and 117; my italics.

[88] On friendship between the characters and its connections with the mythography of the Scipios, see Gil-Osle.

stronger than political or religious identities. From a geopolitical perspective, then, *El amante liberal* is one of Cervantes's most audacious fictions.

Clothes Make the Muslim

Similarly, the Christian name of the Sicilian renegade and the reasons for his apostasy and appearance in Cyprus, dressed as a Turk, are part of the ambiguities that characterize this novella. In fact, Mahamut's cryptic allusions to his conversion to Islam explain this happening as the result of some mishap. He tells Leonisa: 'I am a native of Palermo, who as a result of various unforeseen events wears these clothes, which I would not normally wear'.[89] His statements also highlight the implications of costume as part of a signifying system. The constant references to his(despised) garments corroborate that, for Old Christians and the Inquisition, donning the turban and wearing Turkish clothes were an irrefutable proof of belonging to Islam.[90]

Significantly, after they sail for Constantinople, Mahamut and Ricardo always appear together, juxtaposed or paired in the text. Both their complementary character and their coupling would support the claim that they are, in fact, doubles—the 'Turk' would be the alter ego of the Christian Ricardo.[91] Certainly, the novella disregards established orthodox homecoming rituals, which included the reconciliation with the Church and the recuperation of the subject's baptismal name. Instead, Mahamut retains his Arabic-Muslim name after he reverts to his faith and marries Halima, disappearing into the crowds in Sicily.[92] Such elusive ambiguities remain open in the story.

The Sicilians' return to Trapani, disguised as Turks, inaugurates the bizarre ending of the novella.[93] In effect, before landing in Trapani, Ricardo adorns the galliot with Turkish pennants of different colours. The entry of a 'Turkish' vessel into the port of Trapani brings a multitude of people to the marina. Next Ricardo asks Leonisa to 'bejewel and dress herself in the same manner as when she entered the tent of the pashas, because he wanted to play an amusing trick to her parents'. Meanwhile, Ricardo and Mahamut also dress as Turks, together with the rest of the Christian rowers. Then occurs the theatrical disembarkment: as if in a procession, the disguised 'Turks' 'all stepped ashore and with tears and joy they kissed the ground many times'. Their compatriots now understand that these 'Turks' are Christians who probably captured the Turkish vessel. Finally, Leonisa descends from the ship, her face covered with a veil of scarlet silk. 'Ricardo and Mahamut escorted her, one on either side'.[94]

[89] Cervantes, *The Generous Lover*, p. 137.

[90] Johnson, pp. 146–7; Garcés, 'Alabado por sus acciones…', pp. 443–4.

[91] Garcés, 'Alabado por sus acciones…', p. 445–6; Clamurro, p. 54.

[92] Fuchs discusses Mahamut's improbable return to Christianity, *Passing*…, p. 68. On the significance of the Arabic name Maḥmud (Mahamut) given by Cervantes to his character, see Garcés, 'Alabado…', pp. 445–7.

[93] On the 'pleasures of passing' in the story, see Fuchs, *Passing*…, pp. 63–75.

[94] Cervantes, *The Generous Lover*, pp. 164–5.

In his brilliant reading of the story, Díaz-Migoyo suggests that, more than a genuine repatriation, Cervantes's text offers 'the representation of a homecoming scene' in which all the characters are actors. The critic contrasts this theatrical return with the previous scene of departure with which it forms a circular pattern. The second scene reiterates in an inverted way the original scenario of the capture. The 'trick' that Ricardo prepares for Leonisa's parents would be, then, a 'simulacrum of deception', yet one that does not trick anyone. The performers appear before their compatriots 'as actors who represent themselves'.[95] In turn, Georges Günter illuminates the play of Cervantine ambiguity, which presents at the same time, both the simulacrum of exemplarity and its deconstruction. The critic sees two narrative voices in the novella—one passionate and anti-Turkish, and the other reflexive and free of prejudices. Liberality occurs when Ricardo gives back to Leonisa her role as a subject, which allows her to choose him freely.[96]

In contrast, Luis Avilés performs an ethical re-evaluation of the changes undergone by the main character through two divergent activities: liberality and deception. His detailed examination of the term *liberality* according to its meaning in early-modern Europe is crucial for the story. Avilés differentiates the economy of captivity in the Mediterranean, whereby corsairs assigned a value to a slave for the purpose of ransom, from a 'libidinal economy', whereby a captive became an object of desire and her value increased so much that a monetary rescue proved impossible to achieve. The chaotic forces of the libidinal economy of desire in the narrative led to a devaluation of human life and the destruction of the Turkish political structures in Nicosia. In the final scene, Ricardo 'embraces the complexity and diversity of human life', one that includes a Turkish element. In sum, his recognition of Leonisa's freedom would constitute the ethical gesture of liberality highlighted by Cervantes. What Avilés calls a 'Mediterranean experience' in *El amante liberal* is thus a complex fictional representation of Ricardo's ethical evolution.[97]

La española inglesa

Among the *Novelas ejemplares*, *La española inglesa* represents an intense probing of the subject of captivity, where one capture remits to another, in a fantastic outburst of invention that seems to have no end.[98] In fact, earlier critics suggested that this story was 'another autobiographical page by Cervantes'.[99] The novella contains numerous

[95] Díaz-Migoyo, pp. 131–45. For similar 'tricks' and festivities in Spain and Italy involving fake attacks between disguised Moors and Christians, see Garcés, 'Alabado por sus acciones…', pp. 451–3.

[96] Güntert, *La española*…, pp. 131–42; see also his review of scholarship on the novel, pp. 126–42. Among other critics, Johnson and Sears argue instead that Leonisa cannot choose freely, because Ricardo manipulates her through his discourse to force her to accept his marriage proposal.

[97] Avilés, p. 233–57. Bello highlights the refined narrative values of the story (pp. 132–6).

[98] Garcés, *Cervantes in Algiers*, pp. 243–5; I follow here my discussion of the story.

[99] González de Amezua, vol. II, p. 135.

reminiscences of Cervantes's captivity, such as the encounter of the ship captained by the English Ricaredo with the corsair Arnaut Mami, who captured Cervantes in 1575. In the second part of the story, the protagonist recounts his seizure by Turkish-Algerian corsairs, his imprisonment in Algiers, and his ransom by the Trinitarian Order, the same order that rescued Cervantes.

Recent scholarship, however, has generally bypassed the subject of captivity in Cervantes's story in order to focus on its political and historical resonances, particularly in relation to its opening, which describes the 1596 sack of Cádiz by the English. In addition to Cervantes's critical engagement with his own historical moment, various critics have addressed the plight of secret Catholics in England in the period, and the information that the writer or his contemporaries might have had about English Catholics and their dilemmas.[100] In an innovative study, Johnson analyzed *La española*'s meticulous descriptions of international economic transactions, which confirm Cervantes's knowledge of complex business deals.[101] For the critic, Isabella and Ricaredo represent two different economic orders. Isabella's father, the Andalusian merchant, embodies a sophisticated economic system based on credit, investment of capital, and processes of exchange. In contrast, Clotaldo, the English Catholic, exemplifies a primitive economic order, based on robbery and deceit.[102] Cervantes, then, would have supported the Spanish merchant class against the English (and Spanish) aristocracy. For her part, Isabel Torres examines 'notions of perspective and interpretation' in *La española inglesa* that 'unsettle the contemporary reader's assumptions'. Her focus is the conflictive narrative strategy of Cervantes and the active role it imposes on the reader.[103]

In the following pages, I study the captivity motif in *La española*. Let us recall that Cervantes's story opens with the capture, by the English Clotaldo, of a seven-year old Spanish girl, whom he seizes as a gift for his wife during the sack of Cádiz by English forces. The theme of captivity, then, inaugurates this novella. In addition, other adventures that recall the memories of Algiers return to this story in circular patterns. The English Catholic Ricaredo, sent on a privateering expedition by Queen Elizabeth I, discovers three galleys with Turkish flags in the Strait of Gibraltar and proceeds to attack them. The assault carried out by the English ships, camouflaged under Spanish flags, entices the Christian galley slaves on the Turkish ships to break off their chains and fight for their freedom. This encounter with the Turkish-Algerian fleet announces the reappearance of the phantoms of Algiers in this novella. The Spaniards who come on board the English ship recount that, while returning from Portuguese India, a terrible storm descended upon their galley, which carried an enormous cargo of pearls, diamonds, and spices. Driven to the area of Gibraltar by the tempest, the half-wrecked ship

[100] Stagg proves that Cervantes shows an accurate and detailed knowledge of Elizabethan England (pp. 308–30). On secret Catholics in England, see Galván. Ricapito views the plight of English Catholics as an allusion to the Jews and *conversos* in Spain.

[101] Lucía Mejías addresses the business deals of Cervantes in Seville.

[102] Güntert studies two discourses that clash in the novella: the feudal-aristocratic and the capitalist-bourgeois, incarnated in the lovers, pp. 150–1.

[103] Torres, pp. 132. Collins appeals to reader-response theories in her study.

was also unarmed, because at the height of the storm the crew had thrown all the artillery overboard.[104] Precisely at this moment, the Algerian corsair Arnaut Mami fell upon the crippled Portuguese galleon, whose half-dead crew offered no resistance to the corsair.

One of the Spaniards who comes on board declares that six days after leaving Cádiz on a ship that was sailing for America, Barbary corsairs seized his galley. Hence, he became a witness to the successive assault of the Portuguese galleon by the same corsairs. His daughter happens to be Isabela, Ricaredo's beloved, the same girl captured by Clotaldo during the sack of Cádiz in 1596. Since her apprehension by Ricaredo's father, Clotaldo, Isabela has been living in his London household. Nonetheless, her ambiguous status as 'riquísimo despojo', confirmed by the letter S embroidered in pearls on the lavish dress she wears to visit the queen, verifies her standing as both a slave and an adopted daughter. This S means '*Sierva*' or slave, S being the letter with which Spaniards branded slaves in the face.[105] Constant allusions to slavery and captivity, then, haunt this tale, while the recurrence of the captivity motif creates a series of adventures.

The Phantoms of Algiers

The phantoms of Algiers reappear toward the end of *La española*, when Isabela, who has returned to Spain with her parents, learns that Ricaredo has been killed, news that impels her to enter the convent. Among the crowd of onlookers gathered in Seville to admire the beautiful novice on the day of her profession, a familiar Cervantine image appears. Advancing through the crowds is 'a man dressed in the smock of a ransomed captive, with a badge of the Order of Trinity on his breast, which they wear as a sign that they have been ransomed by . . . the Fathers'.[106] The former captive, now recognized as Ricaredo, requests Isabela to stop, because she cannot be a nun while he is alive. Cervantes thus makes his entrance into his story in the guise of the freed captive Ricaredo. This move recalls the intrusion of the name Saavedra in *The Captive's Tale*, but in *La española*, instead of Cervantes's own name, the text presents a visual image of captivity in the guise of a man clothed like an ex-captive returning from Barbary.

The story of Ricaredo's capture, recounted later by himself, clearly evokes that of Cervantes. After a pilgrimage to Rome, where Ricaredo suffered an assassination attempt, he left Genoa on his way to Spain. Algerian corsairs captured him around the Three Marías, a small port near Marseille, and took him to Algiers. He remained there for a year, after which the Trinitarian Order—the same order that ransomed Cervantes in 1580—rescued him. *La española*, then, not only re-enacts Cervantes's return to Spain in November 1580, but also offers one of the fullest accounts of his repatriation, including the procession made by the former captives in Valencia as a sign of gratitude for their

[104] Cervantes, *Novelas ejemplares*, vol. I, pp. 253–4; *Exemplary Novels*, vol. II, p. 19.
[105] Joly, p. 594.
[106] Cervantes, *Novelas ejemplares*, vol. I, p. 277; *Exemplary Novels*, vol. II, p. 49.

release. The phantoms of Algiers thus appear condensed in a few lines. But then again, they usher in other autobiographical reminiscences, such as the images of the captive's return to Spain, the participation of the Trinitarian order in his ransom, and the danger of encountering death in Algiers, or arriving in Constantinople as a slave, which would have been fatal for Cervantes. As Ricaredo claims: 'had I been sent to the Sultan, I would have never been freed'.[107]

Both the inaugural and secondary captivity scenes in *La española*, as well as the first dramatic procession in London, mirrored by the second to the convent in Seville, illustrate the 'dynamics of doubling' in the novella, confirmed by its oppositional rhythms and complex double plots. As Torres suggests, if part two is 'a utopian rewriting of part one', the creation of significance depends 'on the reader's active engagement with the mirrored fictional worlds' reflected in the story.[108] These fictional worlds include the images of Cervantes's captivity, unfolding into fantastic representations that open the window of creation. Indeed, the sparse traumatic re-enactments of captivity scenes and concomitant outbursts of creativity would suggest that this is a later story, written after 1605.[109]

Certainly, *La española* seems to confirm the truth of its closing remarks, in the sense that this fiction can teach us 'how heaven can draw out of our greatest adversities the greatest blessings for us'.[110] As the late Ruth El Saffar observed, this reflection seems to have a meaning for both Ricaredo and Isabela in the novella, as well as for Cervantes, since at the end, the characters inherit the author's role and narrate a story true to the life of Cervantes himself.[111] This is the most abstract formulation of the idea, developed in El *casamiento engañoso* and *El coloquio de los perros*, that through writing, a person can transform his or her disgraces into good fortune. Indeed, when Cervantes states that 'our greatest adversities' are connected to 'our greatest blessings', the latter include his fictions. The episodes explored in this novella signal the point of *décolage* of creation in Cervantes, a nodule that often originates in the nucleus of reminiscences related to his capture and enslavement in Barbary.

La gran sultana

Probably composed around 1607–8 and published in 1615, Cervantes's play *La gran sultana* speaks to the European fascination with the Ottoman Empire and its capital Constantinople, a cosmopolitan city that still evoked memories of its past Byzantine splendour, in the midst of its unmatched Oriental glamour. As in the case of *La española*

[107] Cervantes, *Novelas ejemplares*, vol. I, p. 282; *Exemplary Novels*, vol. II, p. 55.
[108] Torres, pp. 115, 129. On the splitting of the hero, see Ruta.
[109] Garcés, *Cervantes in Algiers*, pp. 244–5. On the dating of the story, see Torres, p. 117.
[110] Cervantes, *Novelas ejemplares*, vol. I, p. 283; *Exemplary Novels*, vol. II, p. 56.
[111] El Saffar, p. 161.

inglesa, the title of this Turkish drama 'enacts an oxymoronic mixture'.[112] In *La gran sultana*, the playwright presents a series of vignettes from sixteenth-century Constantinople, such as the procession led by the Sultan to the Friday prayer (*zalá*) at the Imperial mosque of Hagia Sophia, risky scenes with captive women in the palace harem, and a lavish Persian embassy to the Great Turk. In his detailed study of *La gran sultana*, Hegyi demonstrated the complexities of this work, 'deeply rooted in contemporary accounts of Ottoman history and life in Constantinople'.[113] Although Cervantes was never in Constantinople, his Algerian captivity enhanced his curiosity about the vast multi-cultural Ottoman Empire. Like other educated contemporary Spaniards and Italians, moreover, he was interested in the Habsburg-Ottoman clashes in the Mediterranean. In turn, the generalized Christian-European fear of the Turk heightened these concerns.[114] To be sure, Cervantes read printed materials on the Ottoman Empire available in Spain and Italy, as well as gazettes, *avvisi*, and newsletters accessible to the curious.[115] In fact, he took great care in reconstructing Turkish customs and local colour in his play, with meticulous stage directions that confirm his attention to spectacular exotic effects.

La gran sultana portrays the adventures of a Spanish girl, Catalina de Oviedo, captured at the age of six by the famous corsair Morato Arráez [Murad Ra'is], during her parent's journey from Málaga to Orán, and later deposited in Sultan Murad III's harem. In time, the girl became an extraordinary beauty. The primary plot of Cervantes's play, then, portrays the Sultan's efforts to entice Catalina's love despite their religious and cultural differences, matters that greatly trouble the young woman. Catalina eventually accepts the Sultan's marriage offer under the condition that she can keep her Christian religion, as well as her Spanish name and dress. In Diana Wilson's view, Cervantes allows the couple to conceive a child in the play, 'un otomano-español' [a Spanish-Ottoman], in a move that highlights the patterns of hybridity that distinguish the author's work.[116] The Sultan's desire 'to mix Ottoman blood with . . . [Catalina's] Christian blood, to make it greater', certainly 'problematizes rigid categories of religion, nation, and ethnicity'—as George Mariscal noted.[117] Cervantes's attack on ideologies of purity signifies a striking departure from contemporary Spanish dogma and literary encounters with Islam.

There are two secondary subplots in *La gran sultana*. The first one centres on Lamberto, a lover from Habsburg Bohemia who, dressed as a woman, joins his beloved Clara in the harem, under the name of Zelinda. The second focuses on a picaresque captive, Madrigal, an anti-Semitic *gracioso* who refuses to escape from Constantinople because of his liaison with a Muslim woman. As Fuchs and Ilika maintain, this play was probably designed to appeal to European audiences by 'voyeuristically exposing that

[112] Fuchs and Ilika, p. xxv. [113] Hegyi, p. 3.

[114] See García Cárcel and Ricci. For Spanish print culture on the Turks, see Kimmel.

[115] Possible Cervantine contemporary sources on the Turks are Vicente Rocca (1556) and Sansovino (1560). See Canavaggio, *Cervantès dramaturge*, pp. 62–3 and Hegyi, pp. 1–42.

[116] Wilson, 'A Spanish Ottoman . . . ', p. 545.

[117] Cervantes, *The Great Sultana*, Act II, p. 29. Mariscal, p. 201.

most secret and forbidden of spaces, the harem'.[118] Both *Baños* and *La gran sultana*, moreover, among other fictions by Cervantes, recurrently return to the allure of exogamous unions between men and women of different faiths. For those expecting a portrayal of Turkish excesses, however, the play represents a scenario of monogamous love, which 'condenses the human triumph of Catalina'.[119]

Mas, Hegyi, and Wilson have examined the historical sources that subtend the plot of Cervantes's play, particularly the love story of Sultan Amurates (Murad III) and his Spanish 'Sultana'.[120] The plot not only recalls Sultan Suleyman's love for and marriage to the Ukrainian captive known in Europe as Roxelana (Turkish *Hürrem*), but also the legend of the Venetian Nur Banu, principal consort of Selim II, who probably made her his legal wife. Certainly, Cervantes's change of the Sultana's nationality must have appealed to his Spanish audience—born in Oviedo (Asturias), Catalina would have come from the cradle of the Reconquista. The marriage of a Turk and a Christian woman, including the Sultan's professed respect toward the religious beliefs of his wife, to the point that he allows her to keep her faith while she is the 'Sultana' of the Ottoman Empire, constitute the centre of most studies about this play. In this respect, as Mascarell suggests, two interpretative positions clash with each other. Either *La gran sultana* is a defence on the part of Cervantes of religious tolerance and pacific coexistence among radically different cultures; or the play is a mere work of entertainment along the lines of a *turquerie*—a fiction on Turkish matters. The ambiguity of Cervantes's text precisely feeds arguments on both sides of the debate.

'A Splendid Absurdity'

Both the play's fantastic storyline and its comic episodes, such as those connected with the *gracioso* Madrigal and the lover Lamberto disguised in woman's clothes, have puzzled critics.[121] While some scholars have viewed Cervantes's play as an 'opera buffa', others insist in its representation of 'a noble aspiration for peace and harmony in the world', a metaphor for tolerance among different peoples.[122] Márquez Villanueva summed up both positions with eloquence: 'the play, indeed, is a splendid absurdity'. Yet, this is not a farce in the style of Lope, based on Hispanic clichés projected onto a banal Turkish background. In its place, Cervantes would be attacking contemporary Spanish ideology through an unexpected love story and a parallel delirium that predicated a peaceful cohabitation between Turks and Spaniards. Both subjects subverted the tenets of the Counterreformation and the Spanish Inquisition.[123] As mentioned earlier, although the subject of the Moriscos does not appear in *La gran sultana*, it is surely subjacent in the play given the imminent Expulsion that would begin in 1609. Márquez

[118] Fuchs and Ilika, p. xix.
[119] Márquez Villanueva, *Moros*…, p. 192.
[120] Mas, vol. I, pp. 346–8; Hegyi, pp. 51–3; Wilson, 'A Spanish Ottoman…', pp. 545–6.
[121] For a detailed coverage of prior criticism, see Hegyi, pp. 1–8.
[122] Zimic, *El teatro*…, p. 184.
[123] Jurado Santos, p. 6; Márquez Villanueva, *Moros*…, p. 193.

Villanueva concludes that, in *La gran sultana*, 'instead of preaching, Cervantes simultaneously plays, dreams, and harshly criticizes' the Spanish state. More importantly from the perspective of this essay, the female captive in this *comedia* is not a pathetic creature but rather a 'focus of love and conciliation'.[124]

The study of Cervantes's dramas, however, must inevitably pass through a comparison with Lope, particularly because of the former's proximity and simultaneous distance from the Fénix's creations. The trickster Madrigal in *La gran sultana* speaks to this discussion. He is a nominal captive, whose former life and identity are unknown. He is also an antiheroic subject who seems to enjoy his captivity. Madrigal was a town crier (*pregonero*), like *Lazarillo de Tormes*, which categorizes him as a member of the picaresque world and a close associate of the executioner. As Márquez Villanueva suggests, a reader of the period would have suspected this character from the start, realizing that he is a buffoon. Paradoxically, Madrigal states that, in due time, he will obtain freedom by capturing three Turkish galleys with which he will make a triumphal entry into Naples. Márquez Villanueva has some very harsh words for this character, who abuses a defenceless Jew in an outrageous way, even while ostentatiously flaunting his 'Spanish identity'.[125]

Nevertheless, Madrigal is also the 'author' of the incredible story of the *La gran sultana*, one that he envisions recounting in Spain, 'sin discrepar de la verdad un punto' ['without straying one jot from the truth'].[126] This is an ambiguous assertion since we know that the character is not only a liar but also a compulsive prankster. Díez Fernández reminds us that 'this ironic insistence in maintaining truth at all costs also characterizes the narrators of *Don Quixote*'. As we know, this *leitmotiv* traverses Cervantes's masterpiece. The critic contends that, since the composition of *La gran sultana* was close to that of *Don Quixote* (1605), Cervantes probably transposed into his play the mocking concern with truth present in his novel.[127]

While Madrigal clearly identifies himself as a buffoon, he nevertheless functions as his own person, 'someone who is very conscious of his own actions'.[128] In the final act, moreover, Madrigal 'steps out' of the play in the manner of Pedro de Urdemalas. His closing ballad (*romance*)—where he claims that, upon returning to Madrid, he will become a playwright—turns him into a theatrical impresario, as well as a writer capable of creating literature inside the text. Madrigal evokes an image of the writer and playwright Cervantes, not in a crude biographical way but rather through the creation of 'a burlesque shadow of his own life, about which he himself would laugh'.[129] Among the captives of Cervantes's last play, however, only Madrigal returns to Spain, becoming a witness to captivity in Constantinople and a 'creator' of the oriental mirage that characterizes *La gran sultana*. The freed captive has become a prisoner of fiction.

[124] Márquez Villanueva, *Moros*…, pp. 193 and 196. The critic argues that Cervantes read Pedro de Valencia's unpublished *Tratado a favor de los moriscos de España* (1608) (*Moros*…, pp. 206–7).

[125] Márquez Villanueva, *Moros*…, 209–10.

[126] Cervantes, *La gran sultana*, II.2904–35; *Great Sultana*, p. 168.

[127] Díez Fernandez, p. 318–20. [128] Gómez Canseco, p. 97. [129] López Estrada, p. 44.

'False Captives' in *Persiles*

There are other 'captives' captured by fiction in Cervantes, such as the 'false captives' of his last novel, *Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda*. Indeed, both the vivid memories of Cervantes's capture, and the motif of captivity itself, continually return to the author's texts until the end of his life. In effect, Cervantes's literary production opens and closes with the memory of his most painful experience. As with *La historia del cautivo* and other Cervantine works, the episode of the false captives in *Persiles* emphasizes the flirtation with, and simultaneous evasion from, the re-enactment of captivity, in stylistic games that highlight the mendacious texture of *Persiles*.

Certainly, the elusive ambiguity of Cervantes's posthumous work originates in the 'game of masks, simulations, dissimulations, and frauds' that accompany the protagonists from the start to their final adventures.[130] Yet, the lies and dissimulations invented by Periandro, to conceal his identity and protect his search for love, are diametrically opposed to those of the false captives, among other shady figures in *Persiles*, who belong to the picaresque world.

The story of the false captives in *Persiles* (III.10), begins with a crowd of pilgrims meeting the storytellers, 'in a town, neither very small nor very large, whose name I don't remember', as the third-person narrator claims.[131] Cervantes's formula par excellence—'en un lugar de La Mancha de cuyo nombre no quiero acordarme' [in a village of La Mancha, whose name I do not want to remember]—should alert us to the import of this text. The phrase not only connects this episode in *Persiles* with the opening words of *Don Quixote*, but also with other Cervantine fictions, such as *La historia del cautivo*, where the axiom also reappears.

In summary, dressed as recently released captives from Barbary, two con artists narrate their terrible experiences to a crowd of gullible peasants, in exchange for money. With great artistry, the storytellers unfold a painted canvas on the town's plaza as a support for their narrative, while deploying other visual and acoustic effects, which allows them to ensnare their naïve public. Two shrewd mayors, however, expose the impostors and condemn them to flogging while being paraded on donkeys through town. Finally, thanks to the brilliant defence presented by one of the storytellers, the mayors pardon the culprits.[132] Moreover, the communal space, in which the narrator, the pilgrims, and the rustic audience watch and respond to the representation, favours an encounter reminiscent of Cervantes's *El retablo de las maravillas*.[133] In truth, the figures of the old mayors evoke the comic types found in Spanish interludes, who generally suffered pranks

[130] Resquejo Carrió, p. 865. Her reading informs my discussion in the next paragraphs.

[131] Cervantes, *Los trabajos*…, p. 343; *The Trials of*…, p. 247.

[132] Moner has traced the antecedents of this story to Apuleius' *Golden Ass* of, where a character evokes the pictorial depiction of his adventures (*Cervantes conteur*, p. 124). Forcione connects the episode to the adventure of Maese Pedro in *Don Quixote* (*Cervantes, Aristotle*…, pp. 276–7).

[133] Resquejo Carrio, p. 863–4.

at the hands of tricksters. Not fortuitously, we discover at the end of the story that the mayors do not know how to read. Yet their old age and rural provenance differentiate them from the picaresque storytellers.

This episode opens with a curious excursus, which refers to the relation between truth and lies, history and fiction.[134] The narrator immediately introduces the former captives, who wear the garments used by those recently returned from Barbary. Displaying a large canvas that depicts a striking map of Algiers and its marina, the storytellers recite the tale of their captivity in the corsair city. Props include two large chains and a whip, which one of the narrators cracks from time to time. The act describes their life as galley slaves, including horrific punishments meted out to the rowers during the fray of war.

Founded on the fascination elicited by powerful storytelling, the tale of the false captives flows well, as the storyteller dupes his adversaries with rapid verbose inventions. His feverish eloquence, claims Moner, creates 'a true rhetoric of orality', which can transform into reality that which is a mere illusion.[135] In this way, the false captive peppers his act with harsh Turkish insults, which evoke the terrible shouts that horrified galley slaves in Barbary.

'Una lición de las cosas de Argel'

At this point, one of the town's mayors, a former captive for many years in Algiers, recognizes the corsair vessel painted on the canvas, for he had rowed in it as a galley slave. He decides to test the storytellers to see whether they are 'false captives'. Let us recall that both 'false beggars' and 'false captives' constituted a plague in early modern Spain. Their aim was to collect alms or donations to pay for fake ransoms.[136] The mayor thus asks the storyteller for more details regarding their ordeal in Algiers, eventually denouncing the 'lies and inventions' of these false captives. Then, he exclaims "Yo he estado en Argel cinco años esclavo' ['I was a slave in Algiers for five years']. Unmasked by the old man, the impostors confess they are not captives at all, but students from Salamanca who want to see the world.[137]

Finally pardoned, the tricksters escape flogging for facetious reasons. The kind-hearted first mayor who testified to his long captivity in Algiers ends by inviting the young storyteller to his house, 'where I'll give him a lesson on things about Algiers, so that from now on no one will catch them making mistakes in their Latin, I mean, in their made-up story'.[138] The significant phrases uttered by the mayor of this mythical place 'whose name I don't remember', as well as his true knowledge about Algiers and the mention of his five-year captivity identify this old man with Cervantes. In this way, the

[134] Cervantes, *Los trabajos*…, p. 343; *The Trials of*…, p. 246.
[135] Resquejo Carrio, p. 866; Moner, *Cervantes conteur*, p. 291 and fol.
[136] *Viaje de Turquía* describes these practices; on these issues, see also Pérez de Herrera and Galán.
[137] Cervantes, *Los trabajos*…, p. 347; *The Trials of*…, p. 249.
[138] Cervantes, *Los trabajos*…, p. 350; *The Trials of*…, p. 251.

author would be reappearing in his own text both as a fountain of information on the North African city and as a skilful narrator willing to transmit his literary skills.

Let us note, however, the complexities of this text, which simultaneously advances and retreats from the images of Algiers in an intricate game of hide-and-seek enacted around the theme of captivity. The fact that the false captives, who paradoxically relate a profoundly true story, would have appeared in a town whose name the narrator cannot remember sheds light on this passage, constructed from traumatic shards and recollections. From the perspective of the Algerian memories, moreover, this episode keeps slipping away amidst the tangled web of truths, lies, and fiction woven by Cervantes. Certainly, the references to Cervantes's captivity re-emerge now in an increasingly stealthy manner, reworked and camouflaged through his literary production. Likewise, the motif of captivity joins the theme of lies and truths in fiction, an abiding preoccupation of the writer. In effect, the vertiginous amalgamation of facts and fiction displayed in this story speaks to Cervantes's magisterial ability to illustrate in a few strokes the art of constructing a verisimilar plot. The tale of the false captives, then, constitutes a skilful Cervantine demonstration of the mingling of the historical and the invented according to the major principles underlined by *Persiles*: the pleasure of variety, the travel narrative as a medium of diversity, the complex mixture of history and fiction, and the need for verisimilitude in fiction.[139]

Yet beyond the fundamental concepts concerning the verisimilar—that is, beyond its masterly 'untruths'—the episode of the pseudo-captives reveals the persistence of disturbing memories that come to index the belated effects of the past upon the narratives of Cervantes. It also confirms the writer's familiarization and convergence with his Algerian recollections, which allow him to re-work and even play with the motif of captivity in his fiction. Like Madrigal in *La gran sultana*, the 'former captives' with true stories to tell have been captured by fiction.

The humorous episode of the false captives in *Persiles* both retells the story that the author had been recounting for over thirty years, since he was ransomed in 1580, and closes Cervantes's literary testimonies of his Algerian captivity. Probably soon after he finished this chapter, Cervantes would compose the prologue to his beloved *Persiles*, where he enacts his last literary tour de force in his moving farewell to his readers. As I have demonstrated in this essay, the continuous elaboration of the effects of captivity in Cervantes begins with his deliverance from slavery and concludes with the moment of his death in 1616. In the end, the city of Algiers, 'puerto universario de corsarios, y amparo y refugio de ladrones' ['a universal haven for pirates and a shelter and refuge for thieves'], remains the core, the texture, of Cervantes's work.

Works Cited

Allen, John J., 'Autobiografía y ficción: el relato del Capitán Cautivo' (*Don Quijote* I, 39–41)'. *Anales Cervantinos* 15 (1976): pp. 149–55.

[139] See Forcione, *Cervantes, Aristotle*…, pp. 276–7 and *Cervantes's Christian Romance*, pp. 136–7. On the *Persiles s* see Wilson's study, *Allegories of Love*…

Anderson, Ellen M. 'Playing at Moslem and Christian: The Construction of Gender and the Representation of Faith in Cervantes's Captivity Plays'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 13, no. 2 (1993): pp. 37–59.

Anonymous, *Viaje de Turquía*, edited by Fernando García Salinero (Madrid: Cátedra, 2000).

Astrana Marín, Luis. *Vida ejemplar y heroica de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra*. 7 vols (Madrid: Instituto Editorial Reus, 1949–52).

Avalle-Arce, Juan Bautista. 'Introducción' a *Novelas ejemplares* by Miguel de Cervantes, 3 vols (Madrid: Castalia, 1985), II, pp. 9–37.

Avilés, Luis. 'Expanding the Self in a Mediterranean Context: Liberality and Deception in Cervantes's *El amante liberal*'. In *In and Of the Mediterranean: Medieval and Early Modern Iberian Studies*, edited by M. Hamilton and N. Silleras-Fernández (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2015), pp. 233–57.

Azorín. *Al margen de los clásicos* (Madrid: Imprenta clásica española, 1915).

Bello, Miguel A. 'Una lectura semántica de *El amante liberal*'. *RN* 24 (1983): pp. 132–6.

Bennassar, Bartolomé, and Lucile Bennassar. *Les chrétiens d'Allah. L'histoire extraordinaire des renégats. XVI et XVII siècles* (Paris: Perrin, 1989).

Bicheno, Hugh. *Crescent and Cross: The Battle of Lepanto 1571* (London: Phoenix, 2003).

Braudel, Fernand. *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, translated by Siân Reynolds, 2 vols (New York: Harper and Row, 1972).

Bunes Ibarra, Miguel Ángel de. *La imagen de los musulmanes y del Norte de África en la España de los siglos XVI y XVII. Los caracteres de una hostilidad* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1989).

Camamis, George. *Estudios sobre el cautiverio en el Siglo de Oro* (Madrid: Gredos, 1977).

Canavaggio, Jean. *Cervantes*, translated by J. R. Jones (New York: Norton, 1990).

Canavaggio, Jean. *Cervantès dramaturge. Un théâtre à naître* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1977).

Canavaggio, Jean. Introduction to *Los baños de Argel*, *Pedro de Urdemalas* by Miguel de Cervantes (Madrid: Taurus, 1992), pp. 9–43.

Canavaggio, Jean. 'Lo cómico en el teatro cervantino: Tristán y Madrigal, bufones *in partibus*'. NRFH 34, no. 2 (1985): pp. 538–47.

Canavaggio, Jean. *Retornos a Cervantes*. (New York: IDEA/IGAS, 2014).

Cardaillac, Louis, and Denise Cardaillac, Marie-Thérèse Carrière, Rosita Subirats. 'Para una nueva lectura de *El Amante Liberal*'. *Criticón* 10 (1980): pp. 13–29.

Casalduero, Joaquín. *Sentido y forma del teatro de Cervantes* (Madrid: Gredos, 1966).

Castillo, Moisés R. 'Agi Morato's Garden as an Heterotopian Place in Cervantes's *Los baños de Argel*'. In *Spectacle and topophilia. Readings in Early Modern and Post-Modern Hispanic Cultures*, edited by Moisés R. Castillo and Bradley J. Nelson (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2012), pp. 43–63.

Castillo, Moisés R. '¿Ortodoxia cervantina?: Un análisis de *La gran sultana*, *Los tratos de Argel* y *Los Baños de Argel*'. *Bulletin of the Comediantes* 56, no. 2 (2004): pp. 219–40.

Castro, Américo. *El pensamiento de Cervantes* (Madrid: Imprenta de la Librería y Casa Editorial Hernando, 1925).

Cazenave, Jean. '*El gallardo español* de Cervantes (1)'. *Langues Néo-Latines* 126 (1953): pp. 5–17.

Cazenave, Jean. '*El gallardo español* de Cervantes (2)'. *Langues Néo-Latines* 127 (1953): pp. 3–14.

Cervantes, Miguel de. *Don Quijote*, translated by Burton Raffel, edited by Diana de Armas Wilson (New York: Norton, 1999).

Cervantes, Miguel de. *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, edited by Francisco Rico (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 2004).

Cervantes, Miguel de. *El gallardo español*. In *Obra completa de Miguel de Cervantes*, edited by Florencio Sevilla Arroyo and Antonio Rey Hazas, vol. 13 (Madrid: Alianza, 1997).

Cervantes, Miguel de. *El trato de Argel*. In *Obra completa de Miguel de Cervantes*, edited by Florencio Sevilla Arroyo and Antonio Rey Hazas, vol. 2 (Madrid: Alianza, 1996).

Cervantes, Miguel de. *Exemplary Novels*, translated and edited by B.W. Ife, 4 vols (Warminster: Aris and Philips, 1992).

Cervantes, Miguel de. 'Información de Argel'. *Información de Miguel de Cervantes de lo que ha servido á S.M. y de lo que ha hecho estando captivo en Argel, y por la certificación que aquí presenta del duque de Sesa se verá como cuando le captivaron se le perdieron muchas informaciones, fees y recados que tenía de lo que había servido á S.M. (Documentos)*, edited by Pedro Torres Lanzas (Madrid: El Árbol, 1981).

Cervantes, Miguel de. *La Galatea*, edited by Francisco López Estrada and María Teresa Lopez García-Berdoy (Madrid: Catédra, 1995).

Cervantes, Miguel de. *La gran sultana*. In *Obra completa de Miguel de Cervantes*, edited by Florenecio Sevilla Arroyo and Antonio Rey Hazas, vol. 15 (Madrid: Alianza, 1997).

Cervantes, Miguel de. *Los baños de Argel*. In *Obra completa de Miguel de Cervantes*, edited by Florencio Sevilla Arroyo and Antonio Rey Hazas, vol. 14 (Madrid: Alianza, 1998).

Cervantes, Miguel de. *Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda*, edited by Carlos Romero Muñoz (Madrid: Cátedra, 1997).

Cervantes, Miguel de. *Novelas ejemplares*, edited by Harry Sieber, 2 vols (Madrid: Cátedra, 1988).

Cervantes, Miguel de. *The Bagnios of Algiers and The Great Sultana: Two Plays of Captivity*, translated by Barbara Fuchs and Aaron Ilika (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012).

Cervantes, Miguel de. *The Trials of Persiles and Sigismunda*, translated by Celia Richmond Weller and Clark A. Colahan (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1989).

Childers, William. '*Don Quixote, Primera Parte, El ingenioso hidalgo don Quijote de la Mancha*', '*Don Quixote, Part One, The ingenious gentleman Don Quixote of La Mancha*', '*Don Quixote, Segunda Parte, El ingenioso caballero don Quijote de la Mancha*,' '*Don Quixote, Part Two, The ingenious knight Don Quixote of La Mancha*'. In *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History 1600–1700*, *Volume 9: Western and Southern Europe (1600–1700)*, edited by David Thomas and John Chesworth et al (Leiden: Brill, 2017), pp. 223–5 and pp. 241–64.

Childers, William. '*El trato de Argel, Los baños de Argel, El gallardo español*, and other captivity plays and writings'. In *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History 1600–1700, Volume 9: Western and Southern Europe (1600–1700)*, edited by David Thomas and John Chesworth et al (Leiden: Brill, 2017), pp. 196–218.

Clamurro, William. *Beneath the Fiction: The Contrary Worlds of Cervantes's* Novelas ejemplares (New York: Peter Lang, 1997).

Collins, Marsha S. 'Transgression and Transfiguration in Cervantes's *La española inglesa*'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 16, no. 1 (1996): pp. 54–73.

De Armas, Frederick A. 'Los excesos de Venus y Marte en *El gallardo español*'. *Cervantes: su obra y su mundo, Actas sobre el I Congreso Internacional sobre Cervantes*, edited by Manuel Criado de Val (Madrid: Edi 6, 1978), pp. 249–59.

Díez-Fernández, J. Ignacio. "Sin discrepar de la verdad un punto'. *La gran sultana*. ¿Un canto a la tolerancia?'. *Lectura y signo* 1 (2006): pp. 202–32.

Díaz-Migoyo, Gonzalo. 'La ficción cordial de *El amante liberal*'. *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica* 35, no. 1 (1987): pp. 129–50.

Doménici, Mauricio. 'Lealtad e identidad en *Los baños de Argel* de Cervantes'. In *Cervantes creador y Cervantes recreado*, edited by Emanuel Marigno, Carlos Mata Induráin, y Hugo Hernán Ramírez (Pamplona: Universidad de Navarra, 2015, Biblioteca Áurea Digital BIADIG, 26), pp. 63–72.

El Saffar, Ruth. *Novel to Romance: A Study of Cervantes's* Novelas Ejemplares (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974).

Fernández, Enrique. '*Los tratos de Argel*: obra testimonial, denuncia política y literatura terapéutica'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 20, no. 1 (2000): 7–26.

Fernández Duro, Cesáreo. *Cervantes, marino* (Madrid: Estrada, 1869).

Forcione, Alban K. *Cervantes, Aristotle and the Persiles* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1970).

Forcione, Alban K. *Cervantes's Christian Romance: A Study of* Persiles y Sigismunda (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1972).

Friedman, Edward H. *The Unifying Concept: Approaches to the Structure of Cervantes's Comedias* (South Carolina: Spanish Literature Publication Company, 1981.)

Fuchs, Barbara. *Mimesis and Empire*: *The New World, Islam, and European Identities* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

Fuchs, Barbara. *Passing for Spain. Cervantes and the Fictions of Identity* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003).

Fuchs, Barbara and Aaron J. Ilika. 'Introduction' to Miguel de Cervantes, *The Bagnios of Algiers and The Great Sultana: Two Plays of Captivity*, edited and translated by Fuchs and Ilika (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), pp. ix–xxvii.

Galán, Diego. *Relación del cautiverio y libertad de Diego Galán, natural de la villa de Consuegra y vecino de la ciudad de Toledo*, edited by Miguel Ángel de Bunes and Matías Barcino (Toledo: Diputación Provincial de Toledo, 2013).

Galván, Fernando. 'Católicos secretos en *La española inglesa*'. *Anales Cervantinos* CLVI (2014): pp. 67–82.

Garcés, María Antonia. '"Alabado por sus acciones": Maḥmud siciliano en *El amante liberal*'. Special issue *Cervantes y el Mediterráneo*. Guest editors: Steven Hutchinson and Antonio Cortijo. *eHumanista/Cervantes* 2 (2013): pp. 427–61.

Garcés, María Antonia. *Cervantes en Argel: Historia de un cautivo*. (Madrid: Gredos, 2005).

Garcés, María Antonia. *Cervantes in Algiers: A Captive's Tale* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2002, 2005).

Garcés, María Antonia. 'Cervantes's Veiled Woman'. In *The New Norton Critical Edition of Don Quijote*, translated by Burton Raffel, edited by Diana de Armas Wilson (New York: Norton, 1999), pp. 821–30.

Garcés, María Antonia. '"En las manos de Dios y en las del renegado": Frontiers and Frontier-Characters in Cervantes's Mediterranean'. Special Issue *Cervantes and his Racial Other. Annals of Scholarship* 19, no. 2. Guest Editor: Baltasar Fra-Molinero (2009): pp. 79–121.

Garcés, María Antonia. '"*Grande amigo mío*": Cervantes y los renegados'. In *U.S.A. Cervantes. 39 cervantistas en Estados Unidos*, edited by Georgina Dopico-Black and Francisco Layna Ranz (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas-Ediciones Polifemo, 2009), pp. 533–80.

Garcés, María Antonia. 'Los avatares de un nombre: Saavedra y Cervantes'. *Revista de Literatura* 45, 130 (2003): pp. 351–74.

Garcés, María Antonia. 'Staging Captivity: Cervantes's Barbary Plays'. In *Approaches to Teaching the Spanish Comedia*, edited by Margaret Greer and Laura Bass (New York: MLA, 2006), pp. 166–73.

Garcés, María Antonia. 'Zoraida's Veil: The "Other" Scene of the Captive's Tale'. *Revista de Estudios Hispánicos* 23, no. 1 (1989): pp. 65–98.

García Cárcel, Ricardo. 'La psicosis del turco en la España del Siglo de Oro'. In *Los imperios orientales en el teatro del Siglo de Oro. Actas de las XVI Jornadas de teatro clásico, Almagro 1993*, edited by Felipe Pedraza Jiménez and Rafael González Cañal (Almagro: Universidad Castilla-La Mancha-Festival de Almagro, 1994), pp. 15–28.

Gerli, E. Michael. *Refiguring Authority: Reading and Writing, and Rewriting in Cervantes* (Lexington, KY: The UP of Kentucky, 1995.

Gil-Osle, Juan Pablo. 'Escipión y la amistad en *El amante liberal* de Cervantes'. *LEJANA: Revista Crítica de Narrativa Breve* 7 (2014): pp. 1–11.

Gómez Canseco, Luis. Introduction to *La Gran Sultana* by Miguel de Cervantes, edited by Gómez Canseco (Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva, 2010), pp. 9–168.

González de Amezúa y Mayo, Agustín de. *Cervantes, creador de la novela corta española*, 2 vols (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1956–8).

Goytisolo, Juan. *Crónicas sarracinas* (Barcelona: Ibérica, 1982).

Graf, Tobias P. *The Sultan's Renegades. Christian-European Converts to Islam and the Making of the Ottoman Empire* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017).

Güntert, Georges. *Cervantes. Novelar el mundo desintegrado* (Barcelona: Puvill Libros, 1993).

Hegyi, Ottmar. *Cervantes and the Turks: Historical Reality Versus Literary Fiction in* La gran sultana *and* El amante liberal (Newark, DE: Juan de la Cuesta, 1992).

Hughes, Gethin. '*El gallardo español*: a Case of Misplaced Honor'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 13, no. 1 (1993): pp. 65–75.

Irigoyen-García, Javier. '"La música ha sido hereje": Pastoral Performance, Moorishness, and Cultural Hybridity in *Los Baños de Argel*'. *Bulletin of the Comediantes* 62, no. 2 (2010): pp. 45–62.

Irigoyen-García, Javier. 'Moriscos conversos en Berbería: La heterotopia de *Los baños de Argel*'. In *Actas del Congreso El Siglo de Oro en el nuevo milenio*, edited by Carlos Mata Induráin and Miguel Zugasti, 2 vols (Pamplona: Ediciones Universidad de Navarra, 2005), 1, pp. 911–17.

Johnson, Carroll B. *Cervantes and the Material World* (Chicago, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2000).

Joly, Monique. 'Dos notas al margen de *El amante liberal* y *La española inglesa*'. In *Hommage à Robert Jammes*, edited by Francis Cerdan (*Anejos de Criticón*, 1) (Toulouse: PUM, 1994), pp. 591–4.

Jurado Santos, Agapita. *Tolerancia y ambigüedad en* La gran sultana *de Cervantes* (Kassel: Reichenberger, 1997).

Kanellos, Nicholas. 'The Anti-Semitism of Cervantes's *Los baños de Argel* and *La gran sultana*: A Reappraisal'. *Bulletin of the Comediantes* 27, no. 1 (1975): pp. 48–52.

Kimmel, Seth. 'Local Turks: Print Culture and Maurophilia in Early Modern Spain'. *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies* 13, no. 1 (2012): pp. 21–38.

López-Baralt, Luce. 'El tal de Shaibedraa (*Don Quijote* I, 40)'. *eHumanista/Cervantes* 2 (2013): pp. 407–26.

López Estrada, Francisco. 'Vista de Oriente. La española en Constantinopla'. *Cervantes y el teatro. Cuadernos de teatro clásico* 7 (1992): pp. 31–46.

Lucía Megías, José Manuel. *La madurez de Cervantes. Una vida en la corte. Retazos de una biografía en los Siglos de Oro*, Parte II (Madrid: Edaf, 2016).

Mariscal, George. '*La gran sultana* and the Issue of Cervantes's Modernity'. *Revista de Estudios Hispánicos* 28, no. 2 (1994): pp. 185–211.

Márquez Villanueva, Francisco. *Moros, moriscos y turcos en Cervantes. Ensayos críticos*. (Barcelona: Bellaterra, 2010).

Márquez Villanueva, Francisco. *Personajes y temas del Quijote* (Madrid: Taurus, 1975).

Mas, Albert. *Les turcs dans la littérature espagnole du Siècle d'Or*, 2 vols (Paris: Centre de Recherches Hispaniques, 1967).

Mascarell, Purificació. 'Espectacularidad y multiculturalismo. El estreno mundial de *La gran sultana* por la Compañía Nacional de Teatro Clásico (1992)'. *eHumanista* 29 (2015): pp. 606–22.

Mata Induráin, Carlos. 'Los dos sonetos a la pérdida de La Goleta (*Quijote* I, 40) en el contexto de *La historia del Capitán cautivo*'. *Rilce* 23, no. 1 (2007): pp. 169–83.

McCrory, Donald P. Introduction to *The Captive's Tale (La historia del cautivo) Don Quixote, Part One, Chapters 39–41* (Warminster, Eng.: Aris and Philips, 1994), pp. 1–58.

Menéndez Pidal, Ramón. *Estudios sobre el Romancero español* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1970)

Meregalli, Franco. 'De *Los tratos de Argel* a *Los baños de Argel*'. *Homenaje a Casalduero*, edited by Rizel Pincus and Gonzalo Sobejano (Madrid: Gredos, 1972), pp. 395–409.

Moner, Michel. *Cervantes conteur: écrits et paroles* (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 1989).

Moner, Michel. 'Du conte merveilleux à la pseudo-autobiographie. Le récit du 'Captif *(Don Quichotte*, I, 39–41)'. In *Écrire sur soi en Espagne: Modèles et écarts: Actes du XII colloque international d'Aix-en-Provence (4–5–6 Décembre 1986)* (Aix-en-Provence: Université de Provence, 1988), pp. 57–71.

Murillo, Luis Andrés. 'El Ur-Quijote: Nueva hipótesis'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 1, nos. 1–2 (1981): pp. 43–50.

Ohanna, Natalio. *Cautiverio y convivencia en la edad de Cervantes* (Alcalá de Henares: Centro de Estudios Cervantinos, 2011).

Oliver Asín, Jaime. 'La hija de Agi Morato'. *Boletín de la Real Academia Española* 27 (1947–8): pp. 245–339.

Pérez de Hita, Ginés. *Guerras Civiles de Granada*, edited by Shasta Bryant (Newark, Delaware: Juan de la Cuesta, 1982).

Pérez de Hita, Ginés. *Historia de los zegríes y abencerrajes (Primera parte de las guerras civiles de Granada*), edited by Pedro Correa (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1999).

Plagnard, Aude. 'Cautivas cristianas y enamorados turcos: el tratamiento épico de unos infortunios náuticos en la guerra de Chipre'. *La poesía épica en el Siglo de Oro*. *Criticón* 115 (2012): pp. 125–45. Digital ed.: http://criticon.revues.org/125.

Resquejo Carrió, Marie-Blanche. 'De cómo se guisa una fábula: el episodio de los falsos cautivos en el Persiles (III, X)'. In *Actas del V Congreso Internacional de Cervantistas. Actas V-Actas Cervantistas*, edited by Alicia Villar Lecumberri (Madrid: Asociación de Cervantistas, 2004), pp. 861–77.

Rey Hazas, Antonio. 'Cervantes se rescribe: teatro y las *Novelas ejemplares*'. *Criticón* 76 (1999): pp. 119–64.

Rey Hazas, Antonio. 'Las comedias de cautivos de Cervantes'. In *Los imperios orientales en el teatro del Siglo de Oro, Actas de las XVI Jornadas de Teatro Clásico, Almagro, julio de 1993*, edited Felipe B. Pedraza Jiménez and Rafael González Cañal (Almagro: Universidad Castilla-La Mancha y Festival de Almagro, 1994), pp. 29–56.

Ricapito, Joseph. *Cervantes's* Novelas ejemplares*: Between History and Creativity* (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 1996.

Rivero Rodríguez, Manuel. *La batalla de Lepanto. Cruzada, guerra santa e identidad confesional* (Madrid: Sílex, 2008).

Ruffinatto, Aldo. 'Cautivos en cadena. Los cautivos de Cervantes entre vida y creación'. In *Actas del VI Congreso Internacional de la Asociación de Cervantistas. Alcalá de Henares, 13 a 16 de diciembre de 2006*, edited by Alexia Dotas Bravo et al. (Alcalá: Centro de Estudios Cervantinos, 2008), pp. 657–71.

Ruta, Maria Catarina. '*La española inglesa*: El desdoblamiento del héroe'. *Anales Cervantinos* 25–6 (1987–8): pp. 371–82.

Sears, Theresa Ann. *A Marriage of Convenience. Ideal and Ideology in the* Novelas ejemplares (New York: Peter Lang, 1993).

Sevilla Arroyo, Florencio and Antonio Rey Hazas. 'El teatro de Cervantes: Segunda época'. In *Obra completa* de Miguel de Cervantes, edited by Sevilla Arroyo and Rey Hazas, vol. 14 (Madrid: Alianza, 1998), pp. i–xlix.

Sliwa, K. *Documentos de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra* (Pamplona: EUNSA, Ediciones Universidad de Navarra, 1999).

Sosa, Antonio de. *An Early Modern Dialogues with Islam: Antonio de Sosa's* Topography of Algiers *(1612)*, edited by María Antonia Garcés and translated by Diana de Armas Wilson (Notre Dame, IN: The University of Notre Dame Press, 2011).

Sosa, Antonio de. *Diálogo de los mártires de Argel*, edited by Emilio Sola and José M. Parreño (Madrid: Hiperión, 1990).

Stagg, Geoffrey. 'The Composition and Revision of *La española inglesa*'. In *Studies in Honor of Bruce W. Wardropper*, edited by Dian Fox et al. *Homenajes* No. 6 (Newark, DL: Juan de la Cuesta, 1989), pp. 308–21.

Torres, Isabel. 'Now You See it, Now You… See it Again? The Dynamics of Doubling in *La española inglesa*'. In *A Companion to Cervantes's* Novelas ejemplares, edited by Stephen Boyd (London: Tamesis, 2005), pp. 115–33.

Wardropper, Bruce W. 'Comedias'. *Suma Cervantina*, edited by J.B. Avalle-Arce and E. C. Riley (London: Tamesis, 1971), pp. 147–69.

Wilson, Diana de Armas. "A Spanish Ottoman': Cervantes's Play on Hybridity'. In *Perspectives on Early Modern Women in Iberia and the Americas: Studies in Law, Society, Art and Literature in Honor of Anne J. Cruz*, edited by Adrienne L. Martín and María Cristina Quintero (New York: Escribana Books, 2015), pp. 549–59.

Wilson, Diana de Armas. *Allegories of Love: Cervantes's* Persiles and Sigismunda (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1991).

Zimic, Stanislav. *El teatro de Cervantes* (Madrid: Castalia, 1992).

Zimic, Stanislav. *Los cuentos y las novelas del* Quijote. (Pamplona: Universidad de Navarra-Iberoamericana-Vervuert, 1998.

SECTION 2

DON QUIXOTE DE LA MANCHA

CHAPTER 5

DON QUIXOTE, PART I (1605)

EDWIN WILLIAMSON
University of Oxford

GREAT claims have been made for Cervantes's masterpiece. Georg Lukács called it, 'the first great novel of world literature'.[1] Lionel Trilling believed it was seminal in the development of prose fiction: 'In any genre, it may happen that the first great example contains the whole potentiality of the genre… It can be said that all prose fiction is a variation on the theme of *Don Quixote*'.[2] According to Harold Bloom, the book has left a lasting imprint on the modern novel:

> This book contains within itself all the novels that have followed in its sublime wake. Like Shakespeare, Cervantes is inescapable for all writers who have come after him. Dickens and Flaubert, Joyce and Proust reflect the narrative procedures of Cervantes, and their glories of characterisation mingle strains of Shakespeare and Cervantes.[3]

Don Quixote remains a source of inspiration for writers in our own day. In a poll of one hundred leading writers from fifty-four countries conducted in 2002 by the Norwegian Nobel Institute, a majority voted it 'the greatest work of fiction ever written'.[4]

Such judgements may be open to dispute, but no-one can deny the towering prominence of *Don Quixote* in literary history. In the seventeenth century it inspired parodies of sentimental and pastoral romances in France and England, and already in the following century it was revered as a classic by English men of letters and would become a seminal influence on the rise of the novel in England in the hands of Fielding, Sterne, Smollett, and Defoe. The German Romantics found a philosophical significance in the book that invested it with an underlying seriousness. In the nineteenth century it was

[1] Lukács, p. 103. [2] Trilling, p. 209. [3] Bloom, 'Introduction'. p. xxii.
[4] '*Don Quixote* gets authors' votes', BBC News, 7 May 2002.

regarded as the supreme precursor of European Realism, hugely admired for its interplay of truth and illusion, its vivid characterization, witty dialogue, and its knowing yet humane irony. Modernists and postmodernists in the following century were drawn to its self-reflexiveness and its ingenious metafictional games. The book, moreover, would inspire artists in a wide range of other media, from drama, ballet, and opera to painting, film, television, cartoons, and comic strips. All of this begs the question: how could this one book have exerted such vast influence on literature and the arts for some 400 years? And it prompts a related question: how could a man living in the heyday of the Spanish Inquisition come to write a work that is widely regarded as the first modern novel? I will argue that the source of the book's literary power—and the key to its modernity—can be found in the unique and special madness of Don Quixote.

The dominant mode of fiction during Cervantes's lifetime was what we now call in English the 'romance'. Several types were in vogue, such as the *novela sentimental* based on courtly love, pastoral romances portraying shepherds and shepherdesses debating their amorous predicaments, and 'Byzantine' and 'Moorish' romances, which alternated the trials of love with exciting adventure stories set in exotic places. The most popular type in Spain, however, was the romance of chivalry, which is perhaps not surprising given that Spaniards were engaged in war and adventure across the globe. The origins of the genre lay in the work of the twelfth-century French poet Chrétien de Troyes, who combined Celtic myths about King Arthur with the ideas of courtly love, which reached the courts of northern France from Provence.[5] Chrétien's verse romances relate the adventures of a knight seeking to achieve *courtoisie*, a balance of martial prowess and the love of a beautiful and virtuous lady. The hero undergoes a succession of trials (or 'adventures') put in his way by various enemies, including enchanters, giants, monsters, and other evil beings; by overcoming these, the knight will demonstrate his valour and virtue, and earn the glory that will make him worthy of the love of his lady, whose hand he will finally win as a sign of God's favour. The linchpin of the system is Divine Providence, for the author plays the role of God within his fiction, freely managing events by means of coincidences, revelations, discoveries, and reversals, so as to bring about the eventual triumph of the hero, thereby demonstrating how, in the last instance, the world may be saved from the powers of evil.

The genre of chivalric romance would undergo many subsequent developments, but the basic quest-structure invented by Chrétien de Troyes, as well as its courtly values and highly codified martial and amatory conventions, survived in the sixteenth-century Spanish books of chivalry known as *libros de caballerías*, whose prototype was *Amadís de Gaula* [*Amadis of Gaul*] (1508) in the version of Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo, a romance which became extremely popular in Spain and famous throughout Europe.[6] The success of *Amadís de Gaula* spawned an enormous number of sequels and imitations in the course of the century, feeding a voracious public appetite for the entrancing blend of exciting adventures in faraway lands, love-affairs in aristocratic circles, courtly

[5] See Williamson, *The Half-Way House*…, pp. 1–28, on the art of Chrétien de Troyes.
[6] See Williamson, *The Half-Way House*…, pp. 29–69, and Eisenberg.

manners, and increasingly, mind-boggling supernatural fantasies. One finds magic and marvels in Chrétien's romances too, of course, but they are used judiciously and with poetic delicacy to represent the correspondence of earthly experience with spiritual realities. The extravagant fantasies of the *libros de caballerías*, on the other hand, called into question their strident claims to be 'true histories'. A number of devices to disguise or mitigate the contradiction between fantasy and history became standard in the Spanish romances: their authors pretended to be editing manuscripts found in some remote place; these had been allegedly written in a foreign tongue and translated into Spanish; and, to cap it all, the often incredible adventures were said to have been recorded by a chronicler who was often attributed magical powers, no doubt to explain how he had managed to witness the hero's exploits, however far-flung or implausible these might have been.

The *libros de caballerías* were condemned as profane and risqué by clerics, and were controversial among men of culture, some despising them as frivolous and absurd, while others, most likely Cervantes among them, saw some merit in them so long as they could be put on a sounder aesthetic footing. It was the basic contradiction between history and fantasy that became the main target of Cervantes's parody of the genre. Cervantes was certainly not the first writer to parody chivalric romance: the Italian, Ludovico Ariosto, for one, had already done so in *Orlando Furioso* (1516–32), a book Cervantes greatly admired and would allude to repeatedly in his own work. What made the critical difference was the Spaniard's brilliant idea of making his hero mad: Don Quixote has lost his wits because he believes the claim that the *libros de caballerías* are 'true histories'. Thus, at a stroke, the ideal world of courtly chivalry, which had so captivated the European imagination for some four centuries, was condensed into a reality existing nowhere other than inside the head of a lunatic. The ensuing conflict between illusion and reality would form the basis of the kind of fiction that developed in Europe in subsequent centuries.

There have been attempts to show that Don Quixote's madness is broadly consistent with contemporary theories of mental aberration predicated on the balance of 'humours', and that the old hidalgo's physical attributes would appear to correspond to a 'choleric' temperament, but this hardly gets us very far in understanding the book as a literary phenomenon, given that the knight's madness has no psychological interest in itself since it is just a pretext to launch a parody of a popular literary genre. The available evidence suggests that the general public of Cervantes's time regarded *Don Quixote* as little more than a funny book, which mocked the absurdities of the books of chivalry.[7] In eighteenth-century England, however, the madness started to be given a positive gloss: the crazy knight came to be seen as a benevolent innocent whose naiveté served to show up the vices and corruption of society at large.[8] A pivotal moment in this increasingly positive interpretation of the quixotic madness came in the early decades of the nineteenth century when the German Romantics subsumed the burlesque character of the book in a sort of philosophical allegory of the conflict between the Ideal and the

[7] See Russell. [8] See Martínez Mata, 'El cambio de interpretación . . . '.

Real—symbolized respectively by Don Quixote and his squire Sancho Panza—in which the knight's love for his imaginary lady Dulcinea was imbued with pathos and even a certain tragic irony.[9]

The tendency to regard the madness as a moral critique of society or as symbolizing an admirable ideal led to the characterization of Don Quixote as a man who is dissatisfied with his actual circumstances and strives to refashion himself and the world. This type of voluntaristic and idealizing interpretation was adopted, for instance, by several important Hispanic writers in the aftermath of the crisis of confidence that afflicted Spain after the loss of her remaining colonies following her defeat in 1898 by the USA, when the knight of La Mancha tended to be interpreted as the embodiment of the defiant Hispanic spirit struggling against the supposedly barbaric materialism of the modern world. The most famous instance was Miguel de Unamuno's speculative commentary *Vida de Don Quijote y Sancho* [*The Life of Don Quixote and Sancho*], in which the knight was hailed as a Christ-like figure whose madness consisted in the championing of 'irrational' faith against the scientific rationalism and objectivity presumed to be the hallmarks of the modern mind. An influential variant of this interpretation was Américo Castro's portrayal of the mad knight as a kind of outsider, who, in the teeth of an oppressive and corrupt society, strives to assert his authentic self through sheer willpower.[10] However, in so far as they imply that the quixotic madness is a form of play-acting which could be modified according to circumstances, such views are hard to reconcile with the actual text.[11] Nevertheless, the idealization of the madness became so entrenched that readers, critics, and scholars largely lost sight of the comic qualities of the book.

Erich Auerbach was one of the first critics in the twentieth century to reject this type of idealizing interpretation. In his famous book *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature*, he observed that:

> There is . . . very little of problem and tragedy in Cervantes's book—and yet it belongs among the literary masterpieces of an epoch during which the modern problematic and tragic conception of things arose in the European mind. Don Quijote's madness reveals nothing of the sort. The whole book is a comedy in which well-founded reality holds madness up to ridicule.[12]

Nevertheless, he pointed out that 'since the Romantic period' there were 'probably few lovers of literature who do not associate the concept of ideal greatness with Don Quijote', a conception which, in his view, 'withstands all attempts on the part of philological criticism to show that Cervantes's intention was not to produce such an impression'.[13] Auerbach was followed by a number of scholars, known as the 'hard' critics, who believed that the function of the parody was to castigate Don Quixote for what they tended to

[9] For the interpretation of *Don Quixote* in Germany, see Rivero Iglesias.
[10] See, for example, Castro, *Hacia Cervantes*, p. 322.
[11] Van Doren was the first to propose explicitly that the knight was 'play-acting'.
[12] Auerbach, p. 347.
[13] Auerbach, p. 343. See also Close.

regard as his 'folly'.[14] Auerbach himself, however, recognized that the madness consisted in 'a combination of the noble, immaculate, and redeeming, with absolute nonsense', a combination which made it 'much more difficult to determine the position . . . of the novel as a whole on the scale of levels between tragic and comic'.[15] The nub of the problem is that Alonso Quijano, an aging country gentleman from the provincial backwater of La Mancha, strives to become a knight errant because he wants to make the world a better place; so does the inherent absurdity of the quixotic madness nullify its inherent idealism?

The 'hard' critics based their interpretations on what they presumed were Cervantes's exclusively burlesque intentions, but they disregarded another vital element in the making of *Don Quixote*—Cervantes's *invención*, a quality of which he boasted in his *Viaje del Parnaso*: 'yo soy aquel que en la invención excede/a muchos' ['I am one who surpasses many others in his powers of invention'].[16] *Don Quixote* is without question a funny book from first to last, since it was conceived as a parody; but it is also the story of how Cervantes discovered the potentialities of the knight's madness in the process of writing, and these discoveries must surely be taken into account when assessing his overall literary *intención*.[17] The fundamental critical challenge lies, I would say, in accounting for the comic and the tragic elements of the narrative without traducing Cervantes's likely intentions as they might have evolved in the making of *Don Quixote*.

There is a feature of the quixotic madness whose significance has been generally overlooked: so long as the old hidalgo of La Mancha believes that the *libros de caballerías* tell the absolute truth he will be mad, but the text itself clearly indicates that there is a further level to his madness:

> En efeto, *rematado ya su juicio*, vino a dar en el más estraño pensamiento que jamás dio loco en el mundo, y fue que le pareció convenible y necesario, así para el aumento de su honra como para el servicio de la república, hacerse caballero andante y irse por todo el mundo con sus armas y caballo a buscar las aventuras y a ejercitarse en todo aquello que el había leído que los caballeros andantes se ejercitaban.[18]
>
> [*By now quite insane*, he conceived the strangest notion that ever took shape in a madman's head, considering it desirable and necessary, both for the increase of his honour and for the common good, to become a knight errant, and to travel the world with his armour and his arms and his horse in search of adventures.][19]

This secondary belief introduces a dynamic element into the basic delusion—it drives the hidalgo to re-invent himself as Don Quixote de La Mancha and set out to restore the order of chivalry by his own efforts. The aspiring knight errant will never waver in his

[14] See Mandel, 'The Function of the Norm . . .'.
[15] Auerbach, pp. 343–4.
[16] Cervantes, *Viaje del Parnaso*, IV.28–9, p. 61.
[17] See Williamson, '*Intención* and *Invención* . . .'.
[18] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, I.1, p. 43 (my emphasis).
[19] Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, I.1, p. 27 (my emphasis). Unless otherwise indicated, all translations from *Don Quixote* come from this edition.

primary belief that the romances of chivalry are literally true, so in this respect he cannot become less mad. However, the *secondary* level of the madness was indeed capable of variation, and in due course this would allow Cervantes the leeway to develop the character of Don Quixote by exploiting the potential for self-doubt that lay in the hidalgo's struggle to realize his knightly destiny. It was this process of *invención* that would take the mad old hidalgo far beyond the limits of the ridiculous buffoon he might otherwise have remained.

The peculiar double madness of the protagonist was to become the great engine of invention in *Don Quixote* but, paradoxically, the main driver of innovation was the knight's unyielding belief in the absolute truth of the books of chivalry, for the inflexibility of this primary level of the madness acted as a constraint which prevented Cervantes from falling back on established modes of storytelling and, in this respect, it acted as a spur to invent new ways of overcoming the problems he encountered in the process of composition. The writing of *Don Quixote*, then, became a great adventure for Cervantes, a voyage of discovery whose destination was unforeseeable and unknown. As we shall see, the narrative took shape gradually, passing through different stages and transformations as the author faced the creative challenges presented by the lunatic obsession which had taken hold of his would-be hero.[20]

The first stage: an exemplary spoof on the Spanish books of chivalry

One can still discern in the first six chapters of the book the outline of what was very likely Cervantes's initial plan, namely, a brief parody of a book of chivalry, perhaps of a length comparable to one of his novellas, comprising a number of adventures undertaken by a crackpot hidalgo. The story opens with an account of the habits of Alonso Quijano, who spends his meagre income on *libros de caballerías* in which he buries himself to such an extent that he decides to restore the order of chivalry by becoming a knight errant himself. He changes his name to the chivalric-sounding Don Quixote de La Mancha, gives his old nag the name 'Rocinante', 'nombre, a su parecer, alto, sonoro y significativo' ['a name which, in his view, was lofty, sonorous and meaningful'][21], and declares his devotion to Aldonza Lorenzo, a strapping country girl who he believes is a princess called Dulcinea del Toboso (El Toboso being another god-forsaken village in

[20] See González Echevarría on improvisation (pp. 29–73).
[21] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, I.1, p. 45; my translation.

La Mancha). Thus transformed, he sets off to make the world as good a place as that described in the books that have driven him out of his mind.

As the novelist Milan Kundera observed, 'When Don Quixote went out into the world that world turned into a mystery before his eyes. That is the legacy of the first European novel to the entire subsequent history of the genre.'[22] Yet why should the world have turned into a mystery? Because Don Quixote interprets it through the prism of chivalry: 'a nuestro aventurero todo cuanto pensaba, veía o imaginaba le parecía ser hecho y pasar al modo de lo que había leído' ['whatever our adventurer thought, saw or imagined seemed to be as it was in the books he'd read'].[23] Anything that reminds him of his books is taken as a sign of an ideal chivalric reality, and he will proclaim it as such in the teeth of all empirical evidence to the contrary. Thus, when he arrives at a roadside inn, he imagines it to be a castle and takes two tarts loitering at the door to be genteel ladies, addressing them in archaic courtly language, as he later does the innkeeper, whom he asks to perform the ceremony of his initiation into knight-errantry. The mischievous innkeeper recommends he spend that night in meditation before being knighted the following morning. Don Quixote, however, manages to get into fights with two muleteers who happen to interrupt his nocturnal vigil. This is the first time the would-be knight errant must face the fact that the world will not readily yield to his desires or conform to his illusions.

Back on the road again, he comes across the boy Andrés, who is being beaten by his master, and since one of the aims of his mission is to right wrongs, he immediately assumes the lad is being wrongly punished and so he challenges his tormentor to a duel. The latter feigns compliance, but as soon as the knight has departed he resumes his beating of the boy. Immediately after this presumed victory, Don Quixote finds another opportunity for adventure by challenging a group of merchants from Toledo to agree with his assertion that Dulcinea is the most beautiful maiden in the world. Outraged by the merchants' teasing response, he charges at them but is thrown off his saddle when Rocinante stumbles; he is then beaten up so badly that he cannot pick himself up off the ground. And yet, even in this extremity, he calls to mind precedents for his plight in the literary tradition, reciting a well-known ballad about the knight Valdovinos, who lay grievously wounded after battle until the Marquis of Mantua came to his aid. A neighbour, Pedro Alonso, happens to pass by and eventually manages to get him back home, where he is put to bed to recover from his injuries. This first sally concludes with the walling-up of Alonso Quijano's library after his books are subjected to a critical review by the local priest and barber, who discuss which to spare and which to consign to the flames. The burning of the madman's books would have provided a suitably moralizing ending to a burlesque sketch about a man who lost his wits by reading too many romances of chivalry.

[22] Kundera, p. 237.

[23] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, I.2, p. 52; p. 32. See Predmore, Chapters 4 and 5, for a classic study of 'the problem of reality in *Don Quixote*' (p. 53).

The second stage: a *libro de caballerías* in miniature

At a certain point in the writing of this chivalric spoof Cervantes decided that his initial idea was susceptible of further development. As can be gathered from internal evidence, such as the seamless transition from the present Chapter 5 to 6, the text of the first stage of composition was continuous, but we can deduce that one of Cervantes's aims in expanding the story was to reproduce in microcosm the structure of a *libro de caballerías* consisting of four 'parts', each of eight chapters, in imitation of the 'books' into which the Spanish romances were normally divided.[24] This second stage of composition would also feature two important inventions: a chronicler-narrator called Cide Hamete Benengeli and a squire for Don Quixote in the form of the illiterate peasant Sancho Panza. Both additions had their generic precedents in the *libro de caballerías* but their roles in the parody would comically diverge from their respective models in unforeseeably productive ways.

Cide Hamete Benengeli and metafiction

In the first stage of writing, Cervantes had already indulged in a good deal of equivocation over the sources by unnamed authors on which the 'history' of Don Quixote was allegedly based. This playfulness would continue throughout the whole of Part I: 'The countless authorial irruptions, asides, and interferences that constantly arise . . . are witness to the complex, pervasive, and ever-changing narrative masks that Cervantes assumed during the writing of his novel.'[25] In this second stage, however, Cervantes invented a new mask which would allow him to parody the figure of the omniscient magician-chronicler, a standard feature of a *libro de caballerías*. He came up with a wonderfully original idea: instead of revising what he had already written in order to insert this new chronicler at the beginning of the story, he introduced him *in medias res*. At the point in the present Chapter 8 when Don Quixote has raised his sword to engage an irate Basque in combat, the narrative suddenly comes to a halt and we are informed that the rest of the text has been lost. Cervantes then goes on to relate how he, 'el segundo autor desta obra' ['the second author of this work'],[26] happened upon some notebooks written in Arabic in a street market in Toledo and took them to a Spanish Moor, who, for the price of 'dos arrobas de pasas y dos fanegas de trigo . . . prometió de traducirlos bien y fielmente y con mucha brevedad' ['fifty pounds of raisins and two bushels of wheat . . . promised to make a good, faithful translation, and to be quick about it, too'].[27] What came to

[24] See Flores, 'Cervantes at Work . . .', pp. 139–41, and Stagg.
[25] Flores, 'The Role of . . .', p. 4.
[26] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, I.8, p. 113; p. 70.
[27] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, I.9, p. 119; p. 75.

light in the translated text was a chronicle of Don Quixote's adventures by an Arab 'historian' called Cide Hamete Benengeli, whose reliability was very much open to doubt, 'siendo muy propio de los de esa nación ser mentirosos' [since 'it's a well-known feature of Arabs that they're all liars'].[28]

This intrusion of Cervantes into his own fiction had a precedent in the Spanish romances. The authors of *libros de caballerías* had tied themselves up in knots in their efforts to create an illusion of historical veracity for their 'chronicles'.[29] One of the knottiest examples occurred in *Las sergas de Esplandián* [*The Exploits of Esplandián*] (1505), by Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo, who was also the author of *Amadís de Gaula*. Montalvo prevaricates about his exact role in the book—whether he is the real author or simply an editor; the ostensible 'chronicler' is Master Elisabad, who, we are told, only wrote about what he himself witnessed or what he learned from reliable sources. Eventually, the pretence of eyewitness narration becomes stretched to the limit as characters and incidents proliferate seemingly at random; and poor Master Elisabad has to trot the globe in order to keep up with Esplandián's adventures. Towards the middle of the book (in Chapters 98 and 99), Montalvo says he grew tired of 'revising' such a badly organized narrative and decided to abandon the task. Referring to himself in the first person, he begins to give details of his life—a place-name, his taste for falconry, the nature of the terrain, even the state of the weather; he goes on to relate how he was transported in a dream or otherwise to the presence of Urganda the Unknowable, the supreme enchantress in both *Amadís de Gaula* and *Esplandián*. She upbraids him for being a man of little learning but nevertheless puts him through a test; he is taken to a chamber where the principal characters in the romance are seated on thrones, and he is asked to pick the most beautiful lady and the most valiant knight. Approving of his choices, Urganda authorizes him to resume working on the *Esplandián*, since she now believes he would not say anything that was not true. Montalvo's credentials are thereby validated by no less an authority than the supreme sorceress from within his own fiction.

Montalvo's tortuous efforts to reconcile the unbelievable fantasies of the *libros de caballerías* with their concomitant claim to historical veracity are parodied by Cervantes by transforming his predecessor's self-referential techniques into a playful mediation of Don Quixote's exploits to the reader, involving, in turn, Cervantes himself, who becomes a character within his own book, the dodgy Hispano-Arab translator, and Cide Hamete Benengeli, the mendacious Arab historian, who will become the prototype of that ubiquitous device in modern fiction: the unreliable narrator. Far from fostering an illusion of historicity, Cervantes turned the act of storytelling into a self-conscious performance which showed that Don Quixote's adventures had nothing to do with history but were entirely, and gloriously, fictional.

Cide Hamete's startling irruption into the book has rightly been hailed as a brilliant, pioneering example of metafiction, but Cervantes had not yet fully appreciated the rich promise of his invention. Having been conceived as a device to introduce each of the

[28] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, I.9, p. 120; p. 76.

[29] See Williamson, *The Half-Way*…, pp. 50–69.

four 'parts' of the intended miniature *libro de caballerías*, the Arab chronicler would be confined to this ancillary role for the rest of Part I, in which he is referred to only five times by name and twice indirectly. Thus, Benengeli at this stage was just another of the various authorial masks adopted by Cervantes in his general comic prevarication over the text's veracity; however, in Part II he would give a sharper focus to his metafictional play by assigning to Cide Hamete a much more substantial and complex role as sole chronicler and narrator of the text, while reserving for himself the part of sceptical commentator on the reliability of the Arab historian's chronicle.[30]

Sancho Panza and 'perspectivism'

With the invention of Sancho Panza, Don Quixote would be forced to engage in a sustained dialogue with another character whose point of view would be at odds with his chivalric 'interpretations' of reality, and this disparity of perspectives would be comically reinforced by disparities of language, manners, values, attitudes, and temperament to such a degree that the dialectic between knight and squire would threaten to level differences of status and value. But more than this, Don Quixote's approach to reality would acquire a more consistent epistemological character. In the first stage of composition, the knight had approached everyday situations by referring them to fanciful literary precedents in the books of chivalry, but now he has to contend with the peasant's empirical common sense, so his 'interpretations' become a matter of dispute, as in the iconic episode in which he tilts at windmills (I.8). Having proclaimed them to be giants, he brushes aside Sancho's warnings and goes on the attack but comes to grief when he gets entangled in a windmill's sails.

The more the knight is forced to argue with Sancho, all the more ingenious or unexpected will become his justifications of failure. In Chapter 21, on seeing a barber wearing a brass basin on his head to shield him from the rain, Don Quixote declares it to be the enchanted helmet of the Moorish King Mambrino, which the knight Rinaldo captured in Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*; Sancho insists it is just a basin. Don Quixote challenges the barber, who runs off in terror leaving his basin and donkey's packsaddle behind. The issue of whether these objects are a magic helmet and a horse's caparison or a barber's basin and a donkey's packsaddle will become a running dispute between master and servant. It crops up again several chapters later, and on this occasion the exasperated knight will appear to concede a certain relativism in other people's perceptions of reality:

> Andan entre nosotros siempre una caterva de encantadores que todas nuestras cosas mudan y truecan, y las vuelven según su gusto y según tienen la gana de favorecernos o destruirnos; y así, eso que a ti te parece bacía de barbero me parece a mí el yelmo de Mambrino y a otro le parecerá otra cosa.

[30] See Allen, pp. 3–15, Mancing, and Riley, 'Three Versions . . .'.

> [We are always attended by a crew of enchanters who keep transforming everything and changing it into whatever they like, according to whether they have a mind to help or destroy us; and so what looks to you like a barber's basin looks to me like Mambrino's helmet, and will look like something else to another person.][31]

Don Quixote is not saying that one man's view is as good as another's; he believes that enchanters contrive 'que parezca bacía a todos lo que real y verdaderamente es yelmo de Mambrino' ['making everyone take what is really and truly Mambrino's helmet for a barber's basin'].[32] Sancho is torn between accepting what he can see with his own eyes or deferring to his knight's version of reality, and in a later scene, he will coin the term *baciyelmo*, a hybrid of *bacía* (basin) and *yelmo* (helmet) ['basinelmet'],[33] in order to effect a compromise between sense-perception and respect for his master.

The question of Mambrino's helmet has provoked much debate on the notion of 'perspectivism', a term which refers to the way Cervantes's writing often suggests that perceptions of reality may vary according to the individual, and which many critics take to be a sign of Cervantes's sense of what Américo Castro famously called 'la realidad oscilante' ['the oscillating reality'] of the world, given the unstable, 'ambiguous' nature of human perceptions and experiences.[34] Although I believe it is anachronistic to see Cervantes endorsing 'perspectivism' in this relativistic sense, it is certainly true that he can at times create situations which, for comic purposes, appear to resemble kaleidoscopically shifting representations of different points of view. A good example is Don Quixote's blundering tryst at the inn in Chapter 16, in which he gets caught up in a sordid assignation between a muleteer and the hunch-backed serving-wench Maritornes. When she comes to see her fancy-man in the guests' dormitory that night, Don Quixote assumes she is the love-struck daughter of the lord of the castle who has come to lie with him in his chamber. He pulls her down onto his bed and apologises to this 'fermosa doncella' ['beautiful damsel'] and 'diosa de la hermosura' ['goddess of beauty'] for being unable to reciprocate her love because of his unyielding devotion to Dulcinea. The muleteer, suspecting that Maritornes 'le hubiese faltado la palabra por otro' ['might have broken his promise to him for another man'], deals Don Quixote a terrible blow. But when Maritornes hears the innkeeper approaching the dormitory, she huddles up in Sancho's bed: 'todo medrosica y alborotada . . . se acurrucó e hizo un ovillo' ['agitated and frightened . . . she rolled herself up into a little ball'], a picture of coy vulnerability that is shattered by her boss's exasperated cry: '¿Adónde estás, puta? A buen seguro que son tus cosas éstas' ['Where are you, you little tart? I know this is all your doing'].[35] Sancho's slumber is disturbed by this commotion and, thinking he is having a nightmare, he starts hitting Maritornes, who fights back, but the muleteer, like some grotesque knight errant,

[31] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, I.25, pp. 303–4; p. 209.
[32] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, I.25, p. 304; p. 209.
[33] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, I.44, p. 570; p. 418.
[34] See Castro, *El pensamiento* . . . , p. 83; see also Spitzer, Durán, pp. 184–210, and Predmore, pp. 53–83.
[35] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, I.16, p. 190; p. 127.

'viendo . . . cual andaba su dama . . . acudió a darle el socorro necesario' ['seeing the plight his lady was in, went to give her the help she needed']. Each character has a different take on Maritornes, depending on the designs they have on her or on the way she affects them: she is a 'goddess of beauty' for Don Quixote, a 'faithless wench' but then a 'lady' for the muleteer, a 'little tart' for the innkeeper, and a 'nightmare' for Sancho, whereas she herself affects a vulnerable innocence.

* * *

It is still possible to imagine how Cervantes would likely have brought his miniature romance of chivalry to an end. After Don Quixote's wrong-headed 'liberation' of a chain-gang of galley slaves in Chapter 22, the knight and squire decide to go up into the wild mountains of the Sierra Morena in order to escape arrest by the Holy Brotherhood (the rural police force). There, in imitation of Amadis and Orlando when they had been spurned by their respective ladies, Don Quixote takes it into his head to feign a 'love madness' as evidence of his passion for Dulcinea. He resolves to send his squire to deliver a love-letter to the lady in El Toboso, but first he asks Sancho to watch him perform some 'mad' deeds so that he may describe them to her as evidence of the intensity of his devotion. On his way to El Toboso, Sancho comes to a roadside inn where he finds the priest and barber, who are looking for the demented hidalgo in order to bring him safely home. The pair have devised a plan: the barber will get himself up in female garb and appeal to Don Quixote to defend her, a damsel in distress, against a wicked knight, while the priest will pretend to be her squire. Sancho agrees to help them, and they all make their way to the Sierra Morena to meet up with the mad knight (I.26–27). The Quixote-Sancho storyline could conceivably have been rounded off by having the disguised priest and the barber-in-drag persuade the old hidalgo—no doubt after a few more comic episodes—to accompany them back to their village. Cervantes would thereby have brought his four-part miniature romance of chivalry to a coherent and exemplary conclusion, with Sancho playing a crucial role in its denouement. Such an ending, however, was not to be, for the thread of the narrative was severely disrupted shortly after Sancho, the priest, and the barber reach the Sierra Morena (I.27).

As he was to explain in Part II, Chapter 44, Cervantes found that 'el ir siempre atenido . . . a escribir de un solo sujeto y hablar por las bocas de pocas personas era un trabajo incomportable, cuyo fruto no redundaba en el de su autor' [to be 'always constrained to writing about one subject and speaking through the mouths of so few characters was intolerable drudgery, which yielded nothing to the author's advantage'].[36] He feared that if he stuck to the 'historia tan seca y limitada' ['dry and limited story'] of Don Quixote, 'se desprecie su trabajo' [he might be 'scorned for his labours'], 'teniendo habilidad, suficiencia y entendimiento para tratar del universo todo' [even though he had 'the ability, capacity, and intelligence to deal with the entire universe'].[37] We find here Cervantes being tempted to display his powers of *invención* to greater advantage by adhering more closely to established modes of narrative and to contemporary literary theory, which

[36] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, II.44, p. 1070; p. 776.
[37] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, II.44, p. 1070; p. 776.

prized abundance of topics and variety of incidents in storytelling. His frustration with the restrictions imposed by the Quixote-Sancho relationship therefore impelled him to break out of the framework of a miniature romance of chivalry and turn his parody of the *libros de caballerías* into a longer, grander, and more prestigious type of work, which would more likely earn him the admiration of the reading public, raise his status in the literary world, and perhaps win him the favour of a noble patron.

But how to introduce greater variety? He decided to weave a number of extraneous stories into the main narrative, a practice already found in books of chivalry, in the Renaissance epic, in pastoral romances, and even in the emerging genre of picaresque fiction. Even so, he was conscious of an incompatibility between the story of the crackpot knight and the separate tales: '[M]uchos, llevados de la atención que piden las hazañas de don Quijote, no la darían a las novelas, y pasarían por ellas o con priesa o con enfado, sin advertir la gala y artificio que en sí contienen, el cual se mostrara bien al descubierto, cuando por sí solas, sin arrimarse a las locuras de don Quijote ni a las sandeces de Sancho, salieran a luz' ['[M]any people, with all their attention engrossed by the deeds of Don Quixote, might not have any attention left for the tales, and might leaf through them in haste or exasperation, without noticing their elegance and artistry, which would have been plain to see had they been published by themselves and not as mere adjuncts to Don Quixote's mad antics and to Sancho's tomfoolery'].[38] He went ahead, nevertheless, and abandoned the plan for a four-part structure, dropped any further references to Cide Hamete Benengeli (the Arab historian is last mentioned in the final sentence of Chapter 27, i.e. the end of the third 'part' of the projected mini-romance), and thereafter he allowed the book to digress periodically from the principal storyline into a series of extraneous tales.

The third phase: the interpolated tales

There are six interpolated tales in Part I: two are pastoral, one is a so-called 'Moorish' romance, another is an Italian-style novella, the rest tell of star-crossed lovers in situations that are similar to the love-plots that were so popular in the contemporary Spanish theatre. The interweaving of these tales came about by stages.[39] The first was the insertion of the story of Marcela, which Cervantes originally placed in the mountains of the Sierra Morena, where Don Quixote and Sancho had withdrawn after the debacle with the galley slaves in Chapter 23. Knight and squire come across some goatherds, who invite them to share a rustic meal with them round the fire. This simple hospitality puts Don Quixote in mind of the myth of the Golden Age, and he delivers a fairly lucid

[38] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, II.44, p. 1070; p. 776.
[39] See Stagg, Flores, 'Cervantes at Work', and Martín Morán, *El Quijote en ciernes*, pp. 23–105.

speech, extolling the virtues of a time of innocence and natural plenty in which things were held in common, truth and justice upheld, and maidens could go about the countryside at will without fear of being harmed by men's 'lascivo intento' ['lewd designs'], unlike in 'estos nuestros detestables siglos' ['these detestable times of ours'].[40] A goatherd then tells the story of a rich farmer's daughter who has become a shepherdess in order to enjoy her freedom. All the young men of the region are in love with her, especially Grisóstomo, but since Marcela refused to accept him, he has died in despair by his own hand. Marcela herself makes an appearance at Grisóstomo's burial and refuses to be blamed for his death: she did not encourage Grisóstomo and is under no obligation to accede to the wishes of a youth who happened to fall in love with her. Although not an overt parody of the pastoral genre, the story is consistent with the broad aim of the *Quixote* in that it shows up the absurdity of youths dressing up as shepherds and wandering about pining for a girl who refuses to conform to type.

Having once departed from the principal narrative, Cervantes was tempted to do so again. This time he added a story about two pairs of lovers, Cardenio-Luscinda and Dorotea-Fernando. Cardenio loves Luscinda but her father will not permit their marriage. His friend Fernando offers to intercede on his behalf but falls madly in love with the girl and asks for her hand. When a letter is discovered stating that Luscinda is already secretly married to Cardenio, Fernando abducts her all the same. It then transpires that Fernando had previously seduced Dorotea on the promise of marriage but had disappeared after she succumbed. Dorotea, however, sets off to find him and make him keep his word. In due course, each of the women will be restored to her original lover. Accommodating this two-fold tale in the main narrative required several adjustments to the text. Marcela's tale was moved forwards from the Sierra Morena to the present Chapters 11–14. Despite the fact that Marcela's story had been relocated to a plain, traces of its original placement in the Sierra Morena can still be found in the text, as in the reference to 'these mountains and these valleys'[41] or to 'those sierras'.[42] Cervantes then used the wild setting of the Sierra Morena to introduce by degrees each of the two strands comprising the new interpolated tale. Cardenio appears in Chapter 23 as a man who roams the mountains, having been driven mad with anguish at the loss of his sweetheart, Luscinda. This links him with Don Quixote, who will take it into his head to feign a 'love-madness' for his lady (I.25). Dorotea is later also discovered in the Sierra Morena dressed as a boy (I.28), and in the next chapter, she volunteers to replace the barber in the role of 'damsel in distress' by pretending to be the Princess Micomicona and asking Don Quixote to rid her of a giant who is allegedly ravaging her lands. The two threads of the double tale are thus partially assimilated into the main Quixote narrative through a burlesque association with chivalric tropes: Cardenio's 'love-madness' and Dorotea's 'damsel in distress'. But where to set the happy ending required of a romance? Cervantes chose the inn where in Chapter 32 Don Quixote, Sancho Panza, the priest and barber, together with Cardenio and Dorotea, eventually arrive on their way back from the Sierra Morena.

[40] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, I.11, p. 135; p. 85.
[41] Cervantes, *Don Quixote* I.12, p. 93
[42] Cervantes, *Don Quixote* I.14, p. 112; see also Flores, 'Cervantes at Work', pp. 147–8.

This humble inn would become the focal point for the convergence of all but one of the remaining interpolated tales in Part I.

Cervantes was clearly delighted at having woven these extraneous stories into the main narrative, and congratulated himself on his *invención*: 'gozamos ahora en esta nuestra edad, necesitada de alegres entretenimientos, no sólo de la dulzura de su verdadera historia [i.e. Don Quixote's], sino de los cuentos y episodios della, que en parte no son menos agradables y artificiosos y verdaderos, que la misma historia' ['we can now enjoy, in this age of ours, so much in need of amusing entertainments, not only the delights of [Don Quixote's] true history but also stories and episodes inserted into it, for in some ways they are no less agreeable or imaginative or true than the history itself'].[43] He went on to add two further stories, *El curioso impertinente*, modelled on the Italian novella and set in Florence, and *Historia del capitán cautivo*, which drew on his own five-year captivity in Algiers. Both were placed in the inn where the other characters were already gathered; but incorporated in the frame-narrative in different ways.

El curioso impertinente is presented as straight fiction. It is found by chance among papers in a suitcase, and the priest reads it to the other guests (I.33–5). Anselmo weds the virtuous Camila but conceives an irresistible desire to put her fidelity to the test, so he asks his best friend Lotario to pretend to seduce her. Though he at first refuses, Lotario reluctantly agrees, on the insistence of Anselmo. Camila resists her seducer but surrenders in the end to a passionate affair. When Anselmo eventually finds out, his anguish at the folly of his 'impertinent curiosity' brings about his death, Lotario goes off to war and is killed in battle, and Camila expires shortly after hearing of her lover's demise. When he finishes reading the story, the priest judges it 'impossible' that a husband could be so foolish as to put his wife's virtue to the test in such a fashion; even so, 'en lo que toca al modo de contarle, no me descontenta' ['Yet the way in which it's told doesn't displease me at all'].[44]

El capitán cautivo is introduced immediately after the priest finishes reading this story. A Spanish captain arrives at the inn accompanied by a mysterious Moorish woman (I.36), and gives a lengthy account of their escape from Algiers (I.39–41), describing how he was approached by Zoraida, the daughter of a rich merchant, who wanted to become a Christian, having been inspired to a devotion to the Virgin Mary by a Christian slave woman. The story mostly deals with the risky preparations for the hazardous sea-journey to freedom in Spain, but in order to create a denouement for the Captain's tale, Cervantes invented yet another story. A judge arrives at the inn with his beautiful, sixteen-year-old daughter Clara; it transpires that he is none other than the Captain's brother, and there is an emotional reunion of the long-lost siblings. At the dawn of the following day, a young footman turns up at the inn singing a beautiful love-song, which betrays his true identity as Clara's desperate suitor, the aristocratic Don Luis, who has abandoned his father's house in disguise in order to follow his sweetheart. Hot on his heels, however, come four horsemen, his father's servants, who have been sent to

[43] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, I.28, p. 347; p. 247.

[44] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, I.35, p. 463; p. 337.

apprehend him and take him home (I.43); Don Luis refuses to return, and explains his predicament to the judge, who, seeing the prospect of an advantageous marriage for his daughter, approves of the match as long as Luis's distraught father gives his consent.

All the interpolated tales have one thing in common—they share the basic features of literary romance: the characters are beautiful and well-born, they are concerned with questions of love and honour, and the action is articulated through marvellous coincidences and discoveries. But Cervantes faced a problem: how could he interpolate romantic tales in a frame-narrative that was itself a parody of the idealizing tendencies inherent in all kinds of romance? Contrary to the view that with the interpolation of these tales into *Don Quixote* 'a highly imaginative literary world becomes a credible actuality; romance and reality are synthesized',[45] I would argue that Cervantes kept hinting at the tensions between parody and romance whenever the two modes came into contact with one another, so that the tales work in their own right but the manner of their incorporation into the frame-narrative gently exposes their artifice, suggesting an ironic interplay between fact and fiction which is the basic concern of the *Quixote* itself.[46] Thanks to a succession of coincidences, which Cervantes does nothing to disguise and not a little to underline, and which are repeatedly attributed to *el cielo* (Heaven), the love-stories converge on a single place—the inn, which Don Quixote insists is an enchanted castle. The orchestration of this accelerating series of tales, with denouements involving melodramatic recognitions and reunions of various exceptionally beautiful, well-born characters, resulted in a complex fabric of adventures and episodes allegedly brought about by Providence but which nevertheless kept criss-crossing the line between the supposedly 'real' everyday world and Don Quixote's chivalric fantasies. Indeed, the mad knight himself is amazed by the incredible train of events: 'Allí don Quijote estaba atento, sin hablar palabra, considerando estos tan estraños sucesos, atribuyéndolos todos a quimeras de la andante caballería' ['Don Quixote sat there watching, uttering not a word, pondering over such extraordinary events and putting them down to the chimeras of knight-errantry'].[47]

As if to crown his virtuoso performance in ironic brinkmanship, Cervantes placed at the very apex of the pyramid of love-stories he had raised within his chivalric parody a scene in which all the diverse characters who have progressively gathered at the inn become involved in a sort of trial to determine the nature of reality. In Chapter 44 there occurs yet another amazing coincidence—the arrival of the barber from whom Don Quixote had taken Mambrino's helmet. This coincidence, however, is quite different from all the previous ones, for it is not Heaven but the Devil himself who has intervened in the action: '[E]l demonio, que no duerme, ordenó que en aquel mesmo punto entró en la venta el barbero a quien don Quijote quitó el yelmo de Mambrino' ['the devil, who never sleeps, brought into the inn that barber from whom Don Quixote had taken

[45] Immerwahr, p. 129.

[46] See Williamson, 'Romance and Realism . . .' and 'The Devil in *Don Quixote*'. Quint, pp. 3–90, regards the 'interlacing' of tales and episodes as the fundamental narrative principle in Part I.

[47] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, I.42, p. 146–7; p. 400.

Mambrino's helmet'].[48] The angry barber asks for his basin and pack-saddle, but Don Quixote insists they are a helmet and a horse's caparison. Nevertheless, in a magnanimous gesture, he concedes that wicked enchanters may well have sown confusion in that 'castle', so he asks the other characters to judge these objects for themselves: 'tendrán los entendimientos libres y podrán juzgar las cosas de este castillo como ellas son real y verdaderamente, y no como a mí me parecían' ['your understanding is unclouded, and you can form judgements about the affairs of this castle as they really and truly are, rather than as they appeared to me'].[49] The priest, Don Fernando, and the other noble characters secretly agree to vote in favour of Don Quixote and declare that the barber's basin really is Mambrino's helmet and the donkey's packsaddle a horse's caparison. When the wronged barber protests at this outrageous verdict, chaos ensues:

> De modo que toda la venta era llantos, voces, gritos, confusiones, temores, sobresaltos, desgracias, cuchilladas, mojicones, palos, coces y efusión de sangre. Y en la mitad deste caos, máquina y laberinto de cosas, se le representó en la memoria de don Quijote que se veía metido de hoz y de coz en la discordia del campo de Agramante.
>
> [So the inn was all tears, shouts, screams, confusion, fear, alarm, disasters, flashing knives, flying fists, flailing cudgels, pounding feet, and flowing blood. And in the midst of this chaos, this labyrinth, this edifice of mischief, Don Quixote took it into his head that he was in the thick of the turmoil in King Agramante's camp.][50]

The coincidence created by the Devil thus brings about discord instead of harmony, confusion instead of providential design; so much so that the chaos reminds Don Quixote of a famous scene in *Orlando Furioso*, and he cries out in exasperation: 'No os dije yo, señores, que este castillo era encantado, y que alguna región de demonios debe de habitar en él?' ['Did I not tell you, sirs, that this castle is enchanted, and that some legion of devils must inhabit it?'].[51] He calls for the judge and priest to restore order, but the Devil soon stirs things up again:

> [V]iéndose *el enemigo de la concordia y el émulo de la paz* [i.e. the Devil] menospreciado y burlado, y el poco fruto que había granjeado de haberlos puesto a todos en tan confuso laberinto, acordó de probar otra vez la mano, resucitando nuevas pendencias y desasosiegos.
>
> [But *the enemy of concord and adversary of peace*, finding himself scorned and outwitted, and seeing how little it had benefited him to embroil them all in that labyrinth of confusion, decided to try his luck again by reviving old quarrels and disturbances.][52]

Thanks to yet another diabolical coincidence, three officers of the rural police happen to arrive at the inn (I.45) and are utterly bewildered by the outcome of the dispute. One

[48] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, I.44, p. 567; p. 416.
[49] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, I.45, p. 572; p. 420.
[50] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, I.45, p. 575; p. 422.
[51] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, I.45, p. 575; p. 422.
[52] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, I.45, p. 577 (my emphasis); p. 422.

of the officers suddenly recognizes Don Quixote as the delinquent who had released the galley-slaves in Chapter 22. When he attempts to arrest him, the mad knight grabs him by the throat and another dust-up threatens until Don Fernando and the priest manage to calm things down at last. They explain to the police officers that Don Quixote is mad, pay off the barber for his lost basin, and compensate the innkeeper for the damage caused by his deranged guest.

In his build-up of denouements at the inn, Cervantes exaggerated the role of coincidence—arrivals, discoveries, and reunions follow one upon the other at an ever-quickening pace, and at the end of the series he placed two devilish interventions that suddenly cause the narrative to veer into head-spinning farce. The work of the Devil at this final confluence of the interpolated stories with the frame-narrative may have been burlesque in intent but it also casts a shadow of doubt on the plausibility of the role of providence as a narrative device, for in the end it is money and not *el cielo* that restores order to the inn: the unyielding madness of Don Quixote, in other words, had forced Cervantes to subject the role of providential author to the base logic of the main narrative. And it was at this juncture, when parody had finally consumed the idealizing processes of romance, that Cervantes chose to place two long dialogues on the art of fiction: the first between the priest and the canon of Toledo, a new character whom Don Quixote's party meet on their way back home, and the second between the canon and the mad knight himself. However, given their length and importance, these dialogues deserve separate consideration in a section below.

* * *

The remaining chapters describe the return of Don Quixote to his village. He is bound hand and foot while asleep and placed in a wooden cage, which is then mounted on an ox-cart to convey him back home. The knight assumes he has been put under a diabolical spell but is consoled by a 'prophecy' foretelling his eventual marriage to Dulcinea. In the penultimate chapter, Cervantes inserted the last of the interpolated stories, a cautionary tale on a fairly hackneyed topic, which reprises aspects of the earlier tales. A goatherd called Eugenio tells the story of Leandra, who spurns the rival suitors Anselmo and Eugenio, as well as many other local youths, yet elopes with a braggart soldier, Vicente; she is eventually found abandoned in a mountain cave, robbed of her money and jewels, and is sent to a convent by her father to atone for her disgrace. Cervantes reconciled the tale with the main narrative by ending it with a parody of the 'love-madness'.[53] After Leandra is put away in the nunnery, the lovelorn Anselmo and Eugeno dress up as herdsmen and wander about the countryside lamenting their fruitless devotion, and they are joined in this 'locura' ['madness'] by other 'disparatados' ['lunatics']: '"Leandra" resuenan las montes, "Leandra" murmuran los arroyos, y Leandra nos tiene a todos suspensos y encantados' ['"Leandra" the mountains ring out, "Leandra" murmur the streams, and Leandra has us all in suspense and under her spell'].[54] In the

[53] See Immerwahr, p. 134 and Herrero, p. 294.

[54] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, I.51, p. 636; p. 466.

last chapter, this burlesque conclusion tips over into farce when Don Quixote offers to attack the nunnery in order to release Leandra; the teller of the tale suggests he must be mad, so the knight strikes him with a loaf of bread and a ridiculous scrap ensues. Shortly afterwards, Don Quixote encounters a group of penitents who are taking a statue of the Virgin Mary to a nearby shrine; believing they are abducting a beautiful lady, he attacks them but is beaten up and nearly killed. When the battered knight finally arrives home, he is put to bed by his niece and housekeeper, who curse the books of chivalry which have caused him to end up in such a state.

Part I draws to a close with a reference to a rumoured third sally, in which our knight is said to have attended a jousting tournament in Zaragoza, but the author cannot confirm this information because no further accounts of his exploits have been found. The only available documents tell of Don Quixote's death, and they are accompanied by four burlesque sonnets dedicated respectively to the knight, Dulcinea, Rocinante, and Sancho Panza, as well as by an epitaph for his grave and another for Dulcinea's. With this ambiguous conclusion, Cervantes left the door half-open for a possible sequel to the story of the crazy hidalgo of La Mancha.

The Canon of Toledo and the art of fiction

The most important thinking on narrative fiction in the Renaissance took place in Italy, where, after the publication of Francesco Robortello's commentary on the *Poetics* (1548), Aristotle became the principal authority in debates about literature. The romance of chivalry, as the major form of lengthy narrative that had survived from the Middle Ages, attracted the attention of theorists who sought to define its generic properties according to classical precepts. However, as Bernard Weinberg has shown, much neoclassical thinking was based on distortions or misunderstandings of the *Poetics*.[55] Aristotle's *mimesis*, the imitation 'of action and life', crystallized into the Renaissance notion of 'verisimilitude', which conceived poetic truth as conditional upon its approximation to empirical reality, and thus left little place in theory for the ideal or the marvellous. Aristotle's 'unity of action' was seen, not in terms of necessity and probability in the articulation of a plot, but rather on the basis of the unities of time and place, or as a thematic correspondence between the different parts, or on a principle of decorum, which required characters to conform to fixed types, say fitting things, behave correctly, and generally be consistent with their supposed counterparts in nature. As regards the ends of poetry, and given the Council of Trent's strictures on literature, aesthetic pleasure was subordinated to the requirement that poets include philosophical reflections and morally edifying examples in their work. Many theorists, however, were prepared to relax

[55] Weinberg, pp. 797–813.

these neo-Aristotelian principles so as to accommodate some of the qualities of the *Orlando Furioso*, such as its pleasing variety of adventures and especially its capacity to arouse the highly-prized effect of *admiratio*, the wonderment or surprise produced by the revelation of unknown or unexpected marvels, often supernatural.[56] Renaissance debates on narrative fiction thus tended to revolve around three sets of oppositions: verisimilitude and the marvellous, unity and variety, pleasure and moral profit.[57]

In *Don Quixote* these issues are reflected in the discussion between the priest and the canon of Toledo (I.47–8). The former complains about the moral hazards involved in reading *libros de caballerías*, while the canon, who is influenced by neo-Aristotelian poetics, criticizes them for their lack of unity and verisimilitude, their lapses in decorum, and their general disregard for the moral ends of literature. Even so, he praises the freedom they afford a writer to display the full scope of his imagination. He even confesses to having once tried his hand at writing a romance of chivalry, though he gave up when he realized that the general public cared nothing for the rules of art and his theoretical rectitude would be appreciated by no more than a handful of discerning readers (I.48).

The canon's critique of the romances implies a conflict between literary authority (the importance of rules) and a writer's creative freedom, an issue which was central to Cervantes's concerns, but the canon's opinions should not be regarded as entirely representative of Cervantes's own. The latter was, of course, aware of the major issues that were discussed by contemporary theorists,[58] but as a working writer he found his own creative solutions to problems of composition and tended to explore the nature of his craft in the context of the dynamics between his characters. In this regard, it is telling that he has the canon of Toledo engage in a second dialogue, this time with the greatest champion of the romances of chivalry, Don Quixote himself (I.49–50). The canon asks the knight how he could possibly believe that the fantasies of the *libros de caballerías* were true. He urges him to use his intelligence: '[D]uélase de sí mismo, redúzgase al gremio de la discreción' ['[T]ake pity on yourself, and restore yourself to the bosom of good sense'].[59] The canon, however, is in for a surprise: Don Quixote does indeed use his intelligence but in a spirited defence of the truth of the romances. It is the canon, says the knight, who is 'sin juicio y encantado' ['out of your senses and under some spell'][60] for denying the true existence of the famous knights of old, whose lives and feats have been recorded in books licensed for publication by the authority of the king, no less: 'Calle vuestra merced, no diga tal blasfemia, y créame que le aconsejo en esto lo que debe de hacer como discreto, si no léalos y verá el gusto que recibe de su leyenda' ['Hold your tongue, sir, and do not voice such blasphemies, and believe me, I am advising you now to

[56] See Riley, *Cervantes's Theory*…, pp. 88–94.

[57] For fuller discussions of these issues, see Riley, *Cervantes's Theory*…, and Forcione.

[58] Riley, *Cervantes's Theory*…, shows how Cervantes was on the whole tentative and exploratory in his treatment of theoretical issues.

[59] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, I.49, p. 616; p. 452.

[60] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, I.49, p. 618; p. 453.

act as a man of good sense should; only read them, and you will find out for yourself how much pleasure they afford you'].[61]

Pleasure ('gusto'), for Don Quixote, is sufficient evidence of the truth of the romances, and by way of demonstration he tells the canon a brief tale about a knight who comes across a lake of boiling tar and is invited by 'una voz tristísima' ['a plaintive voice'][62] to dive into it. He is rewarded with a marvellous experience, finding himself in a flower-strewn meadow and greeted by beautiful maidens who take him to a castle where they disrobe and bathe him; then, the most beautiful of all the girls sits by his side at dinner and relates the story of that enchanted place, 'con otras cosas que *suspenden* al caballero y *admiran* a los leyentes que van leyendo su historia' ['and other matters that *amaze* the knight and *astonish* the readers of his history'].[63] Don Quixote concludes by assuring the canon that the books of chivalry are not only beneficial—'destierran la melancolía que tuviere y le mejoran la condición, si acaso la tiene mala' ['they banish any melancholy you may be feeling, and improve your disposition, if it is a bad one'][64]—but also morally edifying, and he cites the virtues he has himself cultivated thanks to their example.

By having the canon discuss the *libros de caballerías* with the madman and putting Don Quixote on a broadly equal footing with the neo-Aristotelian cleric in this debate, Cervantes would appear to be attracted to some at least of the points the knight makes in his defence of the romances, even if not exactly convinced by them. Indeed, the madman's case against the canon cannot be entirely dismissed as nonsense, for in his championing of the 'truth' of the imagination by virtue of its capacity to give pleasure and evoke *admiratio*, and by claiming beneficial qualities for it too, he implicitly raises a fundamental question: does fiction possess inherent value, or must it always be underwritten and justified by some 'higher' authority?

The evolution of Don Quixote's madness

In the earliest stage of the parody, Don Quixote's engagement with other people involved little more than head-on clashes with the everyday business of the real world, but these clashes would have become tedious had Cervantes not sought to vary the mad knight's solipsistic behaviour. In the encounter with the merchants of Toledo, for example, where he challenges them to agree with his assertion that Dulcinea is the fairest maiden of all, he is outraged by their request for him to show them the lady: 'Si os la mostrara . . . ¿que hiciérades vosotros en confesar verdad tan notoria? La importancia está en que sin verla lo habéis de creer, confesar, afirmar jurar y defender; donde no, conmigo sois en batalla,

[61] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, I.50, p. 623; p. 453.
[62] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, I.50, p. 623; p. 453.
[63] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, I.50, p. 625 (my emphasis); p. 458.
[64] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, I.50, p. 625; p. 458.

gente descomunal y soberbia' ['If I were to let you see her . . . what merit would there be in confessing so manifest a truth? The whole point is that, without seeing her, you must believe, confess, affirm, swear and uphold it; if not, monstrous and arrogant wretches, you shall face me in battle forthwith'].[65] This is a preposterous reply, of course, but an amusing one too because of its sheer unexpectedness. We get an inkling here of what will become a critical factor in Cervantes's handling of the madness: the knight's ability to surprise other people (and the reader) through his *ingeniosidad*, his 'ingeniousness', the wit and pluck he shows in explaining away his failures or getting out of tight spots. As Gerald Brenan observed, Cervantes gives the impression that the mad knight is 'more intelligent' than 'any of the persons who are shown to us as sane', especially 'in those delicious passages where Don Quixote pours out a flood of subtle and convincing arguments to support a view that anyone can see is erroneous. His mind works more lucidly when it has a worse case to defend. If we stop to think a moment, we may well wonder where the author is taking us'.[66]

The knight's *ingeniosidad* will become increasingly evident after he is accompanied by Sancho Panza, since he must justify his fantasies to his often sceptical squire. The adventure of the sheep (I.18) will reveal a new quality of the madness. He declares the two flocks of sheep to be two armies about to attack each other and launches into an impassioned evocation of the great warriors who are set to engage in battle. Utterly fanciful though it is, Don Quixote's vision achieves a compelling poetic force, and Sancho is 'colgado de sus palabras' ['hanging on his every word'],[67] yet totally perplexed at not being able to see anything other than sheep.[68] Gradually, therefore, the madness itself becomes a cause of wonder (*admiratio*), as is shown in the reaction of the priest and barber when they come across Sancho on his way to El Toboso: 'Quedaron *admirados* los dos de lo que Sancho Panza les contaba; y aunque ya sabían la locura de don Quijote y el género della, siempre que la oían se *admiraban* de nuevo' ['They were both *amazed* at what Sancho Panza was telling them, because although they knew that Don Quixote was mad and they knew what sort of madness it was, whenever they heard about it again they were *amazed* again'].[69]

In Chapter 30 the madness undergoes a further mutation, when the priest feels sorry for the knight: '¿[N]o es cosa estraña ver con cuánta facilidad cree este desventurado hidalgo todas estas invenciones y mentiras, sólo porque llevan el estilo y modo de las necedades de sus libros?' ['But isn't it extraordinary how this unfortunate hidalgo believes all these lies and fictions, just because they imitate the style and manner of the nonsense in his books?'].[70] And yet, he observes that, 'si le tratan de otras cosas discurre con bonísimas razones y muestra tener un entendimiento claro y apacible en todo' ['in conversations on other subjects he talks with great good sense, and shows himself to

[65] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, I.4, p. 74; p. 46.
[66] Brenan, p. 19.
[67] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, I.18, p. 210; p. 140.
[68] See Williamson, 'Lecturas del *Quijote*', p. 55.
[69] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, I.26, p. 322 (my emphasis); p. 224.
[70] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, I.30, p. 390; p. 279.

have a clear and balanced judgement'].[71] This phenomenon has become known as the mad-sane (*cuerdo-loco*) paradox, and in response to it, the priest goes beyond *admiratio*—he feels pity at the condition of the wretched lunatic, trapped as he is in a ridiculous madness despite his obvious intelligence. Indeed, Cervantes's discovery of the inherent pathos of the knight's condition was made possible by the sheer inflexibility of his absolute belief in the truth of the chivalry books, which precludes him from reasoning his way out of his crazy obsession. But, ironically, this fundamental constraint imposed by the primary madness served as a spur to Cervantes's *invención* and was to lead to a critical shift towards literary character as a new source of *admiratio* capable of replacing the implausible fantasies that had so discredited the books of chivalry. Cervantes congratulated himself through the medium of Cardenio for his invention of the mad-sane paradox: '[Es una cosa] tan rara y nunca vista, que yo no sé si queriendo inventarla y fabricarla mentirosamente, hubiera tan agudo ingenio que pudiera dar en ella' ['The whole business is so weird and wonderful that I can't believe that if anyone wanted to invent such a story he'd be clever enough to do it'].[72]

In Chapter 38, when Don Quixote weighs up the respective merits of the careers of Arms and Letters in a well-argued after-dinner speech, the other diners feel pity for the poor lunatic: 'En los que escuchado le habían sobrevino *nueva lástima* de ver que hombre que, al parecer tenía buen entendimiento y buen discurso en todas las cosas que trataba, le hubiese perdido tan rematadamente en tratándole de su negra y pizmienta caballería' ['Those who'd been listening to him were *again moved to pity* on seeing that a man who seemed to have a good brain, and could argue clearly about everything he discussed, so totally lost his senses as soon as the talk turned to his detestable and damnable chivalry'].[73] In Chapter 49, the canon of Toledo, too, marvels at the mad-sane paradox: '[A]dmirábase de ver la estrañeza de su grande locura, y de que en cuanto hablaba y respondía mostraba tener bonísimo entendimiento; solamente venía a perder los estribos . . . en tratándole de caballería' ['[W]ondering at this great, strange madness of his, and at how he showed a fine understanding in all his remarks and replies, only taking leave of his senses . . . when chivalry was the subject under discussion'].[74] But once the canon realizes that the poor man is incapable of overcoming his obsession with chivalry, he is 'movido de compasión' ['moved by pity'].[75] This combination of wonder and compassion felt by intelligent, well-educated characters such as the priest, Cardenio, the diners at the inn, and the canon of Toledo shows that to feel pity for the mad knight is not an anachronistic modern response, as 'hard' critics like Auerbach would have it, but rather one that came to form part of Cervantes's evolving intentions as he explored the potentialities of the knight's madness.

[71] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, I.30, p. 390; p. 279.
[72] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, I.30, p. 390; p. 279.
[73] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, I.38, p. 491–2 (my emphasis); p. 359.
[74] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, I.49, p. 615; p. 451.
[75] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, I.49, p. 615; p. 451.

Don Quixote's authority and Sancho's latent power

There have been countless studies of Don Quixote and Sancho Panza but few, if any, have attempted to analyse in a sustained and consistent manner the full arc of their relationship over the entire course of the novel. Instead, their relations tend to be treated as little more than a string of discrete if not interchangeable episodes, with little sense of progressive development. A partial exception was Salvador de Madariaga, who sought to 'free' the pair 'from the rigidity which has simplified them with two antithetical and symmetrical characters'. But Madariaga remained attached to a sentimental belief that the protagonists were 'united' by a 'fraternity of soul', so he portrayed their relationship as one of mutual influence: 'While Sancho's spirit rises from reality to illusion, Don Quixote's descends from illusion to reality'. He memorably encapsulated this process as the 'quixotification' of Sancho and the 'sanchification' of Don Quixote, a formula which actually reveals that his rather schematic account of their character-development hardly 'freed' the pair from the 'antithetical symmetry' that he believed had 'simplified them'.[76] Still, the sentimentalization of either the knight or his squire, or both, is virtually ubiquitous in *Quixote* criticism. Some critics regard Don Quixote as a benevolent father-figure to Sancho but, conversely, even those critics who believe that the whole point of the novel was the comic chastisement of the deluded hidalgo tend to portray Sancho as a common-sense foil to his crazy master. In my view, these readings disguise the real thrust of the narrative and attenuate the far harsher comic vision that Cervantes would create in *Don Quixote*, for the knight's evolution towards paradox and ambivalence would prompt in turn the evolution of Sancho Panza. Over time, the squire's character will reveal a paradoxical quality too, in a blend of foolish-clever (*tonto-listo*) traits that will often mesh with his master's paradoxical madness and convert their relationship itself into a new source of wonder and surprise.

The relationship between Don Quixote and Sancho Panza is essentially transactional and political, a feudal pact between a lord who offers favours in return for the services of a vassal. Thus, in Chapter 7 Don Quixote promises Sancho a noble title and an island to govern if he will serve him as his squire, and the illiterate peasant agrees to leave wife and children because he is keen to gain some material reward. Nevertheless, Sancho is wary of the knight's promises: he wonders whether he might really become a king, his wife a queen, and his children princes. 'Pues ¿quién lo duda?' ['Who can doubt it?'], says Don Quixote. 'Yo lo dudo' ['I can'], replies Sancho.[77] Sancho's 'yo lo dudo' represents a source of power in relation to his master, for even though he enters the sphere of the chivalric madness by agreeing to serve Don Quixote, he is not wholly absorbed into that strange, quixotic space, he remains torn between a desire to rise in the world and a suspicion that

[76] Madariaga, pp. 137, 136, and 145, respectively.

[77] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, I.7, p. 102; p. 63.

the knight might be off his head. The awkwardness of being in such an ambiguous position—half-in and half-out of the weird bubble of quixotic madness—will stimulate Sancho's native cunning when it comes to advancing his own interests, though there are times when he cannot help but admire his master, as in the adventure of the flocks of sheep, and so a volatile blend of fondness and exasperation will somehow keep master and servant together in a common quest for their quite different goals.

Built as it is on such insecure foundations, the central relationship in the novel becomes, in effect, a tacit contest between the master's formal authority and the servant's covert self-interest. This contest first emerges in the episode of the fulling mills (I.20). One dark night the pair hear a tremendous din, which is so alarming that even Don Quixote is scared, but he pulls himself together and prepares to face the challenge, vaunting his prowess in a heroic speech. A terrified Sancho, however, ties Rocinante's hind legs and deceives the old hidalgo into believing that his steed has been put under a spell. At daybreak, when they discover that the terrible racket was caused by fulling mills, the squire parodies the knight's bravado by mimicking his speech of the night before. Don Quixote is outraged: 'Es menester hacer diferencia de amo a mozo, de señor a criado y de caballero a escudero. Así que desde hoy en adelante, nos hemos de tratar con más respeto' ['A distance must be kept between master and man, between lord and lackey, between knight and squire. So from now on we must behave with more respect'].[78] Sancho apologises: 'Mas bien puede estar seguro que de aquí adelante no despliegue mis labios para hacer donaire de las cosas de vuestra merced, si no fuere para honrarle, como a mi amo y señor natural' ['You can take it from me that from this moment on I won't open my mouth to make fun of your doings, but only to honour you as my master and natural lord'].[79] The term *señor natural* was employed to describe the authority of a lord over his vassals, so if the squire's mockery of Don Quixote had been allowed to go unchecked, his insubordination would have posed an overt challenge to the knight's authority, and the book could have taken a markedly different turn at this point.

The immediate crisis may be over, the threat overcome—but only for a time, because Sancho has had his first taste of power and it will not be long before he is given the chance to savour it once more. In Chapter 25, the knight unwittingly forces the squire to lie again when he orders him to deliver a letter to Dulcinea in her village. Sancho never actually goes to El Toboso, but on his return he assures his master that he has visited Dulcinea and that she has accepted his love (I.31). This wonderful news would explain why the knight is so optimistic for the rest of Part I: his mission to restore the order of chivalry appears to be succeeding, but in truth the rascally Sancho is being even more manipulative than in the episode of the fulling mills, relishing his recently discovered power to deceive by giving tantalizing answers to his master's excited questions about Dulcinea's appearance and conduct.

[78] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, I.20, p. 242; p. 164.

[79] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, I.20, p. 243; p. 165.

As we can see from this train of events, the underlying contest between master and servant gives rise to a *second* narrative process in the novel, involving Don Quixote, Sancho, and Dulcinea, a contest which begins to acquire an inherent logic, though without detracting from the chivalric parody as such. The next step after Sancho's return from his alleged visit to Dulcinea would have been for Don Quixote to pay his respects to his lady in El Toboso, but the development of this embryonic plot was cut short by Cervantes's decision to expand his narrative through the interpolation of a series of romantic tales. Hence Don Quixote's puzzling deferment of his visit to Dulcinea in order to come to the aid of the Princess Micomicona, a determination that is itself interrupted by the various interpolated tales and other goings-on at the inn. In short, the progress of the central relationship was arrested at a crucial juncture, breaking the thread of the emerging plot-line, which would remain hanging for the rest of Part I.

In its contrasts between story and history, illusion and reality, verisimilitude and the marvellous, the first part of *Don Quixote* is very much a product of its time, but Cervantes's *invención* has already produced innovations we can now recognize as major features of modern fiction. Given the knight's fantasies, the narrative observes a basically realist aesthetic, but the dialectic between illusion and reality generates an interplay of perspectives between the characters which at times gives an impression of relativism. In a ground-breaking development, the ingenious, paradoxical madness of the crazy knight replaces the fantasies of the books of chivalry as the principal source of *admiratio*, an innovation which facilitates a shift of interest to the characters of Don Quixote and Sancho as they begin to evolve from the stock types of braggart knight and crude rustic into more complex personalities whose relationship acquires a dynamic of its own, which tends to dissolve aesthetic and social hierarchies. Finally, there is the ironic game that Cervantes plays with his reader in a variety of ways: the tongue-in-cheek tone he affects from the start, the narrative masks he adopts in the telling of Quixote's story, and not least, his invention of the unreliable narrator in the guise of Cide Hamete Benengeli, even though he has not yet appreciated its full potential.

The Prologue to Part I

When he came to write the Prologue, Cervantes gave his prospective reader a foretaste of the ironic game he had invented in the course of writing *Don Quixote*.[80] A breezy, teasing irony pervades the entire piece. He asks to be forgiven for the faults in the work, and invites the reader to consider himself absolutely free to judge its worth:

> [T]ienes tu alma en tu cuerpo, y tu libre albedrío como el más pintado, y estás en tu casa, donde eres señor della, como el rey de sus alcabalas, y sabes lo que comúnmente se dice, que 'debajo de mi manto al rey mato', todo lo cual te esenta y hace libre

[80] See Williamson, *The Half-Way House*…, pp. 82–90.

> de todo respeto y obligación, y, así, puedes decir de la historia todo aquello que te pareciere.
>
> [[Y]ou have your own soul in your own body, and your own free will like anybody else, and you are sitting in your own home, where you are the lord and master, as much as the king is of his taxes, and you know that common saying: 'Under my cloak, a fig for the king'. All of which exempts and frees you from every respect and obligation, and so you can say whatever you like about this history.][81]

The traditional hierarchy of literary relations is inverted here—the reader is king, and the author must submit his work to this sovereign judge. But there would appear to be a sting in the tail of this self-effacing modesty, for no sooner does Cervantes invest the reader with the authority of a king than he cites the well-known saying, 'debajo de mi manto al rey mato', a literal translation of which would be: 'under my cloak I can kill the king'. The immediate proximity of this regicidal adage to Cervantes's flattering elevation of the reader to king-like status carries a suggestion that the reader may well have the authority to say whatever he likes about the work, but the author is still capable of 'killing the king' by overturning the reader's expectations 'under the cloak' of the text itself.

Cervantes pursues this ironic game with the reader by inventing a 'friend' who chides him for his anxiety about his lack of authority, telling him there is no need to preface the work with sonnets by important people like dukes, marquises, counts, bishops, ladies, or famous poets; nor to go begging maxims from philosophers, counsels from Holy Scripture, fables from poets, clauses from rhetoricians, or miracles from saints; nor should he try to puff up his authority by filling his book with marginalia or endnotes. He should just aim to 'deshacer la autoridad y cabida que en el mundo y en el vulgo tienen los libros de caballerías' [to 'destroy the authority and influence that the books of chivalry enjoy in the world and among the general public'].[82] Cervantes's cynical 'friend' is mocking the practice of invoking various forms of extraneous authority—religious, secular, or aesthetic—as guarantors of a book's worth, but he does so in order to assert the author's freedom to pursue his own creative ends. His writing should express 'en todo lo que alcanzárades y fuere posible vuestra intención, dando a entender vuestros conceptos sin intrincarlos ni oscurecerlos' [express 'what is in your mind to the very best of your ability, setting out your ideas without complicating or obscuring them'].[83] He should endeavour to make his readers laugh as well as marvel at his powers of invention:

> Procurad también que, leyendo vuestra historia, el melancólico *se mueva a risa*, el risueño la acreciente, el simple no se enfade, el discreto *se admire de la invención*, el grave no la desprecie, ni el prudente deje de alabarla.
>
> [You should try to ensure that the melancholy man *is moved to laughter* when he reads your history, the jovial man laughs even more, the simpleton is not discour-

[81] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, I.Prólogo, p. 10; p. 11–12.
[82] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, I.Prólogo, p. 19; p. 16.
[83] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, I.Prólogo, p. 19; p. 16.

> aged, the judicious *marvel at its inventiveness*, the serious-minded do not scorn it nor the wise fail to praise it.][84]

But Cervantes's parody of the *libros de caballerías* raised more profound questions about literary authority. What was the value of the creative imagination? Could it be justified on its own terms alone? After all, if the principal target of the parody was the disguising of fiction as 'history' in the Spanish romances of chivalry, then it behoved Cervantes to defend the intrinsic authority of fiction itself.

The ironic strategy of 'killing the king' was carried over into the *Novelas ejemplares*. Once again, Cervantes presents himself in the Prologue as an author bereft of authority: he is 'blank and faceless' ['he quedado en blanco y sin figura'] because he has no way of validating his credentials, so he will have to speak for himself ('será forzoso valerme por mi pico'), even though his voice is hindered by a stammer that obliges him to resort to signals to convey his 'truths' ('aunque tartamudo, no lo será para decir verdades, que dichas por señas, suelen ser entendidas'). This strange evasiveness was, of course, a pose designed to challenge the belief that literature could only be justified if it conveyed moral lessons or religious doctrine. The author should not be a preacher, Cervantes goes on to say, he must come down from the pulpit and go out into the public square, where he should present his fiction as a kind of contest, specifically a 'game of billiards' ['una mesa de trucos'], which anyone is welcome to play without fear of harm, for each and every one of the twelve novellas in the collection, he insists, contains a moral example—but it is up to readers to find it for themselves. He concludes by stating that his *Novelas ejemplares* contain 'un misterio escondido que las levanta', a 'hidden mystery' that 'elevates them'—but above what exactly? He does not say, though he may perhaps have meant *misterio* in the sense of the 'mystery' or skill-set of a trade or craft, thereby suggesting that the craft of fiction was capable in and of itself to 'enseñar y deleitar juntamente' ['to instruct and delight at one and the same time'] and so could achieve its own autonomous authority and value.[85]

The prologues to *Don Quixote* Part I and to the *Novelas ejemplares* celebrate fiction as a self-sufficient game between author and reader, and indeed, this ironic game of 'killing' the king-like reader would provide the impetus to launch the sequel to *Don Quixote* in 1615. For by linking two of the discoveries he had made in Part I—namely, the pathos of the knight's madness and Sancho's talent for deceit—Cervantes would spring an extraordinary surprise upon the reader, a surprise capable of generating what Borges once

[84] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, I.Prólogo, p. 19 (my emphasis); p. 16. For the wider implications of this passage, see Williamson, *The Half-Way House*…, pp. 86–8, and Martínez Mata, *Cervantes comenta*…, pp. 75–81.

[85] *Misterio* was derived from both *mysterium* and *ministerium* in Latin. See Williamson, 'El "misterio escondido"…', pp. 812–15 and p. 813, note 21. For Cervantes's evasiveness in this prologue, see Martín Morán, 'Ejemplaridad y retórica del silencio…'. On pleasure and profit, see Riley, *Cervantes's Theory*…, pp. 81–8, and Egido, pp. 61–95, who argues that Cervantes advocates 'esa autonomía del gusto que es patrimonio de la modernidad' (p. 95).

called 'el poder mágico insondable de la Segunda Parte' ['the unfathomable magic power of Part Two'].[86]

Acknowledgement

My work for this chapter was sponsored by a Leverhulme Trust Major Research Fellowship and a Cátedra de Excelencia, Universidad Carlos III de Madrid.

Works Cited

Allen, John J. *Don Quijote: Hero or Fool? Part 2* (Gainesville, Florida: University of Florida Press, 1979).

Aristotle. *On the Art of Poetry*. In *Classical Literary Criticism* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1965).

Auerbach, Erich. 'The Enchanted Dulcinea'. In *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature*, translated by Willard R. Trask (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974 [1946]), pp. 334–58.

Bloom, Harold. 'Introduction' to *Don Quixote*, translated by Edith Grossman (New York: Ecco/HarperCollins, 2003), p. xxii.

Brenan, Gerald. 'Cervantes'. In *Cervantes: A Collection of Critical Essays*, edited by Lowry Nelson, Jr (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1969), pp. 13–33.

Castro, Américo. *El pensamiento de Cervantes* (Barcelona-Madrid: Noguer, 1972 [1925]).

Castro, Américo. *Hacia Cervantes* (Madrid: Taurus, 1967).

Cervantes, Miguel de. *Don Quijote de la Mancha*. Edición del Instituto Cervantes 1605–2005, dirigida por Francisco Rico (Barcelona: Galaxia Gutenberg. Círculo de Lectores. Centro Para la Edición de los Clásicos Españoles, 2014).

Cervantes, Miguel de. *Don Quixote*, translated, Introduction and Notes by John Rutherford (London: Penguin Books, 2003).

Cervantes, Miguel de. *Novelas ejemplares*, edited by Jorge García López (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 2013).

Cervantes, Miguel de. *Viaje del Parnaso y poesías sueltas*, edited by José Montero Reguera and Fernando Romo Feito (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 2016).

Close, Anthony. *The Romantic Approach to* Don Quixote (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978).

Durán, Manuel. *La ambigüedad en el Quijote* (Xalapa: Universidad Veracruzana, 1960).

Egido, Aurora. 'El gusto de Don Quijote y el placer del autor y de los lectores'. In *Por el gusto de leer a Cervantes* (Sevilla: Fundación José Manuel Lara, 2018), pp. 61–95.

Eisenberg, Daniel. *Romances of Chivalry in the Spanish Golden Age* (Newark, Delaware: Juan de la Cuesta Hispanic Monographs, 1982).

Flores, R.M. 'Cervantes at Work: The Writing of *Don Quixote*, Part I'. *Journal of Hispanic Philology* 3 (1979): pp. 135–60.

Flores, R.M. 'The Role of Cide Hamete in *Don Quixote*'. *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 59 (1982): pp. 3–14.

[86] Gasió, p. 92.

Forcione, Alban K. *Cervantes, Aristotle and the 'Persiles'* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1970).
Gasió, Guillermo. *Borges en Japón: Japón en Borges* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Universitaria de Buenos Aires, 1988).
González Echevarría, Roberto. 'La improvisación en la génesis y estructura del *Quijote*'. In *El estrellado establo: infinito e improvisación en el Siglo de Oro* (Madrid: Cátedra, 2019), pp. 29–73.
Herrero, Javier. 'Arcadia's Inferno: Cervantes's Attack on Pastoral'. *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 55 (1978): pp. 289–99.
Herrero, Javier. 'Dulcinea and Her Critics'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 2 (1982): pp. 23–42.
Immerwahr, Raymond. 'Structural Symmetry in the Episodic Narratives of *Don Quijote*, Part One'. *Comparative Literature* 10 (1958): pp. 121–33.
Kundera, Milan. 'Afterword'. In *The Book of Laughter and Forgetting* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1983).
Lukács, Georg. *The Theory of the Novel* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1971).
Madariaga, Salvador de. *Don Quixote. An Introductory Essay in Psychology* (London: Oxford University Press, 1966 [1935]).
Mancing, Howard. 'Cide Hamete Benengeli vs. Miguel de Cervantes: The Metafictional Dialectic of *Don Quijote*'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 1 (1981): pp. 63–81.
Mandel, Oscar. 'The Function of the Norm in *Don Quixote*'. *Modern Philology* 55 (1957): pp. 154–63.
Martínez Mata, Emilio. *Cervantes comenta el Quijote* (Madrid: Cátedra, 2008).
Martínez Mata, Emilio. 'El *Quijote* en el nacimiento de la novela moderna: la interpretación satírica'. In *Recepción e interpretación del Quijote*, edited by Emilio Martínez Mata and Pablo José Carvajal Pedraza (Madrid: Visor, 2019), pp. 61–77.
Martín Morán, José Manuel. 'Ejemplaridad y retórica del silencio en el prólogo de las *Novelas Ejemplares*'. *Boletín de la Biblioteca de Menéndez Pelayo* 92 (2016): pp. 301–10.
Martín Morán, José Manuel. *El Quijote en ciernes* (Torino: Edizioni del Orso, 1990).
Predmore, Richard L. *The World of Don Quixote* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967).
Quint, David. *Cervantes's Novel of Modern Times: A New Reading of 'Don Quijote'*. (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2003).
Riley, E.C. *Cervantes's Theory of the Novel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962).
Riley, E.C. *Don Quixote* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1986).
Riley, E.C. 'Three Versions of Don Quixote'. *The Modern Language Review* 68 (1973): pp. 807–19.
Rivero Iglesias, Carmen. *La recepción e interpretación del Quijote en la Alemania del siglo XVIII* (Ciudad Real: Ayuntamiento de Argamasilla de Alba, 2010).
Russell, P.E. '*Don Quixote* as a Funny Book'. *The Modern Language Review* 64 (1969): pp. 312–26.
Spitzer, Leo. 'Linguistic Perspectivism in the *Don Quijote*'. In *Linguistics and Literary History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2015 [1948]), pp. 41–86.
Stagg, Geoffrey. 'Revision in *Don Quixote* Part I'. In *Studies in Honour of I. González Llubera*, edited by Frank Pierce (Oxford: Dolphin, 1959), pp. 347–66.
Trilling, Lionel. 'Manners, Morals and the Novel'. In *The Liberal Imagination* (London: Mercury Books, 1961), pp. 205–22.

Unamuno, Miguel de. *Vida de don Quijote y Sancho* (Madrid: Cátedra, 2004 [1905]).
Van Doren, Mark. *Don Quixote's Profession* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958).
Weinberg, Bernard. *A History of Literary Criticism in the Italian Renaissance* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1961).
Williamson, Edwin. Commentaries on Part I, Chapters 18–20. In 'Lecturas del *Quijote*'. *Don Quijote de la Mancha*. Edición del Instituto Cervantes, 2014 (see above). Volumen complementario, pp. 54–5.
Williamson, Edwin. 'El "misterio escondido" en *El celoso extremeño*: Una aproximación al arte de Cervantes'. *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica* 38 (1990): pp. 793–815.
Williamson, Edwin. '*Intención* and *Invención* in the *Quixote*'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 8 (1988): pp. 7–22.
Williamson, Edwin. 'Romance and Realism in the Interpolated Stories of the *Quixote*'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 2 (1982): pp. 43–67.
Williamson, Edwin. 'The Devil in *Don Quixote*'. *Bulletin of Spanish Studies* 92 (2015): pp. 147–66.
Williamson, Edwin. *The Half-Way House of Fiction:* Don Quixote *and Arthurian Romance* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984).
Williamson, Edwin. 'The Power-Struggle between Don Quixote and Sancho: Four Crises in the Development of the Narrative'. *Bulletin of Spanish Studies* 84 (2007): pp. 837–58.

CHAPTER 6

DON QUIXOTE, PART II (1615)

EDWIN WILLIAMSON
University of Oxford

The first part of *Don Quixote* soon met with great success in the Spanish-speaking world. Within a few months of its publication in early January 1605, people were dressing up as the mad knight and his squire in fiestas and street-pageants in Spain, and by 1607 the odd couple had reached the Vice-Royalty of Peru, appearing as figures of fun at a fiesta in Lima and even in towns in the Andes. The book's fame began to spread abroad too. The Bodleian Library at Oxford acquired a copy of the first edition in 1605; Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher based a play, *The Coxcomb*, written between 1608 and 1610, on *El curioso impertinente*, one of the tales interpolated in the novel; the first English translation by Thomas Shelton appeared in 1612, and another interpolated tale, the story of Cardenio and Luscinda, inspired a play, *The History of Cardenio*, now lost, whose authorship has been attributed to Fletcher in collaboration with William Shakespeare and which is recorded as having been performed in London in 1613 by the King's Men, Shakespeare's theatre company. *El curioso impertinente* was translated into French in 1608, and a French version of the whole of Part I was published in 1614.

Cervantes was immensely proud of the fame Part I had so rapidly achieved. In the dedication to the Count of Lemos of Part II, licensed for publication on 30 March 1615, he claimed to have received a letter from the 'Emperor of China', no less, 'pidiéndome o por mejor decir suplicándome'[1] ['requesting, nay, begging me'] for a copy of his book.[2] This 'great' Emperor wished to establish an academy of the Spanish language in China, with *Don Quixote* as the principal text and Cervantes as its rector. Such an improbable story was very likely a self-congratulatory fantasy designed as much to spite his literary

[1] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, p. 678; this citation is from the dedication to the Count of Lemos.

[2] My translation; unless otherwise indicated, all quotations from *Don Quixote* in English are from the Rutherford translation. In subsequent footnotes, pagereferences to this English edition will be given immediately after page-references to the Spanish.

rivals as to impress his noble patron, but Cervantes's pride in the success of Part I inspired him to create some striking connections between the two parts, the most original and ingenious being the introduction of new characters in the sequel who have read Part I and who intervene in the action to shape the destinies of knight and squire in Part II.[3] One such is Sansón Carrasco, a recent graduate of Salamanca, who appears in Chapter 3 and informs the pair of the existence of a famous book relating their adventures. Don Quixote is gratified by the news, having assumed from the outset that there would be a sage enchanter recording his exploits for posterity.[4] Sancho's delight at his unexpected celebrity rekindles his ambition to be rewarded for his services with an island and a noble title; he therefore urges his master to resume his adventures. In later chapters the pair will meet a Duke and Duchess, also readers of Part I, whose hoaxes will upset and eventually disrupt their relationship, while a subsequent intervention by Sansón Carrasco will trigger the denouement of the novel.

On his previous sallies, Don Quixote had transformed everyday things into chivalric fantasies—inns into castles, windmills into giants, and so on—but in Part II he tends to see reality as it appears, and the fact that Don Quixote takes more notice of the everyday world allowed Cervantes to depict more of the social reality of contemporary Spain: knight and squire are invited to people's houses, attend a wedding, stay at a duke's castle, come across Catalan bandits, and visit the city of Barcelona, all of which provide opportunities for social observation and critique. In Part II, there are fewer direct transformations of reality because the mad knight is mostly taken in by pseudo-chivalric episodes invented by other characters. This has led to a fairly common view that the knight's madness decreases in the sequel,[5] but in fact he is still capable of projecting his fantasies onto the real world, as in the case of the water-mills that he takes for a castle in the adventure on the River Ebro (II. 29), and, conversely, he is deceived by pseudo-chivalric hoaxes in Part I, notably the extensive charade involving the Princess Micomicona. When it comes to matters of chivalry, Don Quixote is as much a lunatic as ever he was in Part I, which is not surprising given that the parody of the chivalry books constitutes the basic rationale of the entire novel. Still, there is a very good reason, as we shall presently see, why in the second part the knight will approach ordinary phenomena with more caution.

There are two major differences between the *Quixotes* of 1605 and 1615, both arising organically from Cervantes's previous innovations and both showing a keen understanding of the potentialities of these inventions. In the first place, Cervantes's equivocation over the 'truth' of Don Quixote's story is more fully and distinctly promoted in Part II. When Don Quixote is informed about the existence of a famous book relating his exploits he is somewhat irked that his chronicler should be an infidel Moor, and he discusses with Sansón Carrasco the responsibilities of historians to tell the truth. This is the fundamental issue at stake in the novel, of course, but now Cervantes has found a way of

[3] For a fuller discussion of the self-reflexive relation between Parts I and II, and of the trope of 'the story within the story', see Martínez Mata, pp. 85–97.

[4] See Riley, 'Three Versions…'.

[5] For example, see Riley, *Don Quixote*, for whom in Part II the knight's 'mental health has in an important way improved' (p. 93).

focusing on it more sharply by enlarging the role of Cide Hamete Benengeli as the unreliable narrator of the text. The Arab 'historian' is mentioned by name thirty-nine times in Part II, whereas in the first part his name appears only five times.[6] In Part II, then, the metafictional play is greatly increased and more clearly distributed between three distinct roles: Cide Hamete is consistently acknowledged as the 'primer autor' ('first author') of the text, whose omniscience and veracity are periodically remarked upon and sometimes questioned by Cervantes himself, the 'segundo autor' ('second author'), who also reports the occasional observations on the accuracy of Cide Hamete's chronicle by the 'traductor', the translator of the Arabic original into Spanish.[7]

The second important difference can be attributed to a pivotal crisis, which will transform the novel in several respects, and which reveals Cervantes's far more assured grasp of his material. In Chapter 44, Cide Hamete (acting as a spokesman for Cervantes on this occasion) says that, unlike in Part I, he will avoid inserting extraneous tales, other than a few episodes 'nacidos . . . de los mesmos sucesos que la verdad ofrece' ['developing . . . out of the events of the true history itself'].[8] Thus, when he came to write the sequel, Cervantes took up the broken thread of the Quixote-Sancho storyline that he had left hanging in I.31,[9] and invented an episode that would take his novel into uncharted territory. In II.10, Don Quixote arrives in El Toboso to pay his respects to the 'princess' Dulcinea in her 'palace'. This visit refers back to I.25, when the knight had ordered his squire to deliver a letter to the lady of his heart. Sancho had been amazed to learn that this so-called princess was none other than Aldonza Lorenzo, a good-looking girl from a neighbouring village, with whom the old hidalgo claimed to have been in love before setting off on his adventures. Although Sancho never did go to El Toboso, he reported to his master in I.31 that he had delivered his letter to Dulcinea and that she had accepted his declaration of love. However, Don Quixote, surprisingly, decided to go to the aid of the distressed Princess Micomicona before visiting his ladylove Dulcinea at El Toboso.

Given this back-story, when in Part II knight and squire arrive in El Toboso, Sancho finds himself in a dreadful bind, having lied to his master about his earlier audience with the lady. It then occurs to the squire to deceive his master once more by fooling him into believing that the first girl they may happen to come across is the lady Dulcinea. Sancho is quite cynical about this deception: '[C]uando él no lo crea, juraré yo, y si él jurare, tornaré yo a jurar, y si porfiare, porfiaré yo más, y de manera que tengo de tener la mía siempre sobre el hito, venga lo que viniere' ['[I]f he doesn't believe it I'll swear she is, and if he insists I'll insist even more, and so I'll make sure that I always have the last word, come what may'].[10] And so, when they catch sight of three peasant girls riding by, Sancho declares them to be none other than Dulcinea and her maidservants. Don Quixote, however, can only see three peasant girls on donkeys, so Sancho launches into an

[6] Flores, pp. 5 and 12, note 9.

[7] See Mancing, and Martínez Mata, pp. 23–5; the beginnings of Chapters 5, 24, and 27 are good examples of the interplay between the three roles.

[8] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, II.44, p. 1070; *Don Quixote*, p. 776.

[9] See Chapter 5 of this volume.

[10] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, II.10, p. 767; p. 546.

effusive description of Dulcinea's beauty and bejewelled finery, which leads the puzzled knight to conclude that an enchanter must have cast a spell on the lady in order to prevent him from perceiving her in her true glory. He curses the evil wizard who has 'puesto nubes y cataratas en mis ojos' ['placed clouds and cataracts over my eyes'].[11]

> —¡Y que no viese yo todo eso, Sancho!—dijo don Quijote—. Ahora torno a decir y diré mil veces que soy el más desdichado de los hombres.
>
> ['And to think I could not see any of that, Sancho! I say it again, and I shall say it a thousand times: I am the most unfortunate of men.'][12]

Cervantes adds to the poignancy of the scene by revealing a new streak of cruelty in Sancho through the sheer cynicism with which he fools his master:

> —¡Santo Dios! ¿Qué es lo que dices, Sancho amigo?—dijo don Quijote—. Mira no me engañes, ni quieras con falsas alegrías alegrar mis verdaderas tristezas.
>
> —¿Que sacaría yo de engañar a vuesa merced – respondió Sancho—, y más estando tan cerca de descubrir mi verdad?
>
> ['Good God! What are you saying, friend Sancho?,' said Don Quixote. 'You had better not be deceiving me, or attempting to beguile my real grief with false joy.'
>
> 'What would I gain from deceiving you?' Sancho replied, 'especially now I'm so close to showing you the truth of what I'm saying.'][13]

The squire is greatly amused by the knight's gullibility: 'Harto tenía que hacer el socarrón de Sancho en disimular la risa, oyendo las sandeces de su amo, tan delicadamente engañado' [The sly rogue Sancho had his work cut out to hide his laughter as he listened to the nonsense being blurted by his master, whom he had deceived with such finesse].[14]

The supposed enchantment of Dulcinea constitutes the central crisis of the novel, a turning-point that will transform the character of each of the protagonists as well as the nature of their relationship, and whose consequences will be ingeniously unfolded by Cervantes over the entire course of Part II.[15] To begin with, the roles of knight and squire appear to have been reversed in this scene—Sancho claims to see reality in its chivalric aspect whereas Don Quixote appears to have lost the gift of chivalric insight, which had impelled him to adventure throughout Part I. This 'blindness' explains why he will no longer so readily transform everyday phenomena: not because he has become less mad, but because the alleged 'enchantment' of Dulcinea has shaken his confidence in his ability to interpret the world around him in a chivalric sense, and this, logically, will make him far less impulsive than in Part I. The fact is that Sancho's lie threatens the very heart

[11] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, II.10, p. 771; pp. 548–9.
[12] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, II.10, p. 774; p. 551.
[13] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, II.10, p. 768; pp. 546–7.
[14] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, II.10, p. 774; p. 551.
[15] For a fuller discussion than is possible here, see Williamson, 'La transformación…', and 'De un "mundo…'.

of his enterprise. The would-be hero had come to El Toboso expecting to see Aldonza Lorenzo gloriously transformed into her true chivalric self as the princess Dulcinea—which was how Sancho claimed to have seen her on his previous alleged visit—but he is faced instead with an ugly, foul-smelling, bad-mouthed rustic on a donkey, a horribly uncouth avatar of the comely Aldonza. This shock throws into doubt all his efforts to restore the world of chivalry, and therefore undermines his confidence in his knightly destiny.

Erich Auerbach believed that the travesty of Dulcinea 'holds a special place' among the knight's adventures: 'This is the climax of his illusion and disillusionment.'[16] Her enchantment, he went on to observe, might have caused 'a terrible crisis… It could produce a shock which in turn could bring on much deeper insanity', or else 'a cure, an instantaneous liberation from his idée fixe', but even though 'the possibility of a shift into the tragic and problematic' existed, he argued that 'such a shift is definitely avoided' because the fact that the knight 'automatically takes refuge in the interpretation that Dulcinea is under enchantment, excludes everything tragic'.[17] Don Quixote, therefore, 'surmounts the shock' so that even though the episode may seem 'sad, bitter, and almost tragic… if we merely read Cervantes's text, we have a farce, and a farce which is overwhelmingly comic'.[18] Don Quixote, however, does *not* 'surmount the shock'; the enchantment of Dulcinea does, in fact, produce a 'terrible crisis'—*but within the hermetic bubble of the knight's madness*. And within that eccentric space there does indeed occur 'a shift into the tragic and problematic', for, in the episode of the 'enchanting' of Dulcinea, Cervantes combined two crucial inventions of Part I: namely, Sancho's power to deceive his master and the pathos of Don Quixote's madness; and so, in a single, astonishing stroke of genius, he overcame the narrative impasse that would otherwise have resulted from having the mad knight visit El Toboso fully expecting to see the non-existent Dulcinea.

Erich Auerbach gave very cursory and patchy attention to anything that preceded or followed the enchanting of Dulcinea and therefore failed to perceive the dynamic continuities that actually underlie the episodic structure of the narrative. But the fact is that in this one pivotal scene Cervantes brilliantly entwined the destinies of Don Quixote, Sancho, and Dulcinea such as to produce a unifying plotline running through the subsequent episodes of the novel. It was thanks precisely to this crisis that Cervantes's narrative acquired the organic necessity identified by Aristotle as making for a 'complex' action.[19] Let us recall that Don Quixote's decision to visit El Toboso was a consequence of his squire's earlier lie about his meeting with Dulcinea. The mad knight was therefore

[16] Auerbach, p. 339. [17] Auerbach, p. 343.

[18] Auerbach, pp. 340 and 339. Please note that the order of the quotes in this sentence is as follows in Auerbach: 'surmounts the shock', p. 340 and 'sad, bitter, etc.', p. 339.

[19] 'By an episodic plot I mean one in which the sequence of the episodes is neither probable nor necessary… A complex action is one in which the change [of fortune] is accompanied by a discovery or a reversal, or both. These should develop out of the very structure of the plot, so that they are the inevitable or probable consequence of what has gone before' (Aristotle, p. 45).

expecting to 'ver en su ser a mi señora' ['[behold] my lady in her true being'],[20] but was faced instead with a repellent rustic wench. As a result of this *anagnorisis*, or unexpected discovery, the knight's invincible optimism in Part I is replaced by deepening misery:

> Pensativo además iba don Quijote por su camino adelante, considerando la mala burla que le habían hecho los encantadores volviendo a su señora Dulcinea en la mala figura de la aldeana, y no imaginaba qué remedio tendría para volverla a su ser primero; y estos pensamientos le llevaban tan fuera de sí, que sin sentirlo soltó las riendas a Rocinante, el cual sintiendo la libertad que se le daba, a cada paso se detenía a pacer la verde yerba de que aquellos campos abundaban.
>
> [Don Quixote was plunged into dejected thought as he went on his way, considering the bad joke that the enchanters had played on him by turning his lady Dulcinea into the vile shape of a peasant wench, and he couldn't imagine what could be done to turn her back into herself; and he was so carried away by these thoughts that, not knowing what he was doing, he dropped the reins, and Rocinante made the most of the liberty he was being given to stop at every step to munch the green grass that was plentiful in those fields].[21]

Not only does Cervantes show him sunk in gloom immediately after his discovery of Dulcinea's degraded appearance, but he will also remind the reader of Don Quixote's melancholy in numerous chapters of Part II.

The 'enchantment' of Dulcinea, then, makes the knight's madness appear to be a form of *hamartia*, a great involuntary error or flaw, which will increasingly cause him to suffer as a result of his strange blindness to the way things are. The evil spell apparently cast on his lady brings about a *peripeteia*, a reversal of fortune, creating something approaching a tragic crisis in the career of the mad knight—but not fully. The narrative cannot develop into a proper tragic action because Don Quixote remains as mad in Part II as he was in the first part, for however much he may be plagued by doubts about his destiny, however much he may suffer, the sheer inflexibility of his primary madness will prevent him from questioning the fundamental belief that the books of chivalry are absolutely true. Don Quixote, in short, becomes the helpless victim of his madness, but although the reader might therefore feel pity for the deluded wretch, as did some of the characters in Part I, much of what he says and does will be just as ridiculous as before, so fear, the other classic tragic emotion, cannot arise at all. And yet, this very impediment, this unavoidable limitation, would once more call forth the striking originality of Cervantes's imagination in his creation of a partially tragic action within the comic envelope of the chivalric madness.[22] Note in the passage cited above how the pathos of the depressed Don Quixote unexpectedly slips into bathos when Rocinante casually begins to 'munch the green grass'. With such quicksilver shifts from pity to mockery and vice-versa,

[20] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, I.10, p. 773; pp. 549–50.

[21] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, I.11, p. 775; p. 551.

[22] See Lozano-Renieblas and Romo Feito, who argue that Cervantes's fiction tends progressively to combine comic and serious themes.

Cervantes would enrich and complicate his ironic game of 'killing' the king-like reader 'under the cloak' of the text,[23] thereby fashioning the knight's paradoxical madness into a literary phenomenon that would come to resonate so powerfully with modern readers.

* * *

Sancho's lie about Dulcinea's condition produces a shift of power from master to servant, for the success of this fabrication shows not only that he can manipulate the knight's madness but also that he could grievously, if not fatally, damage his master's chivalric illusions if he so wished, either by owning up to having deceived him or by simply abandoning him and going home. So, why does he remain in Quixote's service? His motives are mixed: he claims to love his master for his sheer goodness of heart, but confesses also that he is tempted by the Devil:

> —[E]l diablo me pone ante los ojos aquí, allí, acá no, sino acullá, un talego lleno de doblones, que me parece que a cada paso le toco con la mano y me abrazo con él y lo llevo a mi casa, y echo censos y fundo rentas y vivo como un príncipe.
>
> ['(T)he devil keeps dangling a bag full of doubloons in front of my eyes here and there and everywhere, and with every step I take I seem to be touching it and clutching it to my breast and taking it home and buying property to lease and rent out and live like a king'][24]

The prospect of making money and living a princely life makes Sancho hedge his bets, half-believing still that Don Quixote might eventually deliver the island he had been promised when they first set out on their adventures. The squire may be an endearing rustic but he can also be a cunning and self-interested rogue. What binds the pair now is a perverse web of competing interests. If Don Quixote is to succeed in his mission, he must free Dulcinea from her spell; Sancho, on the other hand, knows that this 'disenchantment' can never happen, because the whole thing is based on a lie of his own making; and yet, if he is to fulfil his material aspirations, he must prevent his master from discovering the true cause of his unhappiness. In the strange bubble created by Don Quixote's madness, we find conflict as well as affection, self-interested manipulation as well as respect, but at bottom master and servant are locked in a state of mutual dependency in which both are doomed to the frustration of their respective desires. This fruitless contest between the knight's ostensible authority and the squire's material ambition will become, in due course, a prism through which Cervantes will presage the crumbling of the principle of hierarchy that underpinned the social order of his age.[25]

As Don Quixote succumbs to melancholy and self-doubt, there follow a number of episodes that hint at the inner turmoil of the stricken knight. In Chapter 11, they meet a company of actors in costume mounted on a cart. Cupid is lying at the feet of the figure of Death, next to whom are an angel with large, painted wings and an emperor with a

[23] See Chapter 5 of this volume, 'The Prologue to Part I', pp. 112–15.
[24] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, I.13, p. 795; p. 566.
[25] See Williamson, 'The Power-Struggle…'

golden crown; there is also a knight bearing arms yet wearing a plumed hat, which gives him the strangely foppish air of a courtier instead of a proper warrior. Taken together, these actors may be said to form a semi-allegorical tableau that externalizes Don Quixote's worst fears inasmuch as it portends the loss of Dulcinea and his consequent impotence to restore the world of chivalry: Cupid (love), the angel (heavenly spirit), the emperor (earthly power), are all associated with Death, and the knight appears to be somehow emasculated in his feathery hat. The 'Cart of the Parliament of Death' episode is rounded off with the antics of a clownish devil who taunts the mad knight, causing him to be thrown off Rocinante when the horse bolts in alarm.

In Chapter 12, Don Quixote comes across the Knight of the Forest [Caballero del Bosque], referred to also as the Knight of the Mirrors [Caballero del los Espejos], who claims that his lady Casildea is more beautiful than Dulcinea and declares that he had recently defeated a knight calling himself Don Quixote who denied this truth. Not only does this stranger threaten the supremacy of Dulcinea's beauty, he also undermines the knight's already insecure sense of his own destiny. In Chapter 14, the 'real' Don Quixote challenges him to a duel in which the mad knight, surprisingly, is victorious, knocking down his rival when the latter's horse refuses to budge. The Knight of the Mirrors is none other than Sansón Carrasco, who has set forth from his home village in order to induce Don Quixote to return home. Though his intentions may have been good, Sansón's defeat so annoys him that he vows to take his revenge.[26]

In Chapter 16, Cervantes introduces Don Diego de Miranda, a man of a similar age and class as Don Quixote, who leads a comfortable, well-regulated life as a country gentleman, much as Alonso Quijano might have done had he not gone off his head. If the Knight of the Mirrors was a menacing reflection of Don Quixote's knightly persona, Don Diego de Miranda's routinely normal existence shows up the unique, precarious oddity of Quixote's chivalric aspirations. This point is not lost on the madman: 'Esta figura que vuesa merced en mí ha visto, por ser tan nueva y tan fuera de las que comúnmente se usan, no me maravillaría yo de que le hubiese maravillado' ['The appearance that I present to you is so strange and out of the ordinary that it would not surprise me to learn that it has filled you with wonder'].[27] When they come across a wagon transporting two caged lions to the royal court, Don Quixote takes the opportunity to vindicate his chosen career. To everyone's alarm, he insists on engaging one of the beasts with his sword but, mercifully, the lion cannot be bothered to attack the knight and just turns away. Even so, despite the comical anti-climax, Don Quixote seems justified in regarding this 'adventure' as a moral victory, given that he did after all display the courage of a true knight errant. Nevertheless, he is once again all too conscious of the strange impression Don Diego must have formed of him:

> ¿Quién duda, señor don Diego de Miranda, que vuestra merced no me tenga en su opinión por un hombre disparatado y loco? Y no sería mucho que así fuese, porque

[26] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, II.15, p. 816; p. 581.

[27] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, II.16, p. 820; p. 584.

> mis obras no pueden dar testimonio de otra cosa. Pues, con todo esto, quiero que vuestra merced advierta que no soy tan loco ni tan menguado como debo de haberle parecido.
>
> ['Who can doubt, Don Diego de Miranda sir, that your opinion of me is that I am a man who is both foolish and mad? And it would be no wonder if you did, because it is the only conclusion to be drawn from my deeds. Well, in spite of all that, I should like you to observe that I am not as mad or as foolish as I must have seemed'].[28]

Don Quixote then proceeds to justify the ways and values of knight errantry to Don Diego, who is amazed by his paradoxical combination of madness and intelligence.

Following his semi-victory, Don Quixote is invited to stay at Don Diego's house, where he meets his son, a student of law. Father and son cannot make out whether Don Quixote is sound of mind or not, but never once do they mock him; rather, they treat him with respect and marvel at the paradox he embodies. When Don Quixote learns that the son is a budding poet, he urges the father to encourage the youth's poetic vocation. He had earlier exalted the art of poetry to Don Diego (II.16), comparing it to a beautiful damsel, and since Cervantes himself had personified poetry in similar terms in his novella *La gitanilla*, this correspondence could be taken to indicate a certain sympathy with the madman's views, which would underscore the pathos of his condition as the victim of a ludicrous mania.

Despite Cervantes's claim that he had refrained from interpolating tales in Part II, the sojourn with Don Diego de Miranda is followed by the story of Camacho's wedding (II.19–21), in which the protagonists are little more than onlookers. Knight and squire encounter two shepherds who tell them of their friend Basilio's frustrated love for the beautiful Quiteria, who is going to be married off by her father to the prosperous farmer Camacho. Don Quixote and Sancho attend the wedding, during which Basilio turns up and pretends to commit suicide, a desperate gambit that succeeds in making Camacho recognize that Quiteria and Basilio are truly in love, so he decides to forgo the marriage but proceed with the wedding feast anyway. The story illustrates the perennial romantic theme of the triumph of love over material interest, a theme congenial to Don Quixote, but Cervantes gives it a veneer of realism by setting it in an ordinary country village in contemporary Spain.

Romance and realism are mixed in a quite different manner in the amazing episode that describes Don Quixote's descent into the underground Cave of Montesinos (II. 22–3). As with the 'Cart of the Parliament of Death' episode, Cervantes was experimenting here with ways of laying bare the internal world of his hero. Caves, after all, have long been represented in literary tradition as mysterious places that afford access to some ulterior dimension of experience.[29] Indeed, the knight's account of what he found in the cave contains both paradisiacal and infernal elements.[30] He had woken from a deep

[28] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, II.17, p. 839; p. 598.

[29] For literary antecedents and influences, see Egido, especially the chapters 'La cueva de Montesinos y la tradición erasmista de ultratumba' and 'La de Montesinos y otras cuevas'.

[30] See Riley, 'Metamorphosis, Myth and Dream…', p. 109.

sleep to find himself before a beautiful crystal palace from which emerged a venerable old man—Montesinos himself, a character from the Spanish Carolingian romance tradition—who took him to meet other famous personages, all of them enchanted by Merlin. But the description becomes an unconscious parody of chivalric romance, interspersed as it is with jarringly crude details of which the madman seems to be unaware. Don Quixote's account is characterized by mercurial transitions from the comic to the poignant and back again. For example, he claims to have come upon the knight Sir Durandarte, who is lying enchanted in the cave after having been mortally wounded in the famous battle of Roncesvaux Pass. According to legend, Durandarte had asked his friend Montesinos to cut his heart from his chest after his death so that it might be conveyed to his lady Belerma as a token of his love. And Don Quixote now relates that Montesinos reassured the enchanted Durandarte that he had indeed carried out his request and had even pickled the heart with salt to avoid it rotting and smelling bad when it reached Belerma.

These comic notes, however, are blended with touching insights into Don Quixote's anxieties. Shortly afterwards, he sees three girls 'que por aquellos amenísimos campos iban saltando y brincando como cabras' ['leaping and frolicking in those delightful meadows like three goats'].[31] He recognized them as the enchanted Dulcinea and her maidservants, but when he went up to speak to Dulcinea she did not reply: 'antes me volvió las espaldas y se fue huyendo con tanta prisa, que no la alcanzara una jara' ['she turned her back on me and ran away so fast that a crossbow bolt could not have caught her'].[32] Despite being rebuffed by Dulcinea, he was told by Montesinos that in time he would be advised how to release all these characters from their spell, but no sooner did he receive this reassuring information than he was approached by one of Dulcinea's maidservants who asked to pawn a petticoat for six *reales* because her mistress was 'en una gran necesidad' ['in great need'].[33] Don Quixote, alas, had only four *reales* to offer his lady but promised he would not rest until he succeeded in liberating her from her bewitchment. The frustrated encounter with Dulcinea, together with her handmaiden's pathetic request, reveal Cervantes's dazzling inventiveness at its astonishing best, indicating as they do how fully the deluded knight has absorbed Sancho's lie and how deeply it has wounded him. This encounter, moreover, lends the episode a certain mythic quality: Don Quixote is briefly transformed into an Orphic figure who descends into the underworld seeking to release Dulcinea, his unreachable Eurydice, from the Hades into which Sancho's lie had cast her.

A modern reader might be tempted to interpret the Cave of Montesinos as a representation of the knight's unconscious mind, since it suggests both delusions of grandeur and fears of inadequacy (Freud was a great admirer of Cervantes's work).[34] That, of course, would be anachronistic, but it is not unreasonable to suppose that Cervantes

[31] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, II.23, p. 901; p. 645.
[32] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, II.23, p. 902; p. 646.
[33] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, II.23, p. 903; p. 646.
[34] See Wilson and Riley, 'Cervantes, Freud…'.

might have wished to represent this mysterious experience as a dream or vision whose comical distortions and exaggerations, though part and parcel of the general parody, reflected also the knight's distress at the possibility that he might fail in his mission to restore the world of chivalry. The entire episode is shot through with sudden transitions from the comic to the poignant and back again. Indeed, when the knight emerges from the cave he cannot convince Sancho, the secret author of Dulcinea's 'enchantment', that his experience was not a dream or a fantasy. The squire's scepticism is even shared by the translator of Cide Hamete's account, who, according to Cervantes, left a note in the margin of the text expressing doubts about the truth of the adventure but stating also his belief that Don Quixote could not possibly have been lying. Once more, we find Cervantes playing his ironic game of hide-and-seek with his reader under the cloak of the text: 'Tú, letor, pues eres prudente, juzga lo que te pareciere' ['You, wise reader, must make up your own mind'].[35] In Part I, the author's continual playing around the boundaries between fact and fantasy is primarily a comic device, but in Part II it is much more than that. Owing to the trauma of Dulcinea's controversial bewitchment, these prevarications over the truth of Don Quixote's experience in Montesinos' Cave can be regarded as metafictional projections of the knight's troubled feelings.

The question of Dulcinea comes up again soon afterwards, when they put up at an inn and meet the puppeteer Master Pedro, whose left eye and half his face are covered by a green cloth (II.25). This patently dodgy character owns an ape, which is said to possess the gift of prophecy. Sancho suggests they ask the ape what really happened in the cave, but the creature's reply is slyly noncommittal: some of the things Don Quixote saw were false, others were 'verisimilar'.[36] Master Pedro then puts on a puppet-play involving the rescue of a captive damsel by her lover from the citadel of a Moorish king. And just as the Knight of the Mirrors and Don Diego de Miranda appeared some chapters earlier as contrary reflections of Don Quixote, so too can Master Pedro the puppet-master be seen as a mirror-image of Cervantes himself, for not only does his puppet-play turn out to be a miniature parody of a chivalric romance, it also reproduces the metafictional relations between author, narrator, characters, and spectators that characterize the *Quixote* as a whole (II. 26).[37]

Master Pedro disappears behind the stage, much as Cervantes hides behind the text; the boy-narrator keeps getting things wrong, provoking criticism from Don Quixote and occasional chiding by the puppet-master, which parallels the way Cervantes, as the 'segundo autor', intermittently critiques Cide Hamete's narration of events. As the puppet-play approaches its climax, with the fleeing Christian lovers being pursued by an army of Moors, Don Quixote gets so carried away that he draws his sword and comes to their aid, smashing the puppets in the process. Although he compensates the puppeteer for the damage, he still remains confused about the difference between fact and fiction, which is the basic reason for his madness, after all. As for Master Pedro, he turns out to be a mountebank who travels about the country fleecing the public and is identified as

[35] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, II.24, p. 905; p. 648.
[36] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, II.25, p. 922 (my translation).
[37] See Haley.

none other than Ginés de Pasamonte, one of the galley slaves liberated by Don Quixote in Part I, who had been writing his life-story, which he boasted would be much better than the picaresque tale of *Lazarillo de Tormes* and all the others of that kind (I.22).

Don Quixote will keep looking for auguries of success but is never granted a sure sign. When he finds an empty boat on the banks of the River Ebro (II.29), he interprets this as a good omen. Drifting downriver on the boat, he comes across some water-mills, which he declares to be a castle, but when the hoped-for adventure ends in disaster he is left confused and despondent: 'Dios lo remedie, que este mundo es máquina y trazas, contrarias unas de otras. Yo no puedo más' ['May God send a remedy; for everything in this world is trickery, stage machinery, every part of it working against every other part. I have done all I can'].[38] Sancho too reaches the end of his tether and resolves to abandon his master at the next opportunity because he can no longer see any benefit to be had from tolerating Don Quixote's fantasies. And once again we observe a strain of cruelty in his character, since he is prepared to leave without bothering with explanations or farewells: 'sin entrar en cuentas ni en despedimientos con su señor'.[39]

Cervantes, however, invented a way of shoring up the faltering relationship by giving Don Quixote's morale an unexpected boost and by rekindling Sancho's material self-interest. In II.30, the pair are invited to become the guests of a genuine Duke and Duchess, and the splendid, ceremonious welcome they receive at the ducal palace goes some way to renewing Don Quixote's self-belief: 'y aquel fue el primer día que de todo en todo conoció y creyó ser caballero andante verdadero, y no fantástico, viéndose tratar del mismo modo que él había leído se trataban los tales caballeros en los pasados siglos' ['and that was the first day when he was fully convinced that he was a real knight errant, not a fantasy one, seeing himself treated in the same way as he'd read that such knights used to be treated in centuries past'].[40] The truth, however, is that the Duke and Duchess, having read Part I, wish to amuse themselves by playing tricks on the unsuspecting duo, the general effect of which will be to promote Sancho Panza over and above his master by offering him the prospect of finally realizing his social ambitions.

Cervantes will now bring fully into the open the political dimension of the Quixote-Sancho relationship, which had been more or less latent since the fulling mills episode in I.20. By enmeshing Don Quixote's chivalric fantasies in the real world of power and status at the Duke's castle, Cervantes raised issues of authority and justice that were being debated in Spain at this time. Central to these debates was the question of distinguishing between legitimate authority and 'tyranny': a *señor natural* or 'natural lord' should exercise his power according to Christian morality and for the sake of the common good, but if he did so out of mere self-interest, without regard for the rights of his subjects, he would be acting as a tyrant. Thus, when the Duke promises Sancho an island to govern, his chaplain and counsellor reprimands him for encouraging the madman and a simpleton like Sancho: '¡Mirad si no han de ser ellos locos, pues los cuerdos canonizan sus locuras!' ['How can they fail to be mad when sane men sanction their madness?'].[41]

[38] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, II.29, p. 954; p. 687.
[39] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, II.30, p. 955.
[40] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, II.31, p. 962; p. 693.
[41] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, II.32, p. 973; p. 702.

But since the Duke pays no attention to his objections, the cleric quits the palace in disgust. His abrupt departure suggests that the hoaxes the Duke proposes to play on Don Quixote and Sancho constitute a sort of 'tyrannical' abuse of authority.[42]

Thanks to Sancho, the Duke and Duchess come to learn about Dulcinea's enchantment and Don Quixote's alleged experience in the Cave of Montesinos (II.33), and, seizing on this new information, they organize a magnificent pageant designed to torment the mad knight by duping him into believing that he is witnessing at last what he had expected to see in El Toboso—Aldonza Lorenzo transfigured into the chivalric princess Dulcinea. Cervantes artfully builds up the suspense, drama, and spectacle of Don Quixote's poignant, dream-like vision of his lady, an event for which he had so long craved. During a night-time hunt there appears a procession of enchanters borne upon various carriages and illuminated by numerous horsemen in white robes carrying flaming torches. Bringing up the rear comes a chariot three times the size of the others, bearing a 'nymph' seated on a throne, 'vestida de mil velos de tela de plata, brillando por todos ellos infinitas hojas de argentería de oro' ['wearing a thousand pieces of silver cloth, with countless golden spangles glittering all over them']; her face is covered by 'un transparente y delicado cendal' ['a diaphanous veil'], through which could be glimpsed 'un hermosísimo rostro de doncella' ['a lovely maiden's face']. This is none other than 'Dulcinea' (in fact, it is a page-boy in female disguise) and Don Quixote is amazed that he has at last been granted sight of his beautiful princess in such dazzling attire. Next to her, however, stands a figure, also veiled but dressed all in black, who uncovers its face to reveal 'la mesma figura de la muerte, descarnada y fea' ['Death itself, fleshless and hideous'].[43]

The majestic chariot upon which the putative 'Dulcinea' is enthroned harks back to the episode involving the cart bearing a group of costumed actors, which Cervantes significantly placed just after the scene of the 'enchantment' of Dulcinea, and where the dejected Don Quixote saw Cupid lying at the feet of the figure of Death. Now, in this latter scene, the awesome figure in black, a much grander avatar of that earlier black-robed character, identifies himself as the great wizard Merlin, who goes on to prophesy that Dulcinea will be released from her spell only if and when Sancho Panza administers 3,300 lashes on his backside (II.35). In other words, Merlin invests Sancho with the *exclusive* power to disenchant Dulcinea, and he must do so of his own volition and in the time he alone should determine. When the squire refuses to comply, 'Dulcinea' herself rises to her feet and delivers a spirited exhortation to Sancho—comical in its wilful ineptitude—to apply the required lashes. Sancho still objects to this remedy, but when the Duke threatens to refuse him the governorship of an island on account of his cowardice, he agrees to the deal, whereupon 'don Quijote se colgó del cuello de Sancho, dándole mil besos en la frente y las mejillas' ['Don Quixote draped himself around Sancho's neck, smothering him in kisses on the forehead and the cheeks'],[44] in a graphic demonstration

[42] See Williamson, 'El extraño caso del "grave eclesiástico" …'.

[43] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, II.35, p. 1005; p. 727.

[44] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, II.35, p. 1014; p. 733.

of his critical dependence upon his servant. As Merlin's chariot moves off, there is another ominous sign of the transfer of power that has just taken place: 'El carro comenzó a caminar; y al pasar la hermosa Dulcinea, inclinó la cabeza a los duques y hizo una gran reverencia a Sancho' ['The chariot began to move; and as the lovely Dulcinea went by she bowed her head to the Duke and Duchess and made a low curtsey to Sancho'].[45]

The next hoax concerns the plight of the Countess Trifaldi (II.36–41), also known as the Dueña Dolorida (the 'Dolorous Duenna'), whose storyline is a parody of one of the most hackneyed themes of chivalric literature—the liberation of a damsel in distress by a heroic knight. In this case, the damsel is the Dueña Dolorida's daughter Antonomasia. A central element of this pseudo-adventure involves a famous wooden horse called Clavileño, upon which Quixote and Sancho are said to ride through the skies to engage in combat with the giant enchanter Malambruno (II.40–1). Needless to say, Don Quixote is allowed to succeed in this adventure, to general acclaim and celebration.

These two burlesque spectacles are entirely consistent with Cervantes's parody of the *libros de caballerías*, and in this respect the reader joins with the Duke and his court in laughing at the gullibility of the mad knight and his simple squire.[46] Yet after the Countess Trifaldi hoax, the sense of the parody subtly changes, and the reader's response to the mocking of Quixote and Sancho becomes more ambivalent. In Chapter 44, Sancho's departure for the fictitious 'island' of Barataria (it is actually landlocked), where he has been appointed governor by the Duke, results in the bifurcation of the narrative into alternate strands, one dealing with Don Quixote at the ducal palace, the other with the squire at Barataria, a divergence that produces a counterpoint between their respective fortunes.

Cervantes deftly shifts and slides between varying degrees of pathos and mockery in the chapters dealing with Don Quixote. When the Duchess asks why he is so melancholy, he confesses that, although he misses Sancho, he is also sad about the condition of his lady. This admission gives the Duchess the idea of teasing the knight by getting her mischievous maid Altisidora to pretend to have fallen in love with him. Altisidora sings a burlesque love-song to the lonely knight (II.44), but he responds by composing a ballad expressing his unyielding love for Dulcinea (II.46). The contrast between Altisidora's malicious spoof and Don Quixote's perfectly rendered composition invites sympathy for the knight's desolation, deluded though he is. Yet no sooner does he finish his heartfelt song than he suffers another prank at the hands of the Duchess and her maidservant, who lower a sack full of cats from the floor above, several of which scratch his face so badly that he has to spend five days recovering in bed. Even the Duke and Duchess, we are told, feel upset at the severity of the madman's wounds.[47]

Cervantes's portrayal of the poor lunatic as the innocent victim of such nasty tricks surely invites the reader to question the ethics of the Duke and Duchess's use of their power, and to this extent, it justifies the moral outrage expressed at the outset by their

[45] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, II.35, p. 1014; p. 733.
[46] See Canavaggio for Sancho's antics.
[47] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, II.46, p. 1096.

own chaplain.[48] Ethical doubts are also reinforced by political misgivings when Don Quixote is approached by Doña Rodríguez, a duenna at the Duke's court, with a request to help her obtain justice for her daughter, who has been seduced on a promise of marriage by the son of a rich farmer and then abandoned. The reader will be surprised to learn that Doña Rodríguez has a substantial complaint against the Duke: she accuses him of ignoring her daughter's case because he owes money to the seducer's father. The problem is genuine, the duenna's distress is real, so this is a case the Duke, as the *señor natural* of his vassals, has the responsibility to address in the interests of justice. But when Don Quixote takes up the matter with the great lord, the latter proposes that it be resolved in a chivalric duel between Don Quixote and the farmer's son (who in fact will be impersonated by one of the Duke's lackeys). In this regard it is telling that the narrator refers to Doña Rodríguez as 'la segunda Dueña Dolorida' ['the second Dolorous Duenna'],[49] a reference to the fictitious Countess Trifaldi and her daughter Antonomasia who featured in the earlier chivalric spoof mounted by the Duke. Cervantes is surely hinting here at the arrogant cynicism of the Duke, who exploits Doña Rodríguez's grievance in order to devise yet another chivalric parody for his own amusement. Cervantes nevertheless turns the tables on the Duke, for Don Quixote's unexpected victory in the duel (II.56) represents a vindication of sorts, inasmuch as it upholds traditional values of honour and justice and thwarts the 'tyrannical' designs of the mighty Duke, if only for a while.

Interlaced with these chapters, we have the account of Sancho's governorship of the 'island' of Barataria. The Duke and Duchess feed the peasant's ambition by writing him flattering letters, and Sancho is thoroughly taken in, to the point of sending his wife Teresa a letter urging her to prepare for her new status as the consort of a governor, and to groom their daughter Sanchica for marriage to a man of means. A hoax the whole thing may be, but as with Don Quixote and Doña Rodríguez, Cervantes springs a surprise on the ducal couple (and on the reader). The illiterate Sancho is much cannier than expected, and comes up with sensible, and at times ingenious, judgements when required to adjudicate a series of civil disputes; so much so that the clerk assigned to record his every word and action cannot tell whether he is 'tonto' or 'discreto' ['a simpleton' or 'a sage'].[50] Such is Sancho's success as governor, the narrator observes, that: 'ordenó cosas tan buenas, que hasta hoy se guardan en aquel lugar, y se nombran "Las constituciones del gran gobernador Sancho Panza" ' ['Sancho made such excellent bylaws that they have remained in force in the town to this day, and they are called "The Ordinances of the Great Governor Sancho Panza" '].[51] As governor of Barataria, then, Sancho blossoms as a paradoxical character almost on a par with Don Quixote himself.

What is one to make of Sancho's governorship at Barataria? There is a widely-held view among modern *cervantistas* that the peasant's governorship calls into question the social hierarchy of early-modern Spain by offering a glimpse of an alternative order,

[48] See Williamson, 'Crítica del poder…'.
[49] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, II.52, p. 1150; p. 839.
[50] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, II.45, p. 1087; p. 789.
[51] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, II.51, p. 1150; p. 838; see also Rivero Iglesias.

where political authority would be based on personal merit rather than on the privilege of birth. One of the leading exponents of this interpretation was José Antonio Maravall, who believed that the *Quixote* as a whole reflected Cervantes's disillusion with the supposed impossibility of reforming Spanish society along principles derived from Erasmus.[52] Maravall argued that Sancho's governorship at Barataria represented an exemplary humanist 'utopia' in which 'natural reason and a good Christian conscience' would be the basic qualifications for government rather than birth and aristocratic privilege.[53] Some scholars have studied Sancho's governorship in a similar vein but from a Bakhtinian perspective, as a 'carnivalesque' challenge to the dominant ideology.[54] For Augustin Redondo, Sancho is 'a sincere Christian' whose governorship serves as a 'lesson in public ethics' and, following Maravall, he wondered whether Cervantes was suggesting that 'this desire for rectitude and justice was no more than a dream which could only be realized in another world, in a longed-for Age of Gold'.[55] James Iffland observed that the 'world upside down' of Barataria 'reveals the true wisdom and capacity to govern of a poor illiterate peasant', a revelation which has 'important socio-political ramifications'.[56]

It is a moot point, however, whether Cervantes was advocating a radical, 'utopian' reconstruction of society on meritocratic lines. In so far as Sancho's governorship may have political significance, it could be said to represent a veiled satirical critique of the excesses of the contemporary aristocracy. His surprising competence in the governorship serves to show up the Duke's dereliction of his duties as a *señor natural*, but does it follow that Cervantes wished to question the validity of the principle of social hierarchy itself? Barataria, I would say, is best understood as forming part of Cervantes's ironic strategy of challenging the reader's preconceptions and expectations: in this case, through a fictional inversion of power in 'carnivalesque' mode, which briefly unsettles the socio-political hierarchy. In reality, of course, Carnival was a cathartic indulgence in a 'world upside down', but after a short period of licence, the established order was restored. Similarly, Barataria concludes with the peasant willingly returning to the humble station that heaven had ordained for him at birth. When the Duke organizes a nocturnal attack on the 'island', Sancho proves too cowardly to act as a proper leader and decides to relinquish his post, having allegedly perceived the vanity of power and ambition: 'Yo no nací para ser gobernador ni para defender ínsulas ni ciudades . . . Bien se está cada uno usando el oficio para que fue nacido' ['I wasn't born to be a governor or defend islands or cities from the enemies that choose to attack them . . . each man's all right doing the job he was born for'].[57]

There is indeed criticism of the powers-that-be in *Don Quixote*, but it is effected through the play of ambiguity and irony. Perhaps this is why Cervantes chose to place at the tail end of the Barataria sequence an episode that would seem to imply criticism of

[52] Maravall, p. 226. [53] Maravall, p. 220.
[54] See, for example, Redondo, Iffland, Durán. [55] Redondo, pp. 471, 472, and 472–3.
[56] Iffland, p. 455. [57] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, II.53, p. 1163; p. 849.

royal policy no less. As Sancho makes his way back to the Duke's palace (II.54), he comes across six German pilgrims, one of whom turns out to be a Spaniard called Ricote, who was formerly a neighbour of his in La Mancha but who, being a Morisco or descendant of forcibly converted Muslims, has been living in exile in the German lands. The Ricote episode brings the *Quixote* right up to date in terms of current affairs in Spain. Between 1568 and 1571 the Moriscos of the Alpujarras, a region south of Granada, had risen in a massive rebellion against the repression of their language, dress, and customs. After this uprising was put down, the Moriscos of the former Muslim kingdom of Granada, who had long been suspected of secret Islamic observance and of collusion with Spain's Muslim enemies in North Africa, had been resettled in various parts of the Kingdom of Castile, but eventually the crown resolved to expel en masse from the Peninsula all the diverse communities of Moriscos in Spain in a vast operation undertaken between 1609 and 1614, a period during which Cervantes was working on Part II of *Don Quixote*.

The royal policy raised complex political and ethical issues, which is perhaps why the portrayal of the Morisco Ricote is riddled with such perplexing ambiguities. Opinion in Spain was divided over the justice of the expulsion, and from his equivocal treatment of Ricote we might infer that Cervantes was divided too. On the one hand, Ricote praises the king's policy, claiming it must have been divinely inspired because of the 'ruines y disparatados intentos que los nuestros tenían' ['my people's base and absurd intentions'], but on the other, he laments the 'terrible punishment' that exile entails, saying of his people: 'Doquier que estamos lloramos por España' ['Wherever we are we weep for Spain'],[58] which suggests that Cervantes sympathized with their plight. Many Moriscos, in fact, were sincere Christians and for the king to expel these good Catholics from their rightful homeland might be deemed to be a tyrannical act. But how to tell the genuine Christians from the crypto-Muslims? Ricote's own family exemplified the dilemma. His wife and daughter are devout Catholics who are stranded in Algiers, having been taken there by his brother-in-law. Our sympathy for the beleaguered women is deepened by Sancho's recalling their forced departure from their home village, a scene so affecting that Sancho himself was moved to tears. Some of their neighbours, he says, were tempted to hide Ricote's daughter and even to snatch her back from her guards, but they were deterred by their fear of going against the king's decree. Sancho then takes his leave of Ricote and resumes his journey back to the Duke's palace, but this is not the end of the matter, as we shall see.

* * *

While Cervantes's critique of the Duke's 'tyrannical' abuses is guarded and, it may be argued, even politically conservative, the episodes at the palace are subversive in literary terms, for it is here that his original aim to destroy the narrative system of the books of chivalry is fully achieved. The linchpin of that system was Providence, which could be relied upon to lead the hero to fame and glory, but within the bubble of his madness, Don Quixote has been repeatedly denied the means of success. Most of his adventures

[58] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, II.54, p. 1170; p. 854.

have resulted in failure: other than Montesinos's false prediction about Merlin, not a single augury of good fortune has appeared, neither has a benign wizard or some other kind soul come to his aid; and not least, when his lady-love became the victim of a wicked enchanter, our aspiring hero proved incapable of setting her free. The *coup de grâce* was delivered by the Duke: it was he who gave Sancho the much-coveted governorship of an island and not Don Quixote, who had promised an island to his squire from the very beginning of their relationship. Not only that: unlike his squire, the knight himself receives no reward at all. Thus, the peasant's comical apotheosis at Barataria is consistent with the transfer of power from master to servant that resulted from Sancho's deceitful 'enchanting' of Dulcinea in Chapter 10. The absence of Providence as the guiding principle of the would-be hero's career represents, in effect, the breakdown of the narrative conventions of chivalric romance such as they had functioned since their origins in the works of Chrétien de Troyes. What else remained to be done? One has only to consider the difficulties faced by Cervantes in prolonging the Quixote-Sancho relationship to realize that his parody of the *libros de caballerías* had played itself out.

After Sancho's return from Barataria, Cervantes at first attempts to re-build Don Quixote's authority over his squire. On his way back to the Duke's palace, the ex-governor happens to fall into an underground cave (there is a parallel here with the Cave of Montesinos) and calls out for someone to rescue him. Don Quixote's 'providential' appearance persuades the terrified Sancho that he should enter the knight's service once again. And so, the two men are reunited and the hierarchy between knight and squire is duly restored. Sancho's renewed deference to his master is confirmed when they resume their wanderings after leaving the Duke's palace. They come across statues of four Christian knights and Don Quixote extols them for their saintly endeavours. Sancho marvels at his wisdom: 'Quedó Sancho de nuevo, como si jamás hubiera conocido a su señor, admirado de lo que sabía.' ['For Sancho it had been like meeting his master for the first time, and he was lost in admiration for his erudition.'][59]

Soon afterwards, they encounter two beautiful maidens dressed as shepherdesses, who are taking part in a pastoral pageant, and when they are introduced to the other participants in this rarefied aristocratic pastime, the knight is welcomed into their company without a trace of mockery or disrespect, in marked contrast to the treatment he had received at the hands of the Duke and Duchess. But the ending of this Arcadian episode illustrates Cervantes's difficulty after reuniting knight and squire. Don Quixote decides to thank his hosts for their hospitality by standing in the middle of the royal highway for two whole days in order to challenge any passing knight to declare that, with the exception of Dulcinea, the two shepherdesses are the fairest maidens in the world. His chivalrous gesture, however, results in a horrible trampling by a herd of bulls (II.58). This calamitous incident suggests that Cervantes could not uphold Don Quixote's authority over Sancho for very long without allowing the comic logic of the parody to assert itself once more, and this logic begged the question: for how long could the servant be expected to tolerate his master's crazy antics? Would it not be more plausible

[59] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, II.58, p. 1198; p. 876.

for Sancho to opt out of the quixotic bubble altogether and just go home, as he had resolved to do before they happened to meet the Duchess in II.30?

The fact was that the story of Don Quixote had been told in all its essentials, and at this juncture Cervantes would have had little option but to bring the parody to a close. However, he still had to confront an awkward issue: should he unleash the potentially destructive dynamic created by Merlin's prophecy back in Chapter 35, when Sancho had been invested with the exclusive power to break Dulcinea's evil spell? This prophecy was bound to reproduce the 'world upside down' within the Quixote-Sancho relationship which Cervantes had tried to put right after Barataria. In the event, he chose to portray the inevitable clash of interests between knight and squire in Chapter 60. Don Quixote becomes so frustrated with Sancho's reluctance to apply Merlin's remedy that he tries to whip the squire himself. Sancho reacts with great fury, wrestles Don Quixote to the ground, and places his knee on his master's chest to hold him down. The knight is horrified by this effrontery: '¿Cómo, traidor? ¿Contra tu amo y señor natural te desmandas? ¿Con quien te da su pan te atreves?'; ['What, you traitor? You defy your own natural lord? You raise your hand against the man who feeds you?']; but Sancho remains defiant: 'Ni quito rey ni pongo rey… sino ayúdome a mí, que soy mi señor' ['I depose no king, I impose no king… but I'll help myself, for I'm my own lord'].[60] The servant takes his insubordination even further, presenting the knight with an ultimatum: he must promise not to try and flog him again, 'donde no, aquí morirás, traidor' ['but if not, you'll die here and now, you traitor'].[61] Don Quixote surrenders, and vows never to lay hands on him again.

There is no interpretation that takes this shocking fight properly into account, perhaps because it violates the deeply entrenched notion of a growing fraternal bond between knight and squire. Salvador de Madariaga wrote that it was 'one page which every reader of *Don Quixote* would wish unwritten'.[62] And yet, it is one of the crucial scenes in the novel, for Sancho's rebellion against his *señor natural*, his 'natural lord', is a logical consequence of his gradual ascendancy in Part II: this is where an irreversible inversion of power actually takes place (Barataria was but a comical foreshadowing contrived by the Duke); here is where the servant finally achieves complete dominance over his mad master, who must henceforth accept his impotence to determine his own destiny.[63] And far from being an isolated incident, this rebellion would have consequences that Cervantes was bold enough to follow through to the end.

* * *

At this point we must consider an unexpected development in the writing of *Don Quixote*. Most likely towards the middle of 1614, Cervantes learned of the publication of a sequel to his own Part I by a rival author using the pseudonym Alonso Fernández de Avellaneda.[64] Cervantes's anger at being usurped by a plagiarist is understandable—he

[60] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, II.60, p. 1220. The translation is from Grossman, p. 851.
[61] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, II.60, p. 1221; p. 893. [62] Madariaga, p. 6.
[63] See Williamson, 'The Power-Struggle…'.
[64] Riquer has produced the most convincing hypothesis as to Avellaneda's real identity.

wanted to safeguard his rights as the creator of Don Quixote. However, he was operating in a literary marketplace where intellectual property was not protected by law, so without copyright, how could he legitimize his claim to the Knight of La Mancha? He had to find other means of securing his right to be recognised as the true inventor of Don Quixote. In this respect, I think it is significant that he chose to place his first reference to Avellaneda just before Sancho's violent rebellion against his master in Chapter 60. Thus, in Chapter 59, Don Quixote overhears two gentlemen talking about a sequel to the *Quixote* in which the knight is said to have renounced his love for Dulcinea. Cervantes's 'true' Don Quixote is appalled by this outrageous claim and declares it to be impossible. The juxtaposition of these two events betrays Cervantes's awareness of a certain parallel between Sancho's assault on his master's political authority and Avellaneda's challenge to his own literary authority.[65] And so, another kind of power contest erupted within the text of the *Quixote* itself as Cervantes engaged in a bitter struggle against Avellaneda.[66]

The last fifteen chapters or so have received very patchy, inconsistent critical attention, when they have not simply been overlooked. We find a certain turbulence, as it were, in the unfolding of the narrative—interpolations, revisions, repetitions, all of them signs that Cervantes was unnerved by the threat of Avellaneda's plagiarism.[67] For the rest of Part II he would make disparaging references to the man who threatened to rob him of his most successful creation. But his response went beyond mere insult—he invented a number of ingenious devices to discredit Avellaneda within the fictional world itself. As already mentioned, the 'true' Don Quixote meets two readers of Avellaneda's 'apocryphal' sequel in Chapter 59 and hears of the existence of an impostor, a *doppelganger*, who has fallen out of love with Dulcinea. This reflexive device is ingeniously compounded in Chapter 72, when Don Quixote comes across Don Álvaro Tarfe, a character invented by Avellaneda, who will acknowledge that Cervantes's character is the 'authentic' knight of La Mancha, even signing a legal document to that effect. However, Cervantes's most substantial response to Avellaneda was the decision to change the course of the narrative itself: in Chapter 59, Don Quixote decides to prove his autonomy from his 'false' double by changing his plan to visit Zaragoza—where Avellaneda had sent the 'fake' Don Quixote—and visit Barcelona instead.

Nevertheless, as I have previously argued elsewhere, the Barcelona episodes represent a digression from the main Quixote-Sancho storyline, and there are signs of narrative 'padding' and recycling of ideas, suggesting that Cervantes composed these chapters in haste and with flagging inspiration.[68] The detour to Barcelona was conceived with the purpose of belittling Avellaneda, so it is no surprise that the mad knight is somewhat passive and marginal in these chapters, and even Sancho is relatively subdued. The exaggeratedly triumphal welcome the pair receive when they enter the city, their stroll

[65] See Williamson, 'Avellaneda y la crisis de autoridad…', pp. 125–32.

[66] Martín Jiménez has controversially argued that Cervantes had prior knowledge of Avellaneda's sequel in manuscript and wrote the whole of his own Part II in rivalrous imitation of the plagiarist.

[67] See Pontón for textual traces of these revisions.

[68] See Williamson, *The Half-Way House of Fiction*, pp. 188–90.

through the streets, and their ceremonial reception aboard the galleys, are all designed to demonstrate the great fame of Cervantes's 'true' protagonists, thereby putting Avellaneda's sequel well in the shade. Knight and squire are guests at the house of the wealthy citizen, Don Antonio Moreno, and like the Duke and Duchess before him, their host will play some fairly cruel tricks on the madman, albeit on a minor scale; for example, a notice of Don Quixote's identity is pinned on his back so as to invite the populace to jeer at him in the street. Don Antonio also shows the pair an 'enchanted head', which, like Master Pedro's prophesying ape, is said to foretell the future. The knight naturally wants to find out whether Dulcinea will be disenchanted, whereas Sancho asks whether he will ever get another governorship, a sign that his ambition has not altogether disappeared. Cervantes also has recourse to interpolated episodes and stories, despite having earlier decided not to include any in Part II. The pair spend time with the Catalan brigand Roque Guinart and his men, which provides the setting for the story of Claudia Jerónima (II.60), another tale of love and honour in which a maiden asks Roque to help her escape to France because she has shot her lover for having betrayed her by agreeing to marry another girl. The story has a tragic end, with Claudia repenting her violent jealousy as she sees her lover, who reveals that his alleged infidelity was just a malicious rumour, expiring before her very eyes.

In Barcelona, Cervantes takes up the matter of the Moriscos once more with a second interpolated story. A beautiful Morisca arrives in the city's harbour disguised as the captain of a Turkish galley but professing her sincere Christian faith. A man in the listening crowd turns out to be Ricote, who recognizes her as his exiled daughter, Ana Félix. She then tells of her thwarted love for the noble Spaniard Don Gaspar Gregorio, who has followed her to Algiers and is currently trapped there in a perilous situation. Cervantes's treatment of the expulsion of the Moriscos remains tantalizingly ambiguous, for when the viceroy and Don Antonio Moreno discuss whether it might be possible by means of favours and gifts ('por medio del favor y de las dádivas')[69] to obtain permission for Ricote and his daughter to remain in Spain, it is Ricote himself who declares that this would cut no ice with the great Bernardino de Velasco, Count of Salazar. This was the man responsible for expelling the Moriscos from Castile, yet Ricote not only praises his integrity but also lauds the 'heroic decision' of the King of Spain, 'the great Philip III', to get rid of the Moriscos, as well as his wisdom in having charged Salazar with this enterprise.[70]

Was Ricote's encomium to the Spanish authorities meant to be ironic? Maybe so, but the point is that Cervantes hides his hand, and there is no guidance to help the reader decipher his intentions. And yet, there may be a clue in the denouement of Ana Félix's story, for by this stage, as we have already seen with the Duke and Duchess's hoaxes, Cervantes had adapted his ambiguous mode of writing to produce literary effects that might carry political implications—or perhaps not: it was up to the reader to decide.

[69] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, II.65, p. 1273.

[70] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, II.65, p. 1274; p. 933.

Indeed, the story of Ana Félix is one of the boldest and most sophisticated examples of Cervantes's ironic manner. He addresses the controversial issue of the Moriscos' expulsion through the unlikely medium of romance, and as with all kinds of romance, the reader is geared to look forward to a happy ending, so eventually, and not without straining verisimilitude, Cervantes comes very close to satisfying these generic expectations by contriving to reunite Ana Félix with her sweetheart Don Gregorio in Barcelona. Nevertheless, their happiness will depend on whether the authorities can be persuaded to permit the Morisca to live in Spain, a question that will remain unresolved, as Don Antonio says, 'hasta ver cómo yo negocio' ['until we see the result of my negotiations'].[71] This unresolved ending could be taken as a sign of Cervantes's sympathy for the exiled Moriscos, or at least for those who might have been good Christians, for if Ana Félix were to be torn from Don Gaspar and banished from Spain once more, the reader's sentimental hopes would be dashed by the cruelty of the lovers' fate. Might Cervantes have been questioning the justice of the expulsion by exploiting the conventions of romance in order to engage the reader's emotions in favour of the Morisco Ricote's beautiful daughter?

While knight and squire are still in Barcelona, Cervantes returns to the main storyline by introducing the scene that will eventually bring about its denouement (II.64). Sansón Carrasco appears again, seeking revenge for his earlier defeat by Don Quixote in Chapter 14, when he had disguised himself as the Knight of the Mirrors. This time he is got up as the Knight of the White Moon [Caballero de la Blanca Luna] and defeats Don Quixote in another duel, making him promise to go back home and give up arms for a year. As the dejected knight starts out on his homeward journey, he pauses by the site of his defeat to reflect on the ways of Fortune:

> —¡Aquí fue Troya! ¡Aquí mi desdicha, y no mi cobardía, se llevó mis alcanzadas glorias, aquí usó la fortuna conmigo de sus vueltas y revueltas, aquí se escurecieron mis hazañas, aquí finalmente cayó mi ventura para jamás levantarse!
>
> ['Here once stood Troy! Here my bad luck, and not my cowardice, deprived me of the glory I had won; here did I feel the fickleness of fortune; here the lustre of my exploits was obscured; here, in short, my joy came crashing to the ground, never again to rise!'][72]

We can appreciate how closely Don Quixote has come to resembling a modern literary character in Part II. Anxious, self-doubting, introspective, and depressed, he ruefully concedes that Providence has been conspicuous by its absence. Sancho concurs:

> —Ésta que llaman por ahí Fortuna es una mujer borracha y antojadiza, y sobre todo, ciega, y, así, no ve lo que hace, ni sabe a quién derriba ni a quién ensalza.

[71] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, II.65, p. 1274; p. 934.
[72] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, II.66, p. 1275; p. 934.

> ['What they call fortune is a flighty woman who drinks too much, and, what's more, she's blind, so she can't see what she's doing, and she doesn't know who she's knocking over or who she's raising up'][73]

The spiritual order that regulated chivalric romance appears to have disintegrated. For if one dispenses with Providence, what is left? The drunken whims of blind fortune, as Sancho puts it. The knight pulls back from the brink, however, and re-affirms his faith in the Christian order of the world:

> —Lo que te sé decir es que no hay fortuna en el mundo, ni las cosas que en él suceden, buenas o malas que sean, vienen acaso, sino por particular providencia de los cielos, y de aquí viene lo que suele decirse: que cada uno es artífice de su ventura. Yo lo he sido de la mía, pero no con la prudencia necesaria, y así me han salido al gallarín mis presunciones.
>
> ['What I can tell you is that there is no such thing as fortune, and whatever happens in this world, good and bad, does not occur by chance, but by special providence of heaven; and for this reason it is often said that every man is the architect of his own fortune. And I have been the architect of mine, but not with the necessary prudence, and so my presumption has led to disaster'].[74]

This curious scene heralds a change in the treatment of Don Quixote in this final phase of the novel, in which the contest between master and servant is played out within the compass of the quixotic madness.

At this juncture, there was little Cervantes could do to avoid drawing out the consequences of Sancho's rebellion against Don Quixote in Chapter 60; so, on the journey home, he would present the underlying pathos of the mad knight's decline as fully as the comic imperative of the parody would allow. On the surface, Don Quixote is still the master and Sancho the servant but theirs is now a tense, fraught relationship, with the knight struggling to hang on to the last shreds of his authority, while the squire resists such pretensions and reasserts his will to power. When two labourers ask them to settle a dispute, Don Quixote says he is too troubled to deal with the matter, but Sancho is keen to adjudicate: 'A mí, que ha pocos días que salí de ser gobernador y juez . . . toca averiguar estas dudas y dar parecer en todo pleito' ['and it's up to me to settle these doubts and give my opinion when there's a disagreement . . . because it was only a few days ago that I gave up being a governor and a judge'].[75]

The resurgent Sancho will progressively disengage himself from the knight-errant's chivalric and courtly fantasies. He will cast doubt on the truth of Merlin's prophecy—he cannot see why flogging himself would disenchant Dulcinea: it was like saying, if you have a headache, apply ointment to your knees.[76] When his master toys with the idea of

[73] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, II.66, p. 1275; p. 935.
[74] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, II.66, p. 1275–6; p. 935.
[75] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, II.66, p. 1278; p. 936.
[76] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, II.67, p. 1283; p. 940.

creating a pastoral idyll, Sancho gently mocks this notion, suggesting that Sansón Carrasco and the barber might become shepherds too, not to mention the fun-loving priest, though perhaps not his daughter Sanchica, since she might fall prey to the other shepherds—he would not want her to go out to fetch wool and come back shorn.[77] Don Quixote implores him to get on with his flagellation: 'Rogando te lo suplico; que no quiero venir contigo a los brazos como la otra vez, porque sé que los tienes pesados' ['I am begging of you, because I don't want to fight you like the last time, for I know you have a heavy hand']. Sancho still refuses to comply, and the exasperated knight moans aloud: '¡Oh alma endurecida! ¡Oh escudero sin piedad! ¡Oh pan mal empleado y mercedes mal consideradas las que te he hecho y pienso de hacerte. Por mí te has visto gobernador y por mí te vees con esperanzas propincuas de ser conde' ['Oh, you stony-souled creature! Oh, you pitiless squire! Oh, what a waste of the food and the favours I have lavished on you, and still intend to lavish on you! Thanks to me you have been a governor, and thanks to me you cherish hopes of being a count in the near future'].[78] Clearly, the pact between the *señor natural* and his vassal has broken down, and as if to illustrate the levelling of this hierarchy, the two are trampled by a herd of more than six hundred grunting pigs on their way to market, 'sin tener respeto a la autoridad de don Quijote, ni a la de Sancho' ['showing no respect for Don Quixote's authority, or for Sancho's'].[79] A furious Sancho asks for his master's sword to avenge their humiliation by killing some of the beasts, but Don Quixote, utterly deflated by now, calls this outrage a punishment from heaven for his defeat at the hands of the Knight of the White Moon. Sancho will have none of such claptrap and rejects any sense of a shared fate: 'pero ¿qué tienen que ver los Panzas con los Quijotes? ['but what have the Panzas got to do with the Quixotes?'].[80] The knight proposes to vent his sorrows in a love-song for Dulcinea; Sancho says he prefers to have a good sleep.

In Chapter 69 Cervantes brings the Duke and Duchess back into the narrative in order to intensify still further the simmering tensions between knight and squire. The noble couple mount another hoax in which the maiden Altisidora pretends to have expired of unrequited love for Don Quixote, and Sancho is said to possess the power to resurrect her—if only he would allow himself to be pinched and pricked by duennas and servants at the castle. When, after much protesting, Sancho appears to succeed in reviving Altisidora, Don Quixote falls to his knees before the squire in the presence of the entire ducal court and begs him yet again to flog himself for the sake of Dulcinea: 'Agora es tiempo, hijo de mis entrañas, no que escudero mío, que te des algunos de los azotes que estás obligado a dar por el desencanto de Dulcinea' ['Now is the time, my dearly beloved son—not merely my squire—to give yourself some of the lashes that you must undergo to disenchant Dulcinea'].[81] But Sancho refuses to humour the wretched madman. Only when Don Quixote offers to pay him does the squire relent—but not before

[77] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, II.67, p. 1286; p. 943.
[78] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, II.68, p. 1288–9; p. 944–5.
[79] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, II.68, p. 1290; p. 946.
[80] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, II.68, p. 1291; p. 946.
[81] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, II.69, p. 1299; p. 953.

negotiating a good price for each stroke: 'Entraré en mi casa rico y contento, aunque bien azotado' ['I'll walk into my house a rich and happy man, though a well-lashed one too'].[82] Don Quixote is abject in his gratitude, declaring that not only he, but Dulcinea too, will serve Sancho for the rest of their days: '¡Oh Sancho bendito, oh Sancho amable! . . . y cuán obligados hemos de quedar Dulcinea y yo a servirte todos los días que el cielo nos diere de vida!' ['O blessed Sancho! O kindly Sancho! . . . Dulcinea and I shall be under an obligation to serve you for as long as heaven spares us!'].[83] Sancho, however, goes off into a wood and, rather than whip himself as he had promised his master, he starts whipping tree-trunks instead.

Several critics have remarked on the increasingly prominent role of money in the novel, which they see as reflecting the development of capitalist relations in Spain and the consequent instability of the social hierarchy.[84] Indeed, Cervantes may well have started out with the purely literary aim of discrediting the *libros de caballerías*, but in Part II the contest between knight and squire offers glimpses of a world that Cervantes must have imagined with disquiet, if not with dread, a world—so vividly epitomized in the image of the knight kneeling at the feet of his servant before the ducal court—in which the God-given hierarchy and the bonds of honour and deference that sustain it, might be replaced by material self-interest and individual freedom, as evinced in Sancho's rebellious cry: 'I'll help myself, for I'm my own lord'. Certainly, the peasant regards his career as a triumph of sorts, inasmuch as he brings home something like the 'talego lleno de doblones' ['bag full of doubloons'] with which he had been so powerfully tempted by the Devil, and the prospect of which had kept him in the service of a man he knew to be mad. He proudly declares to his wife: 'Dineros traigo, que es lo que importa, ganados por mi industria y sin daño de nadie'; ['I've brought some money back with me, and that's what counts, and I've earned it with my own wiles, without doing any harm to anybody']. And Teresa Panza is satisfied: 'Traed vos dinero, mi buen marido . . . y sean ganados por aquí o por allí, que como quiera que los hayáis ganado no habréis hecho usanza nueva en el mundo' ['So long as you have brought money back, good husband, . . . you can have earned it this way or that for all I care—however you've earned it you won't have started up any new customs in the world'].[85]

How different is the fate of Don Quixote. At the start of his journey home, the defeated knight had reaffirmed his Christian faith in Divine Providence, and now, as he approaches his village, Cervantes allows him a certain moral transcendence over Sancho's mendacity in a scene which provides some justification for the view of Quixote as the Knight of Faith, an interpretation favoured notably by Miguel de Unamuno, and also by W.H. Auden, who regarded him as 'the portrait of the Christian saint'.[86] When the peasant starts whipping trees and emitting spine-chilling cries of feigned agony, the madman is moved to pity and tells him to put off the beatings until they get home.

[82] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, II.71, p. 1311; p. 962.
[83] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, II.71, p. 1312; p. 962.
[84] See Hughes, Johnson, pp. 15–36, and Quint, pp. 158–62.
[85] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, II.73, p. 1325; p. 973.
[86] Auden, p. 73.

Sancho, however, insists on carrying on, but Don Quixote becomes so concerned at what sounds like such awful suffering that he asks him to desist—Dulcinea's enchantment can wait for Sancho to recover his strength; he then takes off his cape and wraps it round Sancho's shoulders, enabling him to sleep contentedly until dawn. There is, of course, a touch of comedy in the scene, arising as ever from the knight's persistent blindness to the malicious tricks other characters play on him, but the humour on this occasion cannot negate the fact of the madman's willingness to place Sancho's health above the one thing he most deeply longs for—the release of his lady from her spell. The Christian resonance of this selfless act calls to mind the legend of St Martin of Tours, one of the four warrior saints praised by Don Quixote shortly after leaving the Duke's palace, who cut his cloak in two with his sword and gave half of it to a beggar in the depths of winter.

With Don Quixote's pointless sacrifice, Cervantes prepares the ground for the penultimate chapter, where the knight's protracted anguish over the bewitched Dulcinea will culminate in the most poignant scene in the entire novel. By this time Sancho claims to have completed the number of lashes prescribed by Merlin, so Don Quixote scrutinizes every woman they pass on the road to see if it might be Dulcinea del Toboso, 'teniendo por infalible no poder mentir las promesas de Merlín' ['because he was absolutely certain that Merlin's promises could not be false'].[87] As the truth slowly dawns on him, he becomes so distressed by what he takes to be a bad omen—the sight of a hare being chased by hounds—that he can hardly bring himself to mutter in fractured syntax: '¡*Malum signum*! ¡*Malum signum*! Liebre huye, galgos la siguen: ¡Dulcinea no parece!' ['*Malum signum*! *Malum signum*! Hare flees, greyhounds chase: Dulcinea appears not!'].[88] He has reached the farthest limit of his madness and come up against a void. And yet, even though his quest has been emptied of meaning, he still holds to his ridiculous belief in the truth of the books of chivalry: 'he was absolutely certain that Merlin's promises could not be false'. Even now, he remains a slave to his primary madness, and this helpless state could in principle last forever, because his unbreakable faith prevents him from reasoning his way out of the dead-end—the nothingness—to which his quest has led.

The mad knight of La Mancha has ended up in a situation not much different from the infinite frustrations suffered by Kafka's characters, or from the futile quest for the key to the universe undertaken by Borges's librarians in 'The Library of Babel'. From this modern perspective, the knight's fate is quite horrible, but his absurd madness serves to mitigate the gloom, for Cervantes, as we have seen, was constantly slipping back and forth between pathos and comedy, and these fluctuations continue in the last chapters of the novel. Don Quixote still cuts a comical figure back in his home village: he outlines a ludicrous plan to create a pastoral idyll and invites the priest and Sansón Carrasco to join him too, a suggestion that is greeted with gentle raillery from his friends. Yet, despite these late comic ripples on the surface of the narrative, Cervantes hints no fewer

[87] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, II.72, p. 1322; p. 970.
[88] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, II.73, p. 1323; p. 971.

than three times at the underlying horror of the madman's situation, namely, the impasse over Dulcinea, from which, as we learn, the only escape is death. In the final chapter Don Quixote falls ill and takes to his bed: 'o ya fuese de la melancolía que le causaba el verse vencido o ya por la disposición del cielo, que así lo ordenaba, se le arraigó una calentura' ['either out of the depression brought on by his defeat or by divine ordination, he was seized by a fever'].[89] His friends attribute his illness to 'la pesadumbre de verse vencido y de no ver cumplido su deseo en la libertad y desencanto de Dulcinea' ['dejection at his defeat and the disappointment of his hopes for Dulcinea's deliverance and disenchantment'].[90] They call a doctor, who fears the worst: 'Fue el parecer del médico que melancolías y desabrimientos le acababan' ['The doctor's opinion was that depression and despondency were killing him'].[91]

Cervantes, of course, was no Kafka or Borges, so he allowed Don Quixote to find salvation from the madness in which he was trapped––but thanks only to a miracle: the mysterious fever that afflicts the knight has the effect of dispelling his chivalric mania, enabling Alonso Quijano to come to his senses at last. The parody is brought to a close with a moving death-bed scene that reinserts the novel within the ideological framework of Catholic Spain. Sansón Carrasco, the priest and barber, Quijano's niece, and his housekeeper gather round his bed; a disconsolate and tearful Sancho Panza urges him to get well soon and return to his adventures, but the old hidalgo is adamant in condemning the books that had so addled his brains, uttering the famous phrase: 'En los nidos de antaño no hay pájaros hogaño' ['You won't find this year's birds in last year's nests'].[92] He duly makes his confession, receives the last sacraments, dictates his will, and then expires.

* * *

Even though Cervantes finally brought a reassuring stability to the fictional world of Alonso Quijano, albeit through a *deus ex machina*, he failed to achieve a comparable reassurance and closure in his own struggle against the plagiarist Avellaneda. In the Prologue to Part I, he had granted readers the freedom to judge the work for themselves, portraying relations between author and reader as an ironic, cloak-and-dagger game, but in these last chapters we see the playful, carefree author turn into a jealous proprietor, furiously trying to prevent the usurper from stealing the credit for his most successful invention.[93] Even Cide Hamete Benengeli, the lying Moor who had been conceived as a breezy parody of the chronicler-magician of the books of chivalry, is converted into a mouthpiece for a defensive Cervantes, desperate to turn his reader against Avellaneda's 'false' version. On the very last page of the novel, Benengeli addresses his pen:

[89] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, II.74, p. 1328; p. 975.
[90] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, II.74, p. 1329; p. 976.
[91] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, II.74, p. 1329; p. 976.
[92] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, II.74, p. 1333; p. 979.
[93] For a fuller discussion see Williamson, 'Avellaneda y…', pp. 117–20 and 129–32.

> Para mí sola nació don Quijote, y yo para él; él supo obrar y yo escribir, solos los dos somos para en uno, a despecho y pesar del escritor fingido y tordesillesco que se atrevió o se ha de atrever a escribir con pluma de avestruz grosera y mal deliñada las hazañas de mi valeroso caballero, porque no es carga de sus hombros, ni asunto de su resfriado ingenio.
>
> [For me alone was Don Quixote born, and I for him; it was for him to act, for me to write; we two are as one, in spite of that false writer from Tordesillas who has had and may even again have the effrontery to write with such a coarse and clumsy ostrich quill about my valiant knight's deeds, because this is not a burden for his shoulders or a subject for his torpid wit.][94]

Cervantes's anger spilled over into his Prologue to Part II, which is little more than a bilious diatribe against Avellaneda. He adopted the rhetorical strategy of enlisting the reader to convey to the offending plagiarist a couple of insulting stories about madmen and dogs, one verging on the scatological, the other mocking the lumpish imagination of his rival. And, for good measure, he called upon the authority of his patrons, the Count of Lemos, a mighty nobleman, and the Archbishop of Toledo, a pillar of the Church: if these great men had favoured him, despite his straitened circumstances, it was because they esteemed his 'honour', his 'nobility', and his 'virtue'. In the end, however, he fell back on the success of Part I as sufficient guarantee of his superiority in the craft of fiction: 'esta segunda parte de *Don Quijote* que te ofrezco es cortada del mismo artífice y del mismo paño que la primera' ['this second part of *Don Quixote* that I'm offering you is cut by the same craftsman and from the same cloth as the first one'].[95] When all was said and done, it was the authority earned by his powers of invention that counted, and not the endorsement of any authority external to the work itself.

Indeed, as posterity was to show, what made the real difference in this struggle for the ownership of Don Quixote was that Cervantes understood the value of his invention whereas Avellaneda did not. The latter's Don Quixote forsakes his love for Dulcinea and ends up in a madhouse. Cervantes, on the other hand, saw that Dulcinea was the embodiment of the knight's lunatic quest to rise above the everyday run of things and achieve the glory described in the chivalry books. In Part II, therefore, he placed this chimerical princess at the very heart of the novel—thanks to Sancho's devastating lie, she became the focus of Don Quixote's energies and the unifying thread of the episodic narrative. Even in defeat the 'real' Don Quixote will refuse to abjure his lady. Cast down to the ground by the Knight of the White Moon and with a lance pointed at his breast, he will insist:

> —Dulcinea del Toboso es la más hermosa mujer del mundo y yo el más desdichado caballero de la tierra, y no es bien que mi flaqueza defraude esta verdad. Aprieta, caballero, la lanza y quítame la vida, pues me has quitado la honra.

[94] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, II.74, p. 1336; p. 981.
[95] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, Prólogo, p. 677; p. 486.

> ['Dulcinea del Toboso is the most beautiful woman in the world, and I am the most unfortunate knight in it, and it would not be right for my weakness to obscure that truth. Drive your lance home, sir knight, and take away my life, since you have taken away my honour.'][96]

The image of the defeated knight uttering these words from within his shuttered helmet captures the futility of his passion for this figment of his madness. It is here that we encounter in its purest form the paradox that Cervantes had been cultivating throughout the course of the second part: the knight's heroism lies in his loyalty to ideas that make him a laughing-stock. This paradox explains why the miraculous recovery of Catholic orthodoxy in the last chapter of the novel failed to rob *Don Quixote* of its modernity. For, in the figure of the grieving knight, hopelessly impaled on his blind devotion to Dulcinea, Cervantes had come upon something that possessed a special literary power, a novel source of wonder (*admiratio*), which he eventually decided to draw upon even if it took him beyond his own established beliefs and beyond the horizons of early-modern Spain. What he achieved in the end was to distil the general comic atmosphere of the parody into a timeless tragic moment in which a man is condemned to make a fool of himself with no hope even of knowing why. This brilliant feat of the creative imagination is what endowed the knight of La Mancha with a kind of mythic power in the modern age; this is what made him rise like a phoenix from the ashes of his futile quest in order to personify the absurdity—but also the nobility—of living in a world which had become so impenetrable and strange. And if Cervantes succeeded in realizing the full potential of Don Quixote's madness, it was because he found the courage to pursue the knight's contest with Sancho Panza right to the bitter end. His reward was nothing less than the creation of two of the greatest characters in world literature and the credit in due course for having laid the foundations of the modern novel.

Acknowledgement

My work for this chapter was sponsored by a Leverhulme Trust Major Research Fellowship and a Cátedra de Excelencia, Universidad Carlos III de Madrid.

Works Cited

Aristotle. *On the Art of Poetry*. In *Classical Literary Criticism* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1965).

Auden, W.H. 'The Ironic Hero: Some Reflections on Don Quixote'. In *Cervantes: A Collection of Critical Essays*, edited by Lowry Nelson, Jr (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1969), pp. 73–81.

[96] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, II.64, p. 1267; p. 928.

Auerbach, Erich. 'The Enchanted Dulcinea'. In *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature*, translated by Willard R. Trask (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974 [1946]), pp. 334–58.

Canavaggio, J. 'Las bufonadas palaciegas de Sancho Panza'. In *Cervantes: Estudios en la víspera de su centenario*, vol. I, edited by K. Reichenberger (Kassel: Edition Reichenberger, 1994), pp. 237–58.

Cervantes, Miguel de. *Don Quijote de la Mancha*. Edición del Instituto Cervantes 1605–2005, dirigida por Francisco Rico (Barcelona: Galaxia Gutenberg. Círculo de Lectores. Centro Para la Edición de los Clásicos Españoles, 2014).

Cervantes, Miguel de. *Don Quixote*, translated by Edith Grossman (New York: HarperCollins, 2003).

Cervantes, Miguel de. *Don Quixote*, translated, Introduction and Notes by John Rutherford (London: Penguin Books, 2003).

Durán, Manuel. 'El *Quijote* a través del prisma de Mikhail Bakhtin: carnaval, disfraces, escatología y locura'. In *Cervantes and the Renaissance*, edited by Michael McGaha (Easton, PA: Juan de la Cuesta, 1980), pp. 71–86.

Egido, Aurora. *Cervantes y las puertas del sueño* (Barcelona: Promociones y Publicaciones Universitarias, 1994), Part II.

Flores, R. M. 'The Role of Cide Hamete in *Don Quixote*'. *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 59 (1982): pp. 3–14.

Haley, George. 'The Narrator in *Don Quijote*: Maese Pedro's Puppet Show'. *Modern Language Notes* 80 (1965): pp. 146–65.

Hughes, Gethin. 'The Cave of Montesinos: Don Quixote's Interpretation and Dulcinea's Disenchantment'. *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 54 (1977): pp. 107–13.

Iffland, James. *De fiestas y aguafiestas: risa, locura e ideología en Cervantes y Avellaneda* (Madrid/Frankfurt am Main: Iberoamericana/Vervuert, 1999).

Johnson, Carroll B. *Cervantes and the Material World* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2000).

Lozano-Renieblas, Isabel and Fernando Romo Feito. *Sales Cervantinas: Cervantes y lo jocoserio* (Mexico: Universidad Veracruzana, 2018).

Madariaga, Salvador de. *Don Quixote. An Introductory Essay in Psychology* (London: Oxford University Press, 1966 [1935]).

Mancing, Howard. 'Cide Hamete Benengeli vs. Miguel de Cervantes: The Metafictional Dialectic of *Don Quijote*'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 1 (1981): pp. 63–81.

Maravall, José Antonio. *Utopía y contrautopía en el Quijote* (Santiago de Compostela: Pico Sacro, 1976).

Martín Jiménez, Alfonso. *Cervantes y Pasamonte: La réplica cervantina al Quijote de Avellaneda* (Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva, 2005).

Martínez Mata, Emilio. *Cervantes comenta el Quijote* (Madrid: Cátedra, 2008).

Pontón, Gonzalo. 'Indicios de revisión en la Segunda Parte del *Quijote*'. *Anales Cervantinos* 48 (2016): pp. 103–25.

Quint, David. *Cervantes's Novel of Modern Times: A New Reading of 'Don Quijote'* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2003).

Redondo, Augustin. *Otra manera de leer el Quijote* (Madrid: Castalia, 1998).

Riquer, Martín de. *Cervantes, Passamonte y Avellaneda* (Barcelona: Sirmio, 1988).

Riley, E.C. 'Cervantes, Freud, and Psychoanalytic Narrative Theory'. *The Modern Language Review* 88 (1993): pp. 1–14.

Riley, E.C. *Don Quixote* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1986).

Riley, E.C. 'Metamorphosis, Myth, and Dream in the Cave of Montesinos'. In *Essays on Narrative Fiction in the Iberian Peninsula in Honour of Frank Pierce*, edited by R.B. Tate (Oxford: Dolphin, 1982), pp. 105–19.

Riley, E.C. 'Three Versions of Don Quixote'. *The Modern Language Review* 68 (1973): pp. 807–19.

Rivero Iglesias, María del Carmen. 'El bien común en el *Quijote* y el gobierno de Sancho en la ínsula Barataria'. In *Autoridad y poder en el Siglo de Oro*, edited by I. Arellano, C. Strosetzki, and E. Williamson (Madrid/Frankfurt am Main: Iberoamericana/Vervuert, 2009), pp. 117–36.

Williamson, Edwin. 'Avellaneda y la crisis de autoridad en la Segunda Parte del *Quijote*'. In *El Segundo* '*Quijote*' *(1615): Nuevas interpretaciones cuatro siglos después (2015)*, edited by Conxita Domènech and Andrés Lema-Hincapié (Madrid/Frankfurt am Main: Iberoamericana/Vervuert, 2018), pp. 113–33.

Williamson, Edwin. 'Crítica del poder y trastornos ideológicos: La estancia de Don Quijote y Sancho con los Duques'. In *La autoridad política y el poder de las letras en el Siglo de Oro*, edited by Jesús María Usunáriz and Edwin Williamson (Madrid/Frankfurt am Main: Iberoamericana/Vervuert, 2013), pp. 157–81.

Williamson, Edwin. 'De un "mundo al revés" a un "mundo nuevo": La prolongación de la Segunda Parte del *Quijote* y sus consecuencias'. In *Comentarios a Cervantes: Actas selectas del VIII Congreso Internacional de la Asociación de Cervantistas*, edited by Emilio Martínez Mata and María Fernández Ferreiro (Asturias: Fundación María Cristina Masaveu Peterson, 2014), pp. 104–21.

Williamson, Edwin. 'El extraño caso del "grave eclesiástico": ortodoxia política y heterodoxia literaria en la Segunda Parte del *Quijote*'. In *Ortodoxia y heterodoxia en Cervantes*, edited by Carmen Rivero Iglesias (Alcalá de Henares: Centro de Estudios Cervantinos, 2011), pp. 173–83.

Williamson, Edwin. 'La transformación de Don Quijote y Sancho en la Segunda Parte'. In *Cervantes y los cauces de la novela*, edited by Emilio Martínez Mata (Madrid: Visor, 2013), pp. 33–65.

Williamson, Edwin. 'The Devil in *Don Quixote*'. *Bulletin of Spanish Studies* 92 (2015): pp. 147–66.

Williamson, Edwin. *The Half-Way House of Fiction:* Don Quixote *and Arthurian Romance* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984).

Williamson, Edwin. 'The Power-Struggle between Don Quixote and Sancho: Four Crises in the Development of the Narrative'. *Bulletin of Spanish Studies* 84 (2007): pp. 837–58.

Wilson, Diana de Armas. 'Cervantes and the Night Visitors: Dream Work in the Cave of Montesinos'. In *Quixotic Desire: Psychoanalytic Perspectives on Cervantes*, edited by Ruth Anthony El Saffar and Wilson (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1993), pp. 59–80.

CHAPTER 7

QUIXOTE AND COUNTER-*QUIXOTE*

The Cervantes-Avellaneda Duel and Its Impact on the History of the Novel

JAMES IFFLAND
Boston University

On waking up one day in the summer of 1614, Cervantes soon found himself confronting yet another of those unpleasant surprises that life had often served him up. With much of Part II of *Don Quixote* already composed, he discovered that someone writing under the pseudonym of Alonso Fernández de Avellaneda had just published his own continuation of our hero's adventures. Titled the *Segundo tomo del ingenioso hidalgo don Quijote de la Mancha* and allegedly published in the city of Tarragona, it picks up where Cervantes's Part I left off, with Don Quixote eventually embarking on a journey to Zaragoza to participate in the tournament mentioned in the latter's final pages.

To this very day, the precise identity of Avellaneda remains unknown. One of the great mysteries in the history of world literature, it has generated hundreds of pages of speculation on the part of Cervantes scholars going back centuries. Indeed, the search for the 'real Avellaneda' has taken on the aura of a detective novel—a veritable 'whodunit'. Indeed, the better part of the critical attention paid to the *Segundo tomo* has centred almost exclusively on the issue of Avellaneda's identity.[1]

This tendency has dovetailed with the virtually ritualized denigration of Avellaneda on two fronts. The first is essentially moral or ethical; the anonymous author was clearly someone who wanted to do damage to Cervantes (as clearly enunciated in the prologue), and in that role, he has become a certified villain within the collective imaginary of the

[1] For a review of the relevant scholarship, see Gómez Canseco's Introduction to his edition of the *Segundo tomo* (pp. 15*–25*). Asterisks are used in this edition to differentiate the pagination of the Introduction from that of the main text. For the analysis of a contemporary 'whodunit' actually based on the Avellaneda case, see Iffland, '*Ladrones de tinta*…'.

Cervantes Establishment.[2] The second tendency centres on aesthetic issues. Not only was Avellaneda a 'bad person', he was also a bad writer. Critic after critic denounces Avellaneda for failing miserably in his attempt to recreate Cervantes's mastery. He is called on the carpet for not being able to reproduce the psychological richness of the two protagonists, for not being able to recreate Cervantes's sly irony and sparkling sense of humour, etc.

It was only in the middle of the twentieth century that Cervantes scholarship began to go beyond the vituperative attacks on Avellaneda and to think about other issues raised by the *Segundo tomo*. Quite surprisingly, few critics had looked at the work as potentially significant material for reconstructing the reception of the *Quixote* at the moment of its appearance. One of the primordial ongoing debates within Cervantes studies is whether the *Quixote* embodies a dissident or even subversive perspective on the Spain of his day: its socio-political and economic structure, its religion, its national values, its imperial project, etc. This reading has become almost canonical since the advent of the Romantic approach to the work in the early nineteenth century, as studied so masterfully by Anthony Close (*The Romantic*...). Prior to then, most readings, while occasionally admitting the presence of some social criticism, saw the work as an essentially admonitory tale in which Don Quixote himself is the butt of Cervantes's attacks—that is, for his absurd attempt to resurrect knight errantry, for his systematic misrecognition of reality, for his unbridled 'enthusiasm', etc. The protagonist's recovery of his sanity and subsequent denunciation of his entire project are looked upon as a 'happy ending'. Even today, many readers of the *Quixote* embrace a variant of this reading, particularly as regards the intrinsic suitability of an ending in which the hero finally comes to 'know himself' and to embrace the Catholic faith.

The big question that looms over this debate is whether Cervantes's contemporaries detected any of the dissident elements that are highlighted in the interpretations of the *Quixote* of the past two centuries. Traces of reactions to the work in the early seventeenth century are not as abundant as one might think, and as has been pointed by Paolo Cherchi, those that have been found largely tend to be lukewarm or noncommittal.[3] Cervantes's fellow writers begrudgingly recognize the work's popularity, but then are dismissive regarding its ultimate literary significance. No one openly attacks it on ideological grounds, as one would expect if it contained a strong heterodox streak.[4] How then can those scholars who embrace the notion of an 'oppositional Cervantes' protect themselves from accusations of projecting back on the *Quixote* a socio-political dimension it simply does not have?

Stephen Gilman made a significant contribution to the reconstruction of the contemporary reception of the work precisely through a close study of Avellaneda's apocryphal continuation. He stressed that here we have a whole novel, written by a strict

[2] For example, see Avalle-Arce, pp. 41 and 44. [3] p. 56.

[4] An exception to this generalization is the defacement, at the hands of a Spanish inquisitor, of a portrait of Erasmus in a copy of Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographia*. Another reader wrote in the margin next to it: 'y su amigo don Quijote' [and his friend Don Quixote] and 'Sancho Panza', thereby showing an awareness of an Erasmian presence in Cervantes's work (see Gómez Canseco, p. 45*).

contemporary, that picks up where Part I left off. Might the text be scrutinized to determine how at least one sector of the reading public decoded the work from an ideological perspective?

Gilman's answer is resolutely affirmative. He argues that Avellaneda's continuation is an attack on a work that was perceived to be too close to strains of Renaissance thought and sensibility. Avellaneda writes, according to Gilman, from the perspective of Counter-Reformation Catholicism, which at the time was striving to put a lid on the unbridled socio-cultural effervescence unleashed during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries by a plethora of humanists, artists, and writers, much of which culminated in an emphasis on the individual human being and his capacity for agency in *this* world, perceived as worthwhile in and of itself and not simply as a grim antechamber for the life beyond. The *Segundo tomo* has its roots deeply anchored in the soil of post-Tridentine doctrinal writings—to the point where Gilman even suggests that behind the pseudonym 'Avellaneda' hides a member of the Dominican order. The distinguished American Hispanist uses as evidence elements that range from the fact that we find Don Quixote reading the *Flos Sanctorum* at the start of the *Segundo tomo* to the number of times the rosary is mentioned, from the prominent role of the clergyman Mosén Valentín to the moralizing content of the two interpolated novellas, *El rico desesperado* and *Los felices amantes*.

Additionally, Gilman studies the way in which Don Quixote and Sancho are presented very differently from what we find in Cervantes, with both becoming buffoonish, oversimplified avatars of their former selves, constantly subjected to broad stroke, slapstick comedy. Gilman strives to reconcile the crude comicality of the main characters with what he considers to be the doctrinal basis of the work—an approach I find unconvincing.[5] Much more to the point is his highlighting of the role of characters belonging to the aristocracy. Gilman suggests that the *Segundo tomo* aligns itself with a 'Society' that is perceived as being fundamentally well-designed and just, which is precisely why Don Quixote is presented as a disruptive lunatic with no redeeming qualities whatsoever. There would seem to be somewhat of a contradiction between Gilman's simultaneous reading of the work as the product of a theological matrix that resoundingly rejects 'el Mundo' [the World] in all of its manifestations, on the one hand, and on the other, his emphasis on a 'Society' that is well-made and competently presided over by the landed aristocracy.

As noted above, to the degree that scholars were interested at all in possible ideological factors behind Avellaneda's project, Gilman's study was virtually the only one cited for nearly fifty years. In 1999, the author of these lines published *De fiestas y aguafiestas: risa, locura e ideología en Cervantes y Avellaneda*, an in-depth study, which also strives to identify the forces responsible for the gaping differences between the two *Quixotes*. I agree with Gilman that Avellaneda was a *good* reader of the 1605 work, picking up on oppositional resonances that are vexingly difficult to denounce because the work is fundamentally a 'libro de burlas' [a funny book], one whose comicality,

[5] For my critique of Gilman's work, see *De fiestas* . . . , pp. 15–27.

moreover, is not openly satirical in nature. Where I strongly diverge from Gilman is on the issue of the connection between the *Segundo tomo* and Counter-Reformation Catholicism and the notion that Avellaneda was probably a cleric.

While there is, in fact, a religious dimension to the work, it does not differ greatly from that found in the writings of most secular writers of the age.[6] The *Segundo tomo is* definitely reactionary, but that ideological vector has its origin not in theology so much as it does in the socio-political and economic interests of noblemen deeply concerned by the destabilization being unleashed in the early modern period by nascent capitalism. The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in Europe saw a 'revolution in rising expectations', aided and abetted by Renaissance humanism—a 'revolution' which had as one of its consequences the increasing rejection of feudal socio-economic and political structures that required commoners, both the peasantry and the urban middle classes, to stay in the social niche into which they were born. Maravall has closely studied the case of Spain within this general European panorama, chronicling the growing fears of the ruling class and its attempt to reverse the tide that challenged its many privileges. Needless to say, the Church, too, became an eager partner in this whole reactionary campaign, largely through the dissemination of the religious doctrine studied by Gilman. But aristocratic ideology had its own specificity, and it is that ideology that I feel is far more present in the *Segundo tomo* than the theological tenets of the Counter-Reformation.

In *De fiestas*... I strive to identify what bothered Avellaneda about the *Quixote* of 1605 and how he takes systematic countermeasures to neutralize it—but again, from his *class position* rather than from an institutional affiliation with the Church. The anonymous author centres in on issues of both social and physical mobility, deeply interconnected at the time, as people, particularly the peasantry, had to be able to move to wherever the best economic opportunities might be found. Likewise unsettling for him is the specific variant of madness embodied by Cervantes's protagonist. Even if he does not perceive the Erasmian strain that runs through it,[7] he would nevertheless be bothered by the mechanism of reversibility (that is, Don Quixote as a *loco-cuerdo* [sane madman] or *loco-sabio* [wise madman]). Similarly, Sancho's own variety of reversibility—his status as a *tonto-listo* [clever dolt]—would be an irritant for someone convinced that a peasant had to 'know his place' in society and that he should stay in it, quite literally, working the land that belonged to his master.[8]

The interaction between the two forms of reversibility unleashes a strangely worrisome form of energy that palpitates throughout the pages of Part I. Don Quixote is a knight *errant*, and in that capacity, he sets his squire in motion as well, taking him off the land as a day labourer, precisely at a time in which Spain was suffering a huge

[6] This point is emphasized by Riquer in his Introduction to the *Segundo tomo* (v. I, p. xliii).

[7] Antonio Vilanova has made the most important contribution toward establishing a connection between the great Dutch humanist and our author, including the possible influence of *Praise of Folly* on the representation of Don Quixote's mental malady.

[8] For an analysis of the respective modalities of reversibility, see Iffland, De *fiestas*..., pp. 133–41 and pp. 143–59.

demographic crisis with devastating effects in its all-important agricultural sector.[9] And after unlawfully giving himself a class promotion (mere *hidalgos* were not entitled to use 'Don'), he proceeds to tell his illiterate peasant neighbour that he will soon make him a governor. He does so while declaring himself to be a completely autonomous entity, showing little, if any, allegiance to either secular or religious authorities.

All of this, of course, is completely laughable for the reader of the time. And here is the crux of the issue: yes, *Don Quixote* is a 'funny book',[10] a *libro de burlas*. But laughter is a complex phenomenon, as many of those variants are not innocent at all. Laughter can be used as much as a tool of social control as it can be deployed in projects of liberation.[11] It is precisely in the area of comicality and laughter that the great divide between the *Quixote* of 1605 and the *Segundo tomo* is most evident. In the latter, comicality is deployed in a socially conservative manner, whereas in the former, it has the reverse effect, destabilizing social and ideological norms in a multitude of ways.[12]

Following the pioneering observations of Mikhail Bakhtin, and subsequent analysis by Cervantes scholars such as Augustin Redondo (*Otra manera*…), I argue that the undergirding 'logic' of both parts of the *Quixote* is that characteristic of popular-festive culture as seen most vividly in the celebration of pre-Lenten Carnival. In it we find embodied a stunning gamut of symbolic inversions, all of which can be synthesized under the rubric of the 'world-upside-down'—that is, a world in which all traditional hierarchical relationships (class, gender, age, political, anatomical) are turned on their head, either through imaginary representations (in art) or through festive practices.[13] The archetypal instance in the latter case is the Roman Saturnalia in which masters and slaves exchanged places. The festival invoked the mythical reign of the god Saturn in which material abundance, peace, and freedom prevailed (see the many comments on this festival in Bakhtin).

Indeed, in all carnivalesque practices a strong utopian impulse prevails. Though these festivities all occur within strictly limited time periods, after which things 'return to normal' (leading some social scientists to define them as 'escape valves' whose ultimate effect is to preserve the status quo), there have been many historical instances in which they have spilled over into actual revolutionary praxis.[14] Even when they do not do so, they still embody within them images of a different sociopolitical and economic order—literally, forms of revolution.[15] A laughable monarch is installed at the beginning of

[9] On this subject, see Vassberg.

[10] I allude here to Russell's article, in which he asserts the centrality of the work's comic dimension (going against the tide of the Romantic approach).

[11] See Iffland, *De fiestas*…

[12] For an analysis of this topic, see *De fiestas*…, especially Part I, Chapter 1 ('Contornos e ideología de la risa cervantina') and Part II, Chapter 1 ('Risa y represión').

[13] Iffland, *De fiestas*…, pp. 59–62.

[14] For an exploration of the politics of carnivalesque practices, with references to relevant bibliography, see Iffland, *De fiestas*…, pp. 167–78.

[15] Hill's study of the political and social upheaval in seventeenth century England sheds significant light on the dynamics in question. See Iffland, *De fiestas*…, for the application of Hill's analysis to the *Quixote*.

Carnival, and after the days of feasting and revelry, that *roi pour rire* is dethroned—often 'killed'—in risibly degrading fashion. A year later, the king returns, presides over the festival once again, only to be overthrown once again.[16]

A defining feature of Carnival is, of course, *laughter*, but laughter of a very special sort.[17] Bakhtin defines it as an essentially subversive laughter, one which frees us from fear, from the paralyzing awe induced by religious and political authority and their multiple apparatuses of control.[18] Carnival is full of ferocious parodies: official values of every sort are debased in ways that spark 'belly laughter', almost literally.

Part of carnivalesque inversion is modelled on the human body; the bodily lower stratum (as Bakhtin terms it)—that is, the gut, the sexual organs, the feet, etc.—takes precedence over the 'higher' parts, such as the head, the heart, the hands, etc. 'High culture' is symbolically submerged in that lower sphere of the body, where it is humiliated and destroyed, but also suffused with new, more vibrant life (remember: here is where the sexual organs and the womb are located).[19]

Bakhtin suggests that Cervantes belonged to a select group of Renaissance authors (also including Rabelais, Erasmus, and Shakespeare) who absorbed many aspects of popular-festive culture and suffused their works with it in many ways. The laughter they induce is related to that culture, but it is brought to another, more transcendent level. He terms it 'Renaissance laughter'. From these authors' perspective:

> laughter has a deep philosophical meaning; it is one of the essential forms of the truth concerning the world as a whole, concerning history and man; it is a peculiar point of view relative to the world, the world as seen anew, no less (and perhaps more) profoundly than when seen from the serious standpoint. Therefore, laughter is just as admissible in great literature, posing universal problems, as seriousness. Certain essential aspects of the world are accessible only to laughter.[20]

The laughter represented *within* the *Quixote* is very much within the parameters of Carnival/Renaissance laughter.[21] It goes in all directions, from the top down, yes, but also vice versa (starting with the laughter Don Quixote incites in the prostitutes sitting

[16] For an analysis of this dynamic, see Bakhtin. A confirmation of the direct connection between the *Quixote* and Carnival culture is the rapidity with which its two protagonists were assimilated into popular-festive practices in Spain and elsewhere. For a thorough survey of this phenomenon, see López Estrada in which the author suggests that people 'recognized' the book's two main characters as if they had a previous existence within their festive practices (pp. 317–18).

[17] Regarding the 'complex nature of carnival laughter', Bakhtin says the following: 'It is, first of all, a festive laughter. Therefore it is not an individual reaction to some isolated "comic" event. Carnival laughter is the laughter of all the people. Second, it is a universal in scope; it is directed at all and everyone, including the carnival's participants. The entire world is seen in its droll aspect, in its gay relativity. Third, this laughter is ambivalent: it is gay, triumphant, and at the same time mocking, deriding. It asserts and denies, it buries and revives' (pp. 11–12).

[18] Bakhtin, pp. 90–4.

[19] For Bakhtin's formulation of this phenomenon, see pp. 18–28. It should be noted that he uses the interaction between Don Quixote and Sancho to exemplify part of his argument.

[20] Bakhtin, p. 66.

[21] See Iffland, *De fiestas* . . . , pp. 37–58.

at the door of the inn). The textual references to laughter serve as signposts pointing toward the type of laughter cultivated by the work in its totality.[22]

And here we find an important point of departure for analyzing the fundamental differences between the *Segundo tomo* and Cervantes's *Don Quixote*. If one looks at the laughter represented in Avellaneda's work, it always comes from members of the higher strata of society (typically the so-called 'caballeros de buen gusto') and is directed toward the lower strata. Moreover, it is systematic in nature: the narrator *always* highlights how Don Quixote and Sancho cause laughter in those who interact with them. Nothing funny happens in the work without someone being present to laugh at the protagonists. Moreover, it is a laughter that largely functions as a form of social control, one in which an 'in-group' distinguishes itself from an 'out-group' it is sanctioning in a certain way.[23]

This is where the comicality of the *Segundo tomo* ties into its ideological function. Avellaneda has perceived the ways in which the *Quixote* challenges many aspects of the dominant ideology of imperial Spain and its religious underpinning, but he sees that this effect is achieved through laughter. Don Quixote is mad; Sancho is a fool, right? So where is the danger?

The slipperiness of the *Quixote*'s subversive quality is precisely what irritates Avellaneda most deeply, and he proceeds to counteract it by mobilizing another, very different, variety of the comic. It is one in which there is no room for ambiguity; Don Quixote and Sancho are *uniformly* ridiculous, and their ridiculousness stems largely from the absurd nature of their whole project. A mere *hidalgo* who thinks he can rise to the highest echelons of the nobility, or even royalty, through heroic deeds? Absurd! And even more so the notion that a mere peasant can become a governor.

Part of the unsettling complexity of the two protagonists in Cervantes's work is their aforementioned reversibility—that is, their respective conditions as *loco-cuerdo* and *tonto-listo*. In *De fiestas* . . . I strove to show that Don Quixote's form of madness is related to what is referred to as 'traditional folly'—that is, a form of mental derangement in which the mad person is perceived as having access to the divine, to higher forms of knowledge not available to 'sane' people.[24] It is the type of madness crystallized by Erasmus in his famous *Praise of Folly* in which certain types of madness are condemned but others are presented as having admirable qualities—even a kind of creative force in the world. This is a view of madness that comes under attack just about at this time as Europe moves toward Modernity and the forms of social organization that characterize it. Madness is progressively seen as simply a form of illness and a public nuisance. Whereas before, the insane were allowed to roam the streets, starting around the beginning of the seventeenth century, they were rounded up and confined to institutions designed largely to prevent them from causing public disruption.[25]

[22] Iffland, *De fiestas* . . . , pp. 38–9.

[23] See the chapter entitled 'Risa y represión' in *De fiestas* . . . , pp. 233–65.

[24] For an excellent survey of this phenomenon, see Zijderveldt.

[25] For the classic study of this phenomenon, see Foucault. For a solid survey of the case of Spain, specifically, see González Duro.

This, precisely, is what happens to Avellaneda's protagonist. After he has served his purpose as a form of entertainment for the aristocrats (a subject to which we will return), he is confined to the Casa del Nuncio, a famous insane asylum located in Toledo. In that sense, Avellaneda's formulation of Don Quixote's madness leans toward the incipiently modern understanding of the phenomenon. But in this case, it is conjoined with an unambiguous ideological objective: eliminating the unsettling emancipatory resonances surrounding Don Quixote's folly. No more reversibility, at all.

Maurice Molho was a pioneer in elucidating the subversive quality of Sancho's own variant of reversibility, that is, as *tonto-listo*. The brilliant critic showed how Sancho is built on a folkloric archetype, found throughout the world, in which the fool, *through his own foolishness*, ends up getting the best of his social superiors.

In Avellaneda, Sancho's reversibility is also erased. He is presented solely as a dolt, a country bumpkin who can only serve as the butt of jokes by his social betters. Whereas Sancho's robust love of food and general earthiness ties into the logic of Carnival and its liberating celebration of the flesh, in Avellaneda his gluttony serves largely as an entertaining spectacle for the aristocrats.[26] Indeed, his 'talent' in this area is such that his final fate is to be a buffoon in the household of a high-ranking nobleman in the court. His own latent subversiveness is rendered inoffensive as he is 'taken off the road' and comfortably transformed into a luxury item.[27]

What smooths the way for the respective 'final solutions' is the fact that virtually all of the episodes in the *Segundo tomo* take place not in the sprawling countryside of La Mancha but within a string of urban contexts.[28] Generally speaking, it is easier to be crazy out in the wide-open spaces than in city streets, where one is constantly subject to the gaze of 'normal people' and likely to bump up against social regulations duly enforced by municipal security agents. This is precisely what occurs in the case of Avellaneda's protagonists, who frequently run afoul of the authorities or become easy targets for nobles seeking entertainment.

Beside the awful surprise Cervantes suffers on discovering that someone has come out with an apocryphal continuation, our author has to have been horrified by what had happened to his main characters. Not only had they been kidnapped, but their identities had been changed! And they had been changed in a way that undermined the original work's very essence. Independently of whether Cervantes had set out to produce a dissident text, he had to perceive that Avellaneda had carried out an open ideological agenda. The laughs were still there, but not the type Cervantes had decided to cultivate in programmatic fashion.[29]

[26] For my analysis of this phenomenon, see 'La panza como espectáculo' in *De fiestas*…, pp. 305–27.

[27] See the chapter entitled 'Bufonería y arribismo cortesano' in *De fiestas*…, pp. 329–46. Had Don Quixote not been so out of control in his lunacy, he, too, would have suffered a similar fate, according to Avellaneda.

[28] After leaving his hometown of Argamesilla de Alba (no longer simply a 'lugar de la Mancha'), Don Quixote and Sancho travel to Ateca, Zaragoza, Sigüenza, Alcalá, Madrid, and Toledo.

[29] In the Prologue to Part I, Cervantes's 'amigo… gracioso y bien entendido' (I. Prologue, p. 11) ['friend of mine… a lively and clever man', p. 12] recommends the following: ' "Procurad también que, leyendo

Apropos of prologues, Avellaneda's is a singularly venomous exemplar of the attacks that were frequent among literary figures of the day. As Gómez Canseco has recently pointed out, there is much about the *Segundo tomo* that is reminiscent of Spain's literary academies.[30] In them, writers socialized with their peers, jockeying for favour but also very aggressively settling accounts, at times to the point where physical violence could erupt. Avellaneda's prologue combines vicious personal assaults (centring on Cervantes's age and physical disability) along with an attempt to curry favour with Lope de Vega.[31] Avellaneda had detected Cervantes's own exercise in academy-style backbiting in the 1605 prologue, where he goes after Lope in ways that would have been perfectly recognizable within contemporary literary circles.[32] Then there is the very well-articulated attack on Lope's entire theatrical practice in the discussion between the priest and the canon of Toledo in I.48. Avellaneda had felt himself under attack in that prologue; he refers to Cervantes's use of 'sinónomos voluntarios' to allude to those he is jocosely wounding.[33]

There has been much speculation on whether Avellaneda was a member of Lope's circle of friends and followers. Indeed, *Lope himself* has been put forward as a candidate for authorship of the *Segundo tomo*, or at least as a possible instigator.[34] Gómez Canseco rejects the notion that the apocryphal continuation was a 'hatchet job' personally commissioned by the 'Phoenix', but he is very sympathetic towards the hypothesis that Avellaneda was, indeed, somehow related to Lope's retinue.[35] It is a position I find very plausible, considering certain theatrical elements present in the *Segundo tomo*, as Gómez Canseco has so perceptively observed.[36]

That Cervantes himself felt deeply wounded by Avellaneda's words is evident in his prologue to Part II. He takes up the slurs, one by one, and after responding to them, sends back volleys of his own. Among the more salient aspects of Cervantes's response is his highlighting that his physical defect was the result of his participation in what was perhaps the most important battle of the sixteenth century.[37] His distinguished military service was something of which he was extremely proud,[38] and for his wounded hand to be used as an excuse for mockery had made his blood boil.

vuestra historia, el melancólico se mueva a risa, el risueño la acreciente" ' (I, Prólogo, p. 19) [' "You should also try to ensure that the melancholy man is moved to laughter when he reads your history, the jovial man laughs even more" ' (p. 16)].

[30] p. 32*. [31] Fernández de Avellaneda, *Segundo tomo*, pp. 7–8.

[32] Much of the derisive irony directed at the displays of pseudo-erudition on the part of contemporary writers has Lope as its real target. See Part I, Prólogo, p. 12, note 31; also, the *Volumen complementario*, p. 331, note 12.36.

[33] Fernández de Avellaneda, *Segundo tomo*, pp. 7–8. For an explanation of the term 'sinónomos voluntarios', see Gómez Canseco, p. 455, note 8.8. It seems to refer to tendentious wordplay.

[34] See Gómez Canseco, pp. 18* and 20*. [35] See pp. 27*–32*. [36] See pp. 55*–7*.

[37] This is the view presented by Braudel.

[38] In the Prologue of Part II he says: 'Lo que no he podido dejar de sentir es que me note de viejo y de manco, como si hubiera sido en mi mano haber detenido el tiempo, que no pasase por mí, o si me manquedad hubiera nacido en alguna taberna, sino en la más alta ocasión que vieron los siglos pasados, los presentes, ni esperan ver los venideros. Si mis heridas no resplandecen en los ojos de quien las mira, son estimadas a lo menos en la estimación de los que saben dónde se cobraron . . . Las [heridas] que el soldado

The other highly significant aspect of Cervantes's response to Avellaneda's prologue is how he deals with what constituted a thinly veiled *threat* by the anonymous author. When defending Lope, Avellaneda refers to the playwright's position within the Spanish Inquisition.[39] Lope was, indeed, a 'familiar' of that notorious institution: that is, an official collaborator. When Avellaneda alludes to Lope's inquisitional link, it serves as a *de facto* warning. And if the anonymous author has, indeed, picked up potentially heterodox resonance within the *Quixote*, the threat is even more pointed.

Cervantes hears the message loud and clear, and responds with his own riposte. Brimming over with acidic irony, he says that of course it would have never occurred to him to attack someone associated with the *Santo Oficio* [Holy Office]. Such a thing would have been madness. But in feigning apprehensive respect, he also delivers a devastating blow under the guise of what would appear to be a great compliment; he refers to the admiration he feels for Lope, among other things, because of his 'ocupación continua y virtuosa' (II.Prologue, p. 674) ['his unceasing, virtuous virtuosity' (p. 484)]. When Cervantes writes this, Lope is an ordained priest who still maintains his notoriously active love life. The praise proffered drips outright sarcasm.

While managing to maintain a certain aplomb in his initial remarks, Cervantes ends up launching barrages that make it clear that he is furious. He tells his readers that if they ever meet the coward hiding behind the pseudonym, they should tell him that he does not feel himself to be aggrieved, and that he understands what it is like to succumb to the devil's temptations. In this case, it is the temptation that makes you believe that you have the talent necessary to write a book that will make you rich and famous.[40]

To exemplify his point, Cervantes goes on to narrate two anecdotes about madmen, and here is where he takes the gloves off. The first one compares Avellaneda to a madman who was very proud of himself for having the ability to inflate a dog by inserting a hollowed piece of cane into its anus and then blowing on it.[41] The composition of the *Segundo tomo* is thus presented as being analogous to the madman's dog-inflating prowess. The second madman has a penchant for dropping heavy rocks on unsuspecting dogs. He makes the mistake of doing his mean trick to the dog of a cap-maker, who

muestra en el rostro y en los pechos, estrellas son que guían a los demás al cielo de la honra, y al de desear la justa alabanza' (II.Prologue, pp. 673–4). ['What I couldn't help resenting is that he attacks me for being old and one-handed, as if it had been in my power to halt time and prevent it from ravaging me, or as if I had been maimed in some tavern brawl rather than at the greatest battle that past or present ages would have ever seen or that future ages can ever hope to see. If my wounds do not shine in the eyes of those who behold them, they are at least honoured in the estimation of those who know where they were received . . . The scars that the soldier displays on his face and his breast are stars that lead others to the heaven of honour and hopes of merited praise' (p. 483)]. See also the Prologue to the *Novelas ejemplares* (p. 51).

[39] Fernández de Avellaneda, *Segundo tomo*, p. 7.

[40] '[U]na de las mayores [tentaciones] es ponerle a un hombre en el entendimiento que puede componer y imprimir un libro con que gane tanta fama como dineros y tantos dineros cuanta fama' (II. Prólogo, p. 675). ['[O]ne of the greatest of them is to put it into a man's head that he can write and print a book that will earn him as much fame as money, and as much money as fame' (p. 484)].

[41] See II.Prologue, p. 675; p. 484.

proceeds to give him a beating while repeating the phrase 'Perro, ladrón, ¿a mi podenco? ¿No viste, cruel, que era podenco mi perro?' [You dog! You wretch! You'd hurt my whippet? Couldn't you see, you monster, that my dog's a whippet].[42] From that point on, the madman always holds back at the last moment before dropping his rock, repeating the same phrase—'Éste es podenco: ¡guarda!' [This one's a whippet: stay clear!][43]—regardless of the type of dog. Cervantes suggests that having failed so miserably in his attempt to write a continuation of the *Quixote*, Avellaneda will also hold back from dropping his 'rock' (i.e. shabby 'ingenio') on another literary work. Such direct assaults are unusual for Cervantes, who always tends to prefer sly obliqueness when settling literary accounts. His willingness to be so brazen and vulgar shows precisely how angry he must have felt.

The question then arises as to how Cervantes will channel that anger when addressing Avellaneda's sabotage beyond the paratextual level. For years Cervantes scholars assumed, almost axiomatically, that our author learned of the *Segundo tomo* while writing Chapter 59,[44] and it is only from that point on that he begins to take countermeasures. This is a rather naïve way of understanding the process of literary creation. Cervantes is brought to a screeching halt on learning of the apocryphal continuation, and then immediately begins to incorporate references to it in the very episode that he is in the process of composing.[45] It is also assumed by many scholars that Cervantes did not go back to rewrite earlier parts of Part II after learning of the *Segundo tomo*. This view has as its premise that Cervantes had very little time to do any major revisions before presenting his manuscript to Robles, pressured, as he was, to get it out before the *Segundo tomo* was able to take root completely. Cervantes had between five and eight months, roughly, to rework his manuscript.[46] This is ample time not only to write the last chapters but also to introduce changes of one sort or another. Several scholars, including José Manuel Martín Morán, Luis Gómez Canseco, and the author of these lines, have pointed to passages, or even complete episodes, well prior to Chapter 59, that appear to be direct responses to the *Segundo tomo*.[47]

Notable similarities between Cervantes's and Avellaneda's texts have led to a variety of hypotheses over the years. According to some scholars, Avellaneda gained access to portions of Cervantes's manuscript, and proceeded to plagiarize them. Conversely, some argue that *Cervantes* had read Avellaneda's text in advance of its publication, and that *he* is the one doing the plagiarizing.

I completely agree with Riquer and Gómez Canseco[48] that there is no reason to speculate about purloined manuscripts, on *either* side of the equation. Any overlapping comes about on the basis of Cervantes acquiring a copy of the *Segundo tomo after* its publication.

[42] II.Prologue, p. 676; p. 485. [43] II.Prologue, p. 676; p. 485.

[44] This is the chapter in which Don Quixote overhears two gentlemen commenting on the *Segundo tomo* in the room next to his at an inn (see below).

[45] See Iffland, *De fiestas*…, p. 379.

[46] Here I follow the calculation of Albert Sicroff, pp. 268–9.

[47] See Gómez Canseco, pp. 520–34; *De fiestas*… (entire *Tercera Parte*).

[48] See Riquer, p. xxxviii; Gómez Canseco p. 519.

With death staring him in the face, Cervantes went about writing the final chapters of Part II, introducing changes, as well, in chapters already written (all the while pressing forward with the *Persiles*).

In *De fiestas*…I have argued that Cervantes's response to the *Segundo tomo* begins, in essence, before he even learned of its existence.[49] I say this because he simply takes up where he left off at the end of Part I, deploying the *same* variety of subversive humour, putting into motion the *same* mechanisms of reversibility, reenergizing the logic of Carnival, etc. Without knowing *anything* about the threat on the horizon, Cervantes 'responds' to it pre-emptively by keeping true to his original conceptualization.

After reading the *Segundo tomo*, however, our author proceeds not only to include overt references to it but also to reinforce even further key aspects of that conceptualization. Having noted how Avellaneda removes the rich reversibility of his two protagonists, Cervantes proceeds to incorporate passages and episodes that take Don Quixote beyond the condition of a *loco-cuerdo*, turning him progressively into a *loco-sabio*.[50] The interaction between his two facets becomes more and more convoluted, rendering the task of categorizing him almost impossible. Sancho, too, evolves from his condition as *tonto-listo* to *tonto-sabio*. The zenith of his evolution is his performance as governor of Barataria, during which he thwarts the attempt to render him a buffoon by governing in a brilliantly judicious manner—to such a degree that his legislation was adopted permanently in the village that served as Barataria.[51]

Having seen the degree to which Avellaneda tames the carnivalesque pulse of Part I by putting the ludic/festive activity under the control of the aristocracy, Cervantes responds by ramping up the manifestations of authentic popular-festive culture and

[49] *De fiestas*…, pp. 381–2.

[50] An archetypal instance of this phenomenon is the following passage from the aftermath of Don Quixote's adventure with the lion: 'En todo este tiempo no había hablado don Diego de Miranda, todo atento a mirar y a notar los hechos y palabras de don Quijote, pareciéndole que era un cuerdo loco y un loco que tiraba a cuerdo. No había aún llegado a su noticia la primera parte de su historia, que si la hubiera leído cesara la admiración en que lo ponían sus hechos y sus palabras, pues ya supiera el género de su locura; pero como no la sabía, ya le tenía por cuerdo y ya por loco, porque lo hablaba era concertado, elegante y bien dicho, y lo que hacía, disparatado, temerario y tonto' (II.17, p. 838). ['All this time Don Diego de Miranda hadn't spoken a word, so concerned was he to observe what Don Quixote did and to listen to what he said, because he regarded him as a sane man with madness in him, and as a madman with sane tendencies. Don Diego didn't know about the first part of Don Quixote's history—if he had read it he would have known what sort of madness he suffered from, which would have prevented him being amazed by his words and deeds; but not knowing about it, he sometimes thought him sane and sometimes mad, because what he said was coherent, elegant and well expressed, and what he did was absurd, foolhardy and stupid' (pp. 597–8)]. This would seem to be a direct rebuke of Avellaneda, highlighting that if he had really read Part I with any degree of attention, he would not have traduced his protagonist so profoundly.

[51] See II.51, p. 1150; p. 838. Along similar lines, it is worth noting that in II.5, one that the *morisco* translator suspects to be apocryphal (II.5, p. 723; p. 514), Sancho lays out very articulately the motivation for his being willing to continue to follow Don Quixote on his adventures. Like so many of his contemporaries, he is not content to remain in his station as a lowly day labourer, wishing, instead, to accede to the aristocracy. This chapter, virtually an autonomous set-piece, could *easily* have been produced once Cervantes had read the *Segundo tomo*.

its logic of the world-upside-down. This is seen most dramatically, perhaps, in the aforementioned episodes dedicated to Barataria, where besides manifesting himself as a wise fool, Sancho presides as a Carnival king.[52]

While the episodes in the ducal palace would seem to be strongly reminiscent of the 'fiesta confiscada' seen in the *Segundo tomo*, there are many aspects of the action that lean heavily in the direction of popular-festive culture, including the fact that it is the retinue of servants who design and implement the elaborate *burlas*, not the Duke and Duchess. The latter fall into the spirit of the festivities to such a degree that the Duke even manages to provoke the departure of the 'grave eclesiástico' [grave churchman][53] who serves as a 'Lenten' foil to the Carnival spirit that emerges in the palace.

Similarly, Avellaneda's urban strategy is flipped over by Cervantes as he inserts Don Quixote into the streets of Barcelona. He arrives not under the aegis of 'caballeros de buen gusto' but under that of Roque Guinart, the Catalan *bandolero* hunted by the Spanish state.[54] Indeed, Don Quixote and Roque have struck up a friendship.[55] Fundamental differences mark Antonio Moreno's *burlas* and those designed by Avellaneda's aristocrats. Don Antonio shares Don Quixote with the inhabitants of Barcelona rather than keeping him for the exclusive enjoyment of the nobility. Don Quixote's role as Carnival monarch reaches its zenith when he and Sancho are saluted by the Spanish navy in the city's harbour.[56]

As noted above, Avellaneda had seized upon Sancho's carnivalesque fondness for food and transformed it into a buffoonish spectacle for the nobility. Among the aspects of Avellaneda's continuation that are targeted for criticism in the conversation between our protagonists and the guests in the inn is precisely the portrayal of Sancho as an unmitigated glutton.[57] Cervantes strives to refocus his character along popular-festive lines through several moments in Part II, perhaps most significantly during the 'Bodas de Camacho' [Camacho's wedding] episode in II.20. Here Sancho's 'belliness' is highlighted to the maximum, but all within a festive context of gargantuan proportions, almost literally.[58] Again, this could have been an unconscious 'pre-emptive response' on Cervantes's part. On the other hand, it, too, could be one of the passages Cervantes composed once he saw what had happened to the squire in the *Segundo tomo*.

Returning now to those aspects of Cervantes's response to Avellaneda that appear explicitly in Part II, in Chapter 59 Don Quixote and Sancho overhear a conversation between two gentlemen in the room next door at the inn where they are staying. To his great astonishment, Don Quixote hears them expressing negative sentiments regarding

[52] See Redondo, 'Tradición carnavalesca…' and Iffland, *De fiestas*…, pp. 452–60.

[53] II.32, p. 973; p. 696. [54] II.60, p. 1232; p. 902. II.61, pp.1233–4, p. 903.

[55] Our hero even tries to recruit Guinart into the profession of knight errantry (II.60, pp. 1229–30; p. 900).

[56] II.63, pp. 1252–3; p. 917. Sancho even undergoes a more transcendent version of the carnivalesque blanketing he suffered in the inn in I.17, with the galley slaves passing him over their heads from one side of the ship to the other, to his great terror.

[57] II.59, pp. 1215–16; pp. 888–9.

[58] See the description of the sumptuous banquet offered by the rich farmer (II.20, pp. 864–5; pp. 617–18). As the narrator notes, it would have been enough to feed a whole army (II.20, p. 865; p. 618).

the continuation of his adventures: '"¿Para qué quiere vuestra merced, señor don Juan, que leamos estos disparates, si el que hubiere leído la primera parte de la historia de don Quijote de la Mancha no es posible que pueda tener gusto en leer esta segunda?"' ['Why do you want us to read all that nonsense, Don Juan? Nobody who has read the first part of the history of Don Quixote de la Mancha can possibly derive any pleasure from reading this second part'].[59] Don Juan is particularly upset by the fact that Don Quixote is no longer in love with Dulcinea: '"Lo que a mí en éste más desplace es que pinta a don Quijote ya desenamorado de Dulcinea del Toboso'" ['What I most dislike about this one is that it describes Don Quixote as no longer in love with Dulcinea del Toboso'].[60] That is, indeed, a major difference that Avellaneda establishes from the very beginning of the *Segundo tomo*; our protagonist is transformed into the 'Caballero Desamorado' [the Knight No Longer in Love],[61] largely because of an insulting response to a love letter he sent to Aldonza Lorenzo (she refers to Don Quixote as 'Martín Quijada, el mentecapto' [Martín Quijada, the idiot]).[62] Dulcinea ends up being substituted, in Avellaneda's work, by Bárbara, a grotesque semi-retired prostitute and witch whom Don Quixote saves in a forest where she has been left tied to a tree by a malicious student lover.[63] Here, too, Avellaneda has opted for a very different route from Cervantes's, eliminating all the rich complexity that marks Don Quixote's relationship with his beloved.

Outraged by what he has overheard, Don Quixote loudly denounces it as a lie. The two gentlemen come over to his room, where they proceed to engage in a conversation about the *Segundo tomo*. There is an immediate stress on the authenticity of the two figures who have appeared; Don Quixote, as noted by Don Jerónimo, is clearly the 'real thing': '"Ni vuestra presencia puede desmentir vuestro nombre, ni vuestro nombre puede no acreditar vuestra presencia: sin duda, vos, señor, sois el verdadero don Quijote de la Mancha, norte y lucero de la andante caballería, a despecho y pesar del que ha querido usurpar vuestro nombre y aniquilar vuestras hazañas, como ha hecho el autor deste libro que aquí os entrego"'. ['Neither can your presence belie your name, nor can your name fail to accredit your presence: there can be doubt that you, sir, are the real Don Quixote de la Mancha, guide and lodestar of knight-errantry, in spite and in defiance of the one who has attempted to usurp your name and obliterate your deeds, as has the author of this book I have here'].[64] Don Quixote begins to thumb through the *Segundo tomo*, and proceeds to make three critical remarks: first, regarding things said in the Prologue (an allusion to the venomous attack on Cervantes); second, the language is 'Aragonese' (because of the absence of articles where they should be used); the third, the error in naming Sancho's wife (Mari Gutiérrez as opposed to Teresa Panza).[65]

[59] II.59, p. 1213; p. 887. [60] II.59, p. 1213; p. 887. [61] Chapter 4, p. 47.

[62] Chapter 2, p. 31. Avellaneda assigns our protagonist a given name from the very beginning, and opts for 'Quijada' over the other surnames shuffled in Cervantes's Part I. Cervantes, of course, only informs us that Don Quixote's name was Alonso at the very end of Part II, a gesture that is probably also a response to Avellaneda.

[63] Chapter 22, p. 229; pp. 233–7; Chapter 23, pp. 240–2. Our protagonist promptly dubs her the 'reina Zenobia' [Queen Zenobia].

[64] II.52, p. 1214; pp. 887–8. [65] II.59, pp. 1214–15; p. 888.

This 'untruth' brings Sancho into the conversation,[66] which then allows his own authenticity to be confirmed by Don Jerónimo: '"Por lo que os he oído hablar, amigo…sin duda debéis de ser Sancho Panza, el escudero del señor don Quijote."' ['From what I have heard, my friend…you must be Sancho Panza, Don Quixote's squire'].[67] This becomes the tonic note for many of the other moments in which the *Segundo tomo* is openly mentioned in the rest of Part II; Cervantes's two characters are the *real* ones as they match the models established in Part I. Cervantes quickly points out the divergent representation of Sancho by Avellaneda by having Don Jerónimo highlight the simplistic gluttony of his apocryphal rival as well as the fact that the latter is not particularly funny.[68]

Immediately after pointing out the misguided portrayal of Sancho, the two gentlemen focus their attention on Don Quixote's fundamental reversibility: 'Sumo fue el contento que los dos caballeros recibieron de oír contar a don Quijote los estraños sucesos de su historia, y así quedaron admirados de sus disparates como del elegante modo con que los contaba. Aquí le tenían por discreto y allí se les deslizaba por mentecato sin saber determinarse qué grado le darían entre la discreción y la locura' [It gave the two gentlemen great pleasure to hear Don Quixote narrating the strange events of his own history, and they were as astonished by his mad antics as by the elegant manner in which he described them. One minute they thought him an intelligent man, the next minute he skidded off into absurdity and they couldn't decide where to place him between sound sense and madness].[69] Avellaneda has again completely missed the point regarding the essential nature of the work's protagonist. The two guests try to convince Don Quixote to read more of the *Segundo tomo*, but he refuses to do so—not only because he refuses to read something so ostentatiously stupid, but because he does not want to have Avellaneda derive satisfaction if he hears that he, the real Don Quixote, has read his work.[70]

As the conversation draws to a close, the two gentlemen ask where Don Quixote is headed. On hearing that he is going to participate in the tourney in Zaragoza, they alert him that the *Segundo tomo* includes an episode involving a poorly narrated 'sortija' [riding at the ring] in that city.[71] Here we encounter one of those moments that show just how large the impact of the *Segundo tomo* is regarding the ultimate configuration of

[66] Sancho had, indeed, referred to his wife as Mari Gutiérrez in I.7, p. 102, something of which Cervantes had to be aware.

[67] II.59, p. 1215; p. 888.

[68] '"Pues a fe—dijo el caballero—que no os trata este autor moderno con la limpieza que en vuestra persona se muestra: píntaos comedor y simple y nonada gracioso, y muy otro del Sancho que en la primera parte de la historia de vuestro amo se describe"' ['"Well the fact is", the gentleman said, "that this novice author doesn't treat you with the scrupulosity that you display in your person: he represents you as a glutton, and simple-minded, and not at all funny, very different from the Sancho described in the first part of the history of your master'"] (II.59, p. 1215; p. 888).

[69] II.59, p. 1216; p. 889.

[70] I.59, p. 1217; p. 890.

[71] The *sortija* was an equestrian competition practiced by aristocrats, consisting of racing at a suspended ring through which the rider strove to insert his lance. Avellaneda's novel includes an episode in which Don Quixote does, indeed, participate (grotesquely) in such a competition.

Cervantes's Part II. Wanting to distinguish himself from anything that appears in the rival text, Don Quixote says that he will not step foot in Zaragoza: '"Por el mismo caso . . . no pondré los pies en Zaragoza y así sacaré a la plaza del mundo la mentira dese historiador moderno, y echarán de ver las gentes como yo no soy el don Quijote que él dice."' ['Well, for that very reason . . . I shall not set foot in Saragossa, and thus I shall announce that novice historian's lie to the whole world, and people will be made aware that I am not the Don Quixote about whom he writes'].[72]

Who knows what Cervantes had in mind for the Zaragoza adventures? How would Cervantes have developed Don Quixote's first urban experience? And where would Don Quixote and Sancho have gone afterwards? As the reader knows, our hero chooses Barcelona as his destination. This option was never mentioned as part of his original itinerary. Would he ever have undergone any adventures at all in that city? There is no textual evidence to that effect.

If Don Quixote had not set off to Barcelona, we never would have had the encounter with Roque Guinart,[73] with all the complex political resonances that suffuse the friendship that develops. We would have never had the maritime episodes,[74] including the encounter with Ana Félix and the subsequent 'happy ending' for this *morisco* girl, who is taken under the wing of the Viceroy (who thus goes against official state policy).[75] More importantly, we would never have had, in its precise form, the determining moment of the novel: to wit, the battle between Don Quixote and the Caballero de la Blanca Luna [the Knight of the White Moon] on the shores of the Mediterranean.

Before exploring further the role of Sansón Carrasco in the way the work ends and its direct link with the *Segundo tomo*, let us canvas quickly the other moments in which the apocryphal work is mentioned openly. It is in Barcelona where Don Quixote has a second direct encounter with the rival text. As our protagonist is accompanied through the streets of Barcelona by Don Antonio, he runs across the first printing shop he has ever seen. As it turns out, one of the books being printed is the *Segundo tomo*, which leads our protagonist to comment: '"Ya yo tengo noticia deste libro . . . y en verdad y en mi conciencia que pensé que ya estaba quemado y hecho polvos por impertinente; pero su San Martín se le llegará, como a cada puerco, que las historias fingidas tanto tienen de buenas y de deleitables cuanto se llegan a la verdad o la semejanza della, y las verdaderas tanto son mejores cuanto son más verdaderas."' ['Yes, I have heard about that book . . . and I really and truly did believe that it had been burned to ashes for its insolence, but it will have its Martinmas, like all hogs; because fictional histories are good and entertaining in so far as they approach the truth or what looks like it, and true histories are the better the truer they are'].[76] Besides the menacing insult levelled at it,[77] we return, once again, to the complex problem of the nature of truth in fiction. For Don Quixote, the work in which he appears is historiographical in nature. Because the

[72] II.59, pp. 1217–18; p. 890. [73] II.60–1. [74] II.63–5.

[75] II.65, p. 1274; p. 934. It was strictly forbidden for *moriscos* to remain on Spanish soil after the expulsion was announced in 1609.

[76] II.62, p. 1251; p. 916.

[77] Saint Martin's day, 11 November, was when pigs were traditionally slaughtered.

Segundo tomo has not narrated what his actual actions have been, it is 'false', even though Don Quixote himself is a character in a work of fiction.

In that sense, it is the other criterion—the importance of verisimilitude—that applies. Can it be said that the *Segundo tomo* is less verisimilar than Cervantes's work? Probably not. When he says fiction should be 'near to truth', is it something more transcendent than resemblance to external reality? Is there an inherent 'truth' that can be achieved in fiction through essentially *aesthetic factors*? Here again, Cervantes would seem to be denouncing the *Segundo tomo* for not having embodied the true inner workings of his protagonists and the resulting dynamics of the episodes in which they participate.

The next mention of the *Segundo tomo* occurs in the episode in which Sancho is called upon to 'resurrect' Altisidora when the two are captured by the Duke's men as they head back to their village.[78] Among the things Altisidora recounts regarding her trip to the underworld is a scene in which she saw a group of devils playing a ball game in which, instead of inflated spheres, books ' "llenos de viento y borra" ' ['full of wind and stuffing'] were struck with rackets of fire. Altisidora overheard a conversation between two devils who had just 'gutted' a book with their blows.[79] One of them asks its title:

> Y el diablo le respondió: 'Ésta es la Segunda parte de la historia de don Quijote de la Mancha, no compuesta por Cide Hamete, su primer autor, sino por un aragonés, que él dice ser natural de Tordesillas'. 'Quitádmele de ahí—respondió el otro diablo—y metedle en los abismos del infierno, no le vean mis ojos'. 'Tan malo—replicó el primero—, que si de propósito yo mismo me pusiera a hacerle peor, no acertara'.
>
> [And the other devil replied: 'It's the second part of the history of Don Quixote de la Mancha, not written by Cide Hamete, its first author, but by some Aragonese person who says he comes from Tordesillas.' 'Remove it,' replied the other devil, 'and consign it to the depths of hell, I never want to so see it again.' 'Is it as bad as all that?' the other one asked. 'It's so bad,' replied the first devil, 'that if I'd tried my very hardest to write a worse one the task would have been beyond me.'][80]

Here, quite literally, the *Segundo tomo* has met the fate promised it by Don Quixote (slaughtered like a pig). From this ferociously direct assault Don Quixote returns to the more subtle complexities of the nature of truth in fiction:

> Yo no me he alterado en oír que ando como cuerpo fantástico por las tinieblas del abismo, ni por la claridad de la tierra, porque no soy aquel de quien esa historia trata. Si ella fuere buena, fiel y verdadera, tendrá siglos de vida; pero si fuere mala, de su parto a la sepultura no será muy largo el camino.

[78] II.68–70.

[79] ' "A uno dellos, nuevo flamante y bien encuadernado, le dieron un papirotazo, que le sacaron las tripas y le esparcieron las hojas" ' [' "One of them, brand-new and well bound, was given such a thump that its guts poured out and its leaves flew all over the place" ' (II.70, p. 1306; p. 958).

[80] II.70, p. 1306; p. 958.

> [It has not disturbed me to learn that I wander in a fantastic shape through the shades of hell or the clear light of earth, because I am not the person described in that history. If any history is good, faithful and true, it will enjoy centuries of life, but if it is bad the road from its birth to its burial will not be a long one.][81]

Don Quixote is not bothered by this report from Hell because he is not the 'same one' that appears in the *Segundo tomo*.

The most transcendentally complex exploration of why Cervantes's Don Quixote must be recognized as the 'real one' is found in the famous scene in Chapter 72 in which our protagonist encounters Don Álvaro Tarfe in an inn just before arriving back at his village. Don Quixote hears a servant refer to his master as 'señor don Álvaro Tarfe' and immediately asks him if he is the same one who appears in the *Segundo tomo*. Don Álvaro confirms that he is, indeed, the individual in question. Our Don Quixote then asks him whether he looks like the one Don Álvaro knew; the latter responds that he bears no resemblance whatsoever. When asked whether he also knew Sancho Panza, Don Álvaro confirms that he did, adding that although the squire had a reputation for being verbally funny ('gracioso'), he never heard anything to bear that out. This provokes Sancho into an attack on the impostor as he eloquently defends his own *vis comica*. Just hearing Sancho speak is enough to convince Don Álvaro that he has before him the true Don Quixote and Sancho—in no way resembling the pair with whom he had interacted in the *Segundo tomo*.

On hearing this, Don Quixote asks Don Álvaro to swear before the village's mayor that he has never seen them before this moment, and that they are not the ones portrayed in the *Segundo tomo*. Don Álvaro agrees to do so immediately, and even offers to assert that he never saw what he saw nor did he ever experience what he experienced.

Here is the nub of this amazing moment in literary history, one which puts in the foreground the whole problem of the ontological status of a fictional character. Don Álvaro, a character from an apocryphal 'false' continuation appears in the 'real' continuation and engages in dialogue with the 'real characters'. If the work from which he proceeds is fake, what is he doing here in the inn, interacting with the 'true' protagonists? How can he swear that he has not experienced what he has experienced? Does not the fact that he comes from a 'fake' work have a spill-over effect on the two characters with whom he is talking? Or could it even have the reverse effect—that is, conferring 'reality' on the supposedly apocryphal work?

And then, of course, the bigger question: why is one pair of these two characters any more 'real' than the other? If both works are fictional, how can it be argued that Cervantes's two characters are somehow more 'genuine' than the other two? Do characters 'belong' somehow to their author, deriving from that entity a 'substance' which definitively grounds them? The whole question opens up the can of worms inherent in the notion of 'intellectual property'. Does the fact that Cervantes had a copyright on his novel mean that any appearance by his characters in another author's novel automatically

[81] II.70, p. 1306; p. 958.

renders them 'fake'? Cervantes's Don Quixote and Sancho are just as much the product of the literary imagination and typography as Avellaneda's. How can it be claimed that they are more 'real'? Needless to say, all of this prefigures many of the problems addressed in contemporary fiction, from Borges and Unamuno to the postmodernists.

The labyrinthine, almost absurdist, nature of this entire moment reaches its climax when the three characters appear before the mayor and a notary, and Don Álvaro proceeds to swear that he had never met Don Quixote and Sancho prior to this moment and that they are definitely not the two who appear in the *Segundo tomo*. Cide Hamete highlights how happy our 'real' protagonists are when the legal procedure is concluded, adding the following comment: 'como si les importara mucho semejante declaración y no mostrara claro la diferencia de los dos don Quijotes y la de los dos Sanchos sus obras y sus palabras' [as if their deeds and their words didn't clearly shows how the difference between the two Don Quixotes and between the two Sanchos].[82] Nonetheless, our two 'real' heroes head out of the inn with their 'certificate of authenticity' and soon arrive back at their village. It is here that Cervantes launches his final assault on Avellaneda. As Don Quixote lies dying, he dictates his last will and testament, one of whose clauses addresses the apocryphal continuation in direct fashion:

> Iten, suplico a los dichos señores mis albaceas que si la buena suerte les trujere a conocer al autor que dicen que compuso una historia que anda por ahí con el título de Segunda parte de las hazañas de don Quijote de la Mancha, de mi parte le pida, cuan encarecidamente ser pueda, perdone la ocasión que sin yo pensarlo le di de haber escrito tantos y tan grandes disparates como en ella escribe, porque parto desta vida con escrúpulo de haberle dado motivo para escribirlos.
>
> [Likewise I request the aforementioned gentleman, my executors, if they are fortunate enough to meet the author who is said to have written a history that is circulating under the title of *The Second Part of the Exploits of Don Quixote de la Mancha*, to beg him on my behalf, as earnestly as they can, to forgive me for unintentionally having provided him with the opportunity to write all the gross absurdities contained in that book; because I am leaving this life with scruples of conscience for having given him an excuse for writing them.][83]

Here, too, Cervantes takes brutal countermeasures against his rival, corrosively downgrading the quality of the latter's work.

Once Don Quixote has passed away, another set of counter steps is implemented. The *Segundo tomo* leaves our protagonist alive, with the prospect of another series of adventures, albeit without Sancho as his squire.[84] Such a prospect horrifies Cervantes, who is in failing health, and thus might not be able to respond to any further misappropriations

[82] II.72, p. 1321; p. 969. [83] II.74, p. 1334; p. 980.

[84] In his brief preview of Don Quixote's further adventures, Avellaneda points out that the squire our protagonist takes along with him is actually a pregnant young female servant disguised as a man, who gives birth to the great surprise of the protagonist. He subsequently goes on his adventures alone (Chapter 36, p. 394).

of his work. The 'final solution' Cervantes implements is, first, to have Don Quixote die, and second, to have it legally confirmed:

> Viendo lo cual [Don Quixote's death], pidió [the priest] al escribano le diese por testimonio como Alonso Quijano el Bueno, llamado comúnmente 'Don Quijote de la Mancha', había pasado deste presente vida y muerto naturalmente; y que el tal testimonio pedía para quitar la ocasión de que algún otro autor que Cide Hamete Benengeli le resucitase falsamente y hiciese inacabables historias de sus hazañas.
>
> [At which the priest asked the notary to write out a certificate to the effect that Alonso Quixano the Good, commonly known as Don Quixote de la Mancha, had passed on from this life, and died from natural causes. And he said that he was requesting this certificate to deprive any author other than Cide Hamete Benengeli of the opportunity to bring him falsely back to life and write endless histories of his exploits.][85]

Don Quixote cannot rise from his grave; any future adventures narrated would be patently false.

To round things off, however, Cervantes has yet another trick up his sleeve. When addressing his quill pen, Cide Hamete says:

> Aquí quedarás colgada desta espetera y deste hilo de alambre, ni sé si bien cortada o mal tajada péñola mía, adonde vivirás luengos siglos, si presuntuosos y malandrines historiadores no te descuelgan para profanarte. Pero antes que a ti lleguen, les puedes advertir y decirles en el mejor modo que pudieres:
>
> '¡Tate, tate, folloncicos!
> De ninguno sea tocada,
> porque esta empresa, buen rey,
> para mí estaba guardada.
>
> 'Para mí sola nació don Quijote, y yo para él: él supo obrar y yo escribir, solos los dos somos para en uno, a despecho y pesar del escritor fingido y tordesillesco que se atrevió o se ha de atrever a escribir con pluma de avestruz grosera y mal deliñada las hazañas de mi valeroso caballero, porque no es carga de sus hombros, ni asunto de su resfriado ingenio; a quien advertirás, si acaso llegas a conocerle, que deje reposar en la sepultura los cansados y ya podridos huesos de don Quijote, y no le quiera llevar, contra todos los fueros de la muerte, a Castilla la Vieja, haciéndole salir de la fuesa donde real y verdaderamente yace tendido de largo a largo, imposibilitado de hacer tercera jornada y salida nueva.'
>
> [Here you shall rest, hanging from this rack on this length of brass wire, O quill of mine—whether well-trimmed or not I do not know—and here you shall live on for many centuries, unless presumptuous and knavish historians take you down to profane you. But before they touch you, you can warn them and tell them as best you can: 'Hands off, hands off, you paltry knaves;

[85] II.74, p. 1335; p. 980.

> My noble king, let none
> Attempt this enterprise:
> It's kept for me alone'
>
> For me alone was Don Quixote born, and I for him; it was for him to act, for me to write; we two are as one, in spite of that false writer from Tordesillas who has had and may even again have the effrontery to write a coarse and clumsy ostrich quill about my valiant knight's deeds, because this is not a burden for his shoulders or a subject for his torpid wit. And you can warn him, if you happen to meet him, to leave Don Quixote's weary mouldering bones at rest in his tomb, and not to try to take him, in the face of all the prerogatives of death, to Old Castile, making him rise from the grave where he really and truly does lie stretched out at full length, quite incapable of any third sally or fresh campaign.][86]

The fact that Cervantes adds this passage shows just how obsessed he is with his rival. Don Quixote is Cide Hamete/Cervantes's 'intellectual property'.[87] If anyone else tries to use his pen to write more, the pen must scare him off. That he is thinking primarily of Avellaneda is made evident when he refers to the 'escritor fingido y tordesillesco'.

And here we must reflect on what may have been the greatest impact of Avellaneda's work on Cervantes's original plan. Is there anything in the general design or logic of the work that *requires* Don Quixote to die? Is his passing away something Cervantes had meticulously planned from its very inception?

Many Cervantes scholars would answer in the affirmative. As I have argued in *De fiestas…* and more recently in '"El espantajo…', there is really *nothing* in the text that confirms this notion. The work is built on the carnivalesque matrix of successive festive deaths and resurrections. Don Quixote *always* bounces back, no matter how harsh the dethroning he suffers. Let us remember that he is only fifty.[88] Virtually every genre of prose fiction of the time—chivalresque, pastoral, picaresque—allows for, and even encourages, continuations. Why cannot Don Quixote and Sancho go back on the road?

[86] II.74, pp. 1336–7; p. 981. The mention of Castilla la Vieja (Old Castille) comes about because that is where Don Quixote is alleged to have gone after leaving the Casa del Nuncio (Chapter 36, p. 394).

[87] In the work's closing lines Cide Hamete clarifies that he and Cervantes are one and the same: '"no ha sido otro mi deseo que poner en aborrecimiento de los hombres las fingidas y disparatadas historias de los libros de caballerías, que por las de mi verdadero *Don Quijote* van ya tropezando y han de caer del todo sin duda alguna."' ['my only desire has been to make men hate those false, absurd histories in books of chivalry, which thanks to the exploits of my real Don Quixote are even now tottering, and without any doubt will soon tumble to the ground'] (II.74, p. 1337; p. 982). At no prior point has Cide Hamete made this claim regarding his principal objective; Cervantes (or 'Cervantes'), on the other hand, has made it, very clearly, in the Prologue to Part I.

[88] It is worth noting that in the illustrations of the work done in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Don Quixote is portrayed as much younger than in those that start to emerge with the Romantic reading of the work. As part of the casting of Don Quixote as essentially a tragic figure, illustrators such as Gustav Doré began to present him as much older than he actually is. For more on this subject, see Iffland, 'Seeing is Believing…'.

Why cannot the pastoral project that had enthused him so much be the raw material for a sequel?[89] But if such a door were to be left open, there waits Avellaneda beyond it.

It is worth speculating on what the very rich historical reception of the work would have looked like with a Don Quixote still alive at the end of Cervantes's Part II. While the admonitory tale might have been left intact (Don Quixote recovers his sanity and denounces his absurd behaviour), the Romantic reading might never have appeared at all. A repentant Don Quixote has one kind of resonance; a Don Quixote who both repents and *dies* has another. His perishing is what opens the possibility of his becoming a tragic character, one whose battle against 'the Real', against 'Society', or 'the System', brings about his definitive defeat. Presenting him as a Christ figure would have been much more difficult to bring off. All the tear-jerking film versions such as *Man of La Mancha* might never have been created.[90]

If I am right on this point, Cervantes's debt to Avellaneda is greater than he ever could have imagined. The sabotage ended up producing the reverse effect, laying the basis for the *Quixote* to become the 'greatest novel ever written'. Remember that the major works of the canon are, almost by definition, tragic, or at least profoundly sad. Comic works have always been consigned to the lower echelons of the literary pantheon (starting with Aristotle).[91]

As Gómez Canseco has pointed out, the *Segundo tomo* also supplied Cervantes with the opportunity to put on display all of the 'avant-garde', proto-Borgesian pyrotechnics, which establishes him, as Robert Alter has pointed out, as the founder of *both* major strains within the history of the modern novel (the other being that which leans toward realism).[92]

[89] See II.67, pp. 1283–7; pp. 940–3, where Don Quixote suggests that Sancho and he become shepherds during the year he promised to stay in his village, and even throws out the idea of recruiting Sansón Carrasco and the priest Pero Pérez. These two show considerable support for the project when Don Quixote brings it up in the work's penultimate chapter (II.73, pp. 1325–7; p. 973–4).

[90] For these variants of the Romantic reading of the work, see Close, *The Romantic*…; for a detailed study of Don Quixote as a Christ-figure, see Ziolkowski. See Chapter 29 of this volume for a study of Cervantes on film.

[91] See Bakhtin on the fate suffered, for example, by Rabelais (among others).

[92] Gómez Canseco, pp. 530–4; Alter, pp. 3–4. As a coda to this crucial issue, I would point out that when Cervantes decides to 'kill off' Don Quixote, he does so in a way that still respects the basic carnivalesque undergirding of the work. In two separate works, I have striven to show how the staging of Don Quixote's death is done in a way fully in accord with the dynamics that have suffused the work up to its last pages (*De fiestas*…, pp. 563–8; '"El espantajo…"'). Our protagonist perishes in a way that links it to the 'laughable death' that marks all Carnival monarchs. Among the elements that support this interpretation is Sansón Carrasco's irreverent epitaph for Don Quixote's tomb that characterizes our hero as a 'scarecrow' ('espantajo') and 'bogeyman' ('coco') (II.74, p. 1336). These terms go completely against the grain of the Romantic reading of the work's finale, which wraps it with sentiments that range from melancholy to unabashed sorrow. The epitaph, along with several other elements present in these concluding pages (such as the light-hearted attitude adopted by Sancho, the housekeeper, and the niece during our protagonist's death throes (II.74, p. 1334; p. 980), stage a variant of the ritual killing of the elderly which was accompanied by laughter (see *De fiestas*…, pp. 565–8; '"El espantajo…"'). Laughter in these contexts associated with death serves as way of conferring *new life* on the dead. In that sense, even though Don Quixote is officially left mouldering in his grave at the end of Part II, Cervantes does not switch off

To wrap up this brief review of the Cervantes/Avellaneda interplay, let us return to our point of departure. It is difficult indeed to resist the temptation to speculate on the identity of the anonymous author who directly affected the history of the modern novel. I have argued that it is much more important to bring to light the ideological/aesthetic infrastructure that sustains the *Segundo tomo* rather than coming up with a precise name. Regardless of who the 'biological father' might have been, we have his text, and to think that we will somehow acquire a hermeneutical key if we know his actual identity would be a serious misstep. Even if Avellaneda did turn out to be a clergyman, for example, that does not mean that the text perforce embodies Counter-Reformation ideology.

Along with others,[93] I have argued that the *Segundo tomo* is strongly marked by reactionary, primarily aristocratic, values in such a way that we are led to think that Avellaneda is either a well-connected member of the cultural Establishment, or is someone *who wants to be one*. It is easy to imagine him as a younger writer, currying favour with the powers that be. The strong possibility that he was a member of Lope's circle in no way precludes this reading: the 'Phoenix' himself was a notorious social climber, and was, in turn, surrounded by others like him. While settling accounts for Lope, Avellaneda could also simultaneously be racking up points vis-à-vis the social class with which he is trying to ingratiate himself.

In *De fiestas*…I have argued that Avellaneda is a younger writer in part because of his treatment of several major thematic areas that have ties to sociocultural and historical trends occurring at the time. His perspective on madness as well as popular-festive culture and related areas concerning the human body place him a full generation after Cervantes.[94] Many of the writers who conform to the proposed ideological profile of Avellaneda, as well as his lining up with the cultural sensibility just mentioned, were born around the year 1580 (Castillo Solórzano, Tirso, Quevedo, Salas Barbadillo, Ruiz de Alarcón, Medinilla). Avellaneda fits perfectly well within that cluster of writers that Close associates with the campaign to 'tone down' the 'Aristophanic' excesses of earlier Spanish humour.[95]

the underlying mechanism that has informed his entire project. Our author is, after all, a master at having his cake and eating it too.

[93] See, *inter alia*, Gómez Canseco, pp. 39*, 44*, and 69*.

[94] See pp. 347–75, pp. 267–304, and pp. 305–27 (respectively).

[95] See Close, *Cervantes and*…The one who *does not* fit well into that campaign is Cervantes himself, as I have argued in 'Laughter Tamed'. Nor does Mateo Alemán, for that matter, despite Close's arguments to the contrary. (He does admit, however, that these two writers are 'outliers' with respect to the academy-inflected ethos that characterizes all the rest.) It bears remembering that both writers were born in 1547—a full three decades prior to the appearance of what I have called the 'Generation of 1580'. Apropos of that issue, one of the most widely cited suspects whom I feel should be discarded completely is Jerónimo de Pasamonte (born in 1553). While he may well be attacked in Cervantes's Part I under the guise of Ginés de Pasamonte, thus giving him a motive to try to sabotage his fellow captive in Algiers, he simply did not have the literary talent displayed by Avellaneda. Combined with his serious mental instability (see González Duro, pp. 213–15), writing something like the *Segundo tomo* would simply have been out of the question. Nor, for that matter, does he conform to the ideological/sociological portrait that we can put together on the basis of textual evidence.

In sum, the 'whodunit' that has stretched over the last four centuries is likely to continue for much longer to the continuing secret satisfaction of many *cervantistas*. For the lay reader of the *Quixote*, however, it is ultimately a non-issue. What *is* significant are the components of Cervantes's Part II, which are responses, both overt and indirect, to the *Segundo tomo*. Unbeknownst to him, those tears that might start to well up when Don Quixote dies at the end of the 'greatest novel ever written' are the fruit of Avellaneda's apocryphal continuation.

While it may be too much to ask that lay reader also to take a look at Avellaneda's *Segundo tomo*, anyone who teaches or writes about *Don Quixote* is being seriously negligent if she does not do so. Reading it need not be akin to taking a spoonful of cod liver oil: the *Segundo tomo* is far from being as bad as it has been painted by the Cervantes Establishment going back centuries. As Gómez Canseco[96] and others have noted, it actually has considerable literary merits—especially, of course, if we compare it not to Cervantes's *Don Quixote* but to other prose fiction of the period.[97] Indeed, they were deemed sufficient enough to earn it a healthy number of translations over the centuries: a total of thirty-three.[98] While obviously drawn into the limelight because of the importance of Cervantes's masterpiece, if it lacked any kind of artistic merit (as has been repeated for generations), translators and their publishers would not have thrown away their time, effort, and resources on bringing it into print.

Works Cited

Alter, Robert. *Partial Magic: The Novel as a Self-Conscious Genre* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975).

Avalle-Arce, Juan Bautista. *Don Quijote como forma de vida* (Madrid: Fundación Juan March, 1976).

Bakhtin, Mikhail. *Rabelais and His World*, translated by Krystyna Pomorska (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1968).

Braudel, Fernand. *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, 2 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).

Cervantes, Miguel de. *El ingenioso hidalgo don Quijote de la Mancha*, edited by Francisco Rico, et al. (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 2015).

Cervantes, Miguel de. *The Ingenious Hidalgo Don Quixote de la Mancha*, translated by John Rutherford (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2000).

Cervantes, Miguel de. *Novelas ejemplares*, vol. I, edited by Harry Sieber (Madrid: Cátedra, 1982).

[96] Gómez Canseco, p. 63*.

[97] Going a bit overboard, Alain-René Lesage claimed that the *Segundo tomo* (a translation of which he published in 1704) is actually *better* than Cervantes's work. He said so, of course, from the perspective of Neoclassical poetics, which emphasized the importance of decorum—that is, general suitability and internal coherence of the characters (*De fiestas*…, pp. 576–9). Cervantes's Don Quixote and Sancho are not as internally consistent, and 'believable', as Avellaneda's.

[98] See Gómez Canseco, pp. 568–71. For a relatively recent translation into English, see Server and Keller.

Close, Anthony. *Cervantes and the Comic Mind of His Age* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

Close, Anthony. *The Romantic Approach to* Don Quixote: *A Critical History of the Romantic Tradition in* Quixote *Criticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978).

Cherchi, Paolo. *Capitoli di critica cervantina* (Roma: Bulzoni, 1977).

Fernández de Avellaneda, Alonso. *Don Quixote de la Mancha (Part II): Being the Spurious Continuation of Miguel de Cervantes's Part I*, translated by Alberta W. Server and John E. Keller (Newark, DE: Juan de la Cuesta, 1980).

Fernández de Avellaneda, Alonso. *Segundo tomo del ingenioso hidalgo don Quijote de la Mancha*, edited by Luis Gómez Canseco (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 2014).

Foucault, Michel. *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason*, translated by Richard Howard (London: Routledge, 2001).

Gilman, Stephen. *Cervantes y Avellaneda: estudio de una imitación* (Mexico: El Colegio de México, 1951).

Gómez Canseco, Luis. Introducción and Anejos. In *Segundo tomo del ingenioso hidalgo don Quijote de la Mancha* by Alonso Fernández de Avellaneda, pp. 7*–123*, pp. 519–90.

González Duro, Enrique. *Historia de la locura en España*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Temas de Hoy, 1994–5).

Hill, Christopher. *The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas during the English Revolution* (New York: Penguin, 1975).

Iffland, James. *De fiestas y aguafiestas: risa, locura e ideología en Cervantes y Avellaneda* (Madrid/Pamplona/Frankfurt: Editorial Iberoamericana, Universidad de Navarra, Vervuert, 1999).

Iffland, James. ' "El espantajo y el coco del mundo": la risible muerte de don Quijote'. In *El 'Quijote' de 1615: dobleces, inversiones, paradojas, desbordamientos e imposibles*, edited by Antonio Cortijo, Gustavo Illades, y Francisco Ramírez (Santa Barbara: Publications of eHumanista [University of California], 2016), pp. 132–44.

Iffland, James. '*Ladrones de tinta*: The Avellaneda Mystery as "Whodunit"'. In *Studies in Spanish Literature in Honor of Daniel Eisenberg*, edited by Tom Lathrop (Newark, Delaware: Juan de la Cuesta-Hispanic Monographs, 2009), pp. 121–51.

Iffland, James. 'Laughter Tamed'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 23, no. 2 (2003): pp. 395–435. (Review-article of Anthony Close's *Cervantes and the Comic Mind of His Age*).

Iffland, James. 'Seeing is Believing: The Rhetoric of Graphic Illustration in the History of *Don Quijote*'. *Cervantes: The Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 27, no. 1 (2007 [2008]): pp. 95–160.

López Estrada, Francisco. 'Fiestas y literatura en los Siglos de Oro: la Edad Media como asunto "festivo" (el caso del *Quijote*)'. *Bulletin Hispanique* 84, no. 3 (1982): pp. 297–327.

Maravall, José Antonio. *La cultura del barroco: análisis de una estructura histórica* (Barcelona: Ariel, 1975).

Martín Morán, José Manuel. 'Cervantes y Avellaneda: apuntes para una relectura del *Quijote*'. In *Actas del XI Congreso de la Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas*, vol. V, edited by Juan Villegas (Irvine, CA: University of California Press, 1994), pp. 137–47.

Martín Morán, José Manuel. *El 'Quijote' en ciernes: los descuidos de Cervantes y las fases de elaboración textual* (Torino: Edizioni dell'Orso, 1990).

Molho, Maurice. *Cervantes: raíces folklóricas* (Madrid: Gredos, 1976).

Redondo, Augustin. *Otra manera de leer el* Quijote (Madrid: Castalia, 1998).

Redondo, Augustin. 'Tradición carnavalesca y creación literaria: del personaje de Sancho Panza al episodio de la ínsula Barataria en el *Quijote*'. *Bulletin Hispanique* 80, no. 1 (1978): pp. 39–70.

Riquer, Martín de. Introducción. *Segundo tomo del ingenioso hidalgo don Quixote de la Mancha* by Alonso Fernández de Avellaneda, vol. I, edited by Riquer (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1972).

Russell, Peter. '*Don Quixote* as a Funny Book'. *Modern Language Review* 64 (1969): pp. 312–26.

Sicroff, Albert. 'La segunda muerte de don Quijote como respuesta de Cervantes a Avellaneda'. *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica* 24 (1975): pp. 267–91.

Vassberg, David. *Land and Society in Golden Age Castile* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

Vilanova, Antonio. *Erasmo y Cervantes* (Barcelona: Lumen, 1989).

Zijderveldt, Anton. *Reality in a Looking-glass: Rationality through an Analysis of Traditional Folly* (London/Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1982).

Ziolkowski, Eric. *The Sanctification of Don Quixote: From Hidalgo to Priest* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 1991).

CHAPTER 8

DON QUIXOTE DE LA MANCHA'S NARRATIVE STRUCTURE WITHIN THE LITERARY TRADITION

YOLANDA IGLESIAS
University of Toronto

The objective of this study is to present the meaning, complexity, innovation, and relevance of *Don Quixote*'s narrative structure within the literary tradition. First, this chapter reviews the diverse perspectives and interpretations among scholars when attempting to establish the narrative structure created by Cervantes. It highlights the directions in which scholars have, over time, argued about the narrative structure of *Don Quixote*, to show how some enigmas remain unsolved. Second, this piece re-examines previous literature with the goal of solving some of the unexplained gaps in the narrative and framing the relevance of the structure in *Don Quixote*, which is one of the main pillars supporting the argument that Cervantes's masterpiece is the first modern novel.

Within the literary tradition, some scholars, particularly Anglo-Hispanic academics, have argued that *Don Quixote* cannot be considered the first modern novel.[1] The main reason given is that the episodic nature of the work is related more to the picaresque and chivalric romance than it is to the modern novel.[2] But, Cascardi, for example, disagrees and argues that all previous literature used by Cervantes is transformed in *Don Quixote* 'by [its] displacement in time and space and by their situation relative to other discourses undergoing a similar process of rearticulation'.[3]

[1] Martín Morán, 'La novela moderna…' p. 222.
[2] Martín Morán, 'La novela moderna…' p. 222.
[3] Cascardi, p. 64.

A review of the tradition will help us understand why the use of both the picaresque and chivalric romance does not detract from the consideration of *Don Quixote* as the first modern novel, as some critics have argued. First, it can be stated that these earlier genres are not the only sources for *Don Quixote* because most of the genres in the European tradition influenced the creation of Cervantes's masterpiece. As defined by Mancing, *Don Quixote* 'has been called a compendium, or anthology, of Spanish Renaissance literature, in the sense that almost every type of poetry, theatre, and prose fiction written in Spain in the sixteenth century has some place in the novel'.[4] Cervantes was very familiar with the literary traditions that preceded him and reflected many of them in his work.[5] For example, the author of *Don Quixote* had an extensive background in the Bible, Greek and Roman literature, history, mythology, and culture.[6] However, the principal influences on Cervantes are Spanish.[7] In particular, it is true that *Don Quixote* could not have been possible 'without the romance of chivalry, which Cervantes, like his protagonist, had read extensively and almost knew by heart'.[8] In addition to the literary sources, the author of *Don Quixote* drew heavily upon a vast store of folklore to create characters such as Sancho Panza. Furthermore, Cervantes 'may well have had first-hand contact with the Arabic tradition of storytelling, especially during his years of captivity in Algiers' as seen in the figure of the Arabic historian Cide Hamete Benengeli.[9] Foreign influences such as Italian writers were also important, particularly when he was stationed in Italy during his years in the army.[10]

As Mancing states, the romance of chivalry offered only a starting point for the novel.[11] This literature is what comprises the creation of *Don Quixote*, which is 'a comic tale of a man who believes in chivalry, thinks that traditional characters such as Amadís de Gaula and Belianís de Grecia are historical figures, and attempts to become a knight-errant himself'.[12] However, as Cascardi argues, 'no matter which way the picture is turned the *Quixote* remains a watershed work in the history of literature'.[13] We can even consider that Cervantes himself most likely could not have known that, in writing *Don Quixote*, he was initiating the most valuable literary genre of the modern age: 'it can

[4] Mancing, 'Ideas', p. 87.
[5] Mancing, 'Ideas', p. 87.
[6] Mancing, 'Ideas', 87–8; among classical writers, those who influenced Cervantes most 'are the Greeks Homer and Heliodorus, and the Romans Virgil, Ovid, and Apuleius' (p. 88).
[7] For example, Cervantes knew the pastoral, such as *La Diana*, the only two picaresque novels published, *Lazarillo de Tormes* and *Guzmán de Alfarache*, and the historical fiction about Muslim Spain (Mancing, 'Ideas', pp. 88–9). Another source was Alonso Fernández de Avellaneda's *Don Quixote*, which the author incorporated into Part II of *Don Quixote*. He had contact with poets such as Francisco de Herrera, Luis de Góngora, the Argensola brothers Bartolomé and Lupercio, and Lope de Vega (pp. 88–9). Cervantes was influenced by the Spanish physician Juan Huarte de San Juan's influential medical treatise *Examen de ingenios para las ciencias* [*Scientific Examination of Men's Wits*] in the creation of Don Quixote's madness (see Chapter 13 of this volume). Furthermore, he was familiar with the writer Alonso López Pinciano and his work on aesthetics (pp. 89–90).
[8] Mancing, 'Ideas', p. 88.
[9] Mancing, 'Ideas', p. 90.
[10] Some Italian influences are the epic chivalric poems of Matteo Maria Boiardo, Ludovico Ariosto, Francesco Petrarca, Luigi Pulci, Boccaccio, Bandello, and Giraldi Cinzio (Mancing, 'Ideas', pp. 90–1).
[11] Mancing, 'Ideas', p. 93.
[12] Mancing, 'Ideas', p. 93.
[13] Cascardi, p. 58.

retrospectively be said that, among novels, *Don Quixote* was the first'.[14] As the Romantics perceived, the novel's form was, in effect, the principle of its creation: 'the "invention" of the novel resulted from the re-fashioning of literary genres already in place, and *Don Quixote* stands in relation to the origins of the novel not as the invention of something radically new, but as the uncovering of new possibilities for the combination of elements that pre-existed it'.[15] However, Cervantes's most important strategy is the creativity of tradition. *Don Quixote* 'begins with a frank acknowledgment of the weight of the literary past, which the writer bears as a burden. Cervantes imagines the problem of literary invention as a struggle between authority and innovation'.[16] In summary, *Don Quixote's* concept of chivalry and its understanding of the romances of chivalry are merely a departure point, but they are not categories by which *Don Quixote* can be framed because it is built from the re-formulation of previous genres.

Among other literary innovations in *Don Quixote,* such us the combination of traditional literature, different type of speeches, and verisimilitude, the narrative structure can be considered one of the main elements that contributed to the creation of the first modern novel.[17] In addition to the literary tradition in *Don Quixote*, the humour, irony, evolution of the characters, and social criticism, the narrative structure designed by the novel's author is one of the most important links for categorising the text as the first modern novel. As George Haley notes, Cervantes found a subject in the chivalric romances that was ripe for parody and with it, 'a way of telling stories that called for the same treatment. He made them both serve the ends of comic enjoyment and instruction in *Don Quijote*'.[18] Nevertheless, in the process of making fun of the narrative technique of the chivalric novelists, 'Cervantes used and enlarged it with such skill that, in his hands, the overworked devices became expressive instruments once more'.[19] Furthermore, '*Don Quixote* is nothing if not a supremely complex text when it comes to narrative structure'.[20] As Cascardi has stated, Cervantes invents the novel by refocusing the discourses of the pastoral, chivalric, and picaresque genres, among others, from 'their original location in culture and into the domain of self-conscious parody and pastiche . . . The convergence of different literary and linguistic forms, and the fashioning of new from old, creates the effect of a dazzling, dizzying literary complexity that criticism about the novel has always had a difficult time tracking'.[21]

The narrative structure in *Don Quixote* has fascinated readers over time. According to scholars, the game of narrative voices designed by Cervantes has been essential in the determination that *Don Quixote* is the first modern novel. However, the fascination with the narrative structure of *Don Quixote* extends beyond the implications of genre. The power of attraction increases due to the disagreement or the diversity of interpretations offered with regard to the narrative structure of the book. We readers have not all equally understood the narrative game chosen by Cervantes due to the difficulty involved in identifying some of the voices in the narration.

[14] Cascardi, p. 58. [15] Cascardi, p. 59. [16] Cascardi, p. 63.
[17] See Cascardi, Close, Mancing 'Ideas', Martín Morán, 'La novela', and Riley. [18] Haley, p. 145.
[19] Haley, p. 145. [20] Cascardi, p. 75. [21] Cascardi, p. 64.

Let us examine the narrative structure created by Cervantes to understand the differences among scholars. An anonymous voice in the 1605 prologue claims to be the stepfather rather than the father of the text. A second, different voice narrates the first eight chapters. At the end of Chapter 8, a third voice appears to inform the reader that the second voice did not continue the story of Don Quixote because of a lack of information. This third voice finds the continuation in a manuscript written in Arabic characters. Consequently, he asks a Spanish-Arabic bilingual convert (*morisco aljamiado*) to interpret it into Castilian. This translator includes his own voice over the text with commentaries to his transcription. This new manuscript starts exactly at the point where the previous text, as far as we know in Latin characters, was interrupted with the continuation of the adventure of Don Quixote and the *vizcaíno*. The reader also finds out after Chapter 8 that *Don Quixote de la Mancha* was written by Cide Hamete Benengeli, an Arabic historian.

The innovation and complexity of the structure emerges when explaining who is who and which part of the text belongs to each voice. The text presents the first enigma in need of an answer: who is the stepfather and, consequently, the father of the story announced in the prologue of 1605? Another puzzle emerges from the anonymous voice of the first eight chapters because we do not know anything about him. We do not specifically know whether this narration is the same as that of Cide Hamete, the declared author of the history of *Don Quixote* in I.9, or whether it is a different speaker. Another issue to be resolved is why the first eight chapters are in Latin characters and the following in Arabic characters. To date, this particular issue has not been explained by scholars, as we observe below.

One innovation introduced by Cervantes is allowing the reader to solve the puzzles and have fun with the novel's narrative game. Cervantes does not provide answers to these questions; there is no answer to be given because it is interactive entertainment, a new perspective, a new experiment. Ultimately, it is a complex narrative, as the work of some scholars, over time, has revealed. One of the first authors who studied the complexity of the structure in *Don Quixote* was George Haley. He observed an unidentified 'I' who begins the narrative and presents Don Quixote, only to profess at the end of the eighth chapter that he must abandon his work and leave Don Quixote with his sword poised in the air, because there is no more text.[22] The unidentified first intervention is followed by a *segundo autor* (second author), 'who takes over the "I" and the narrative with a description of his experience as a frustrated reader of the first eight chapters who was left impatient to know how the story ends'.[23] Then, he tells us how he found 'the original Arabic manuscript' and how, having been found, it creates a new difficulty and suspense: how is the manuscript to be read? This obstacle is surmounted after it is called to a *morisco aljamiado* to render the text into Castilian.[24] However, at the point where the second author concludes this autobiographical detective story and returns to where the adventure was interrupted, what he gives the reader is his interpretation of the

[22] Haley, p. 146. [23] Haley, p. 146. [24] Haley, p. 146.

Moorish translator's version of the original Arabic manuscript.[25] It is at this point that the creator of the original composition appears: Cide Hamete Benengeli, Moor, and Chronicler of the first instance of Don Quixote's noble actions.[26] However, one intermediary remains, according to Haley: 'This is the agent overlooked by those who like to equate the second author with Cervantes. He is the shadowy figure who materializes at the end of Chapter 8 to join the first author's fragment to the second author's contribution and appears again in the final chapter of Part One to supply the concluding remarks'.[27] Simultaneously, he is also the most distant intermediary drawn from Don Quixote's adventures, while he is the figure closest to the book and to the reader. The translator, in turn, becomes the 'reader made explicit within the novel, and he in turn directs his translation and comments to his reader, the second author who hired him to execute the translation'.[28] For his part, the second author is an amalgamation of both Cide Hamete's theoretical reader and the translator's actual reader, and he designates himself as a possible reader in his revision of the text.[29]

For Castro, there are multiple authors responsible for the first eight chapters, which are reduced to one in Chapter 8, and called the second author.[30] Castro explains that it is the second author who finds the name of the third one in a manuscript written in Arabic, whose author is Cide Hamete Benengeli. The manuscript is then translated into Castilian by an Arabic bilingual convert who can also be considered an author due to the incorporation of his commentaries throughout the translation.[31]

Ruth El Saffar focuses her attention on the dilemma of authorship in the prologue of 1605. She argues that there exists a clear divorce between Cervantes and this section as a strategy of elaboration in his novel.[32] Because Cervantes 'clearly does not disclaim authorship of the novel, the statement can only be understood as a self-conscious attempt to divorce himself from his work while at the same time admitting his in it. This process of simultaneously renouncing and admitting involvement that which [sic] will be experienced by every fictional narrator and dramatist throughout the novel.'[33] Regarding the first eight chapters, El Saffar asserts that they are narrated by an author who refers to himself in the first person and this voice would correspond to Cervantes, according to the reader.[34] However, at the end of Chapter 8, in the middle of an adventure with the *vizcaíno*, the relationship between the narrator and the characters breaks down because it seems that there are at least two writers throughout who are conveying the story of Don Quixote; one author has written about Don Quixote and his deeds, and a different one is introducing this story to the reader.[35]

At this point, the reader's attention moves from the matters of the main character to the issue of the author because they have perceived the different narrative voices, and the problem of the author of the first eight chapters who had excused himself because he

[25] Haley, p. 146–7. [26] Haley, p. 147. [27] Haley, p. 148. [28] Haley, p. 148.
[29] Haley, p. 148.
[30] Castro, p. 416. Unfortunately, Castro does not give details about the compositions of the different authors writing the first eight chapters since the main objective of his study is the study of Cide Hamete.
[31] Castro, p. 417. [32] El Saffar, p. 33. [33] El Saffar, p. 33. [34] El Saffar, p. 38.
[35] El Saffar, p. 38.

could find nothing more about the deeds of Don Quixote.[36] The author of the first eight chapters is unnamed and 'disappears as quickly as he appears, leaving the task of telling the story of how the lost manuscript was recovered to a character whom he calls the Second Author'.[37] The unnamed controlling author, who makes his short introduction at the end of Chapter 8, and similar to Cervantes in the prologue, 'is privileged to an overview of the totality of the action that distinguishes him from the characters who must discover their answers in the process of the action's unfolding'.[38] He reveals his omniscience when he advises the reader in the last paragraph of Chapter 8 that, as a result of the search, the second author will narrate the following chapter. Therefore, the reader knows in advance that the manuscript will be found, though the second author provides details on how he found the story's continuation.[39] Finally, the author who disappeared at the end of Chapter 8 with the explanation that he had run out of material is located and named in Chapter 9 as a result of the second author's work. In Chapter 9, the reader is introduced to Cide Hamete Benengeli, who is a Moorish historian and the author of the history of *Don Quixote*.[40]

Nepaulsingh states that the main problem in identifying the narrators arises because many critics do not believe in the existence of Cide Hamete before Chapter 8.[41] Nepaulsingh argues that Cide Hamete is also the narrative voice of the first eight chapters and that the entire novel is based on one version or another of the original manuscript written by Cide Hamete.[42] In other words, the truncated version of the first eight chapters is edited without commentary by the second author, who found the lost manuscript with the continuation. After this short version, the responsibility of the second author increases. First, he hires a translator to translate the text from Chapter 9 to the end of the manuscript. Then, he edits and provides commentary on the translation of his employee, the *morisco aljamiado*. In conclusion, he is responsible for everything we read.[43]

According to Lathrop, the greatest confusion regarding the narrative structure of *Don Quixote* is caused by the presence of the real author, Cervantes, and a fictitious one, Cide Hamete. This unusual situation is why academics confuse the real with the fictional and vice versa.[44] Lathrop suggests that the narrative structure can be understood as follows: in the world of fiction, in which Miguel de Cervantes, as the real author, never lived, Cide Hamete was the charming, wise, fictitious author of the story of *Don Quixote*. Cide Hamete was the author who wrote the manuscript in Arabic that was translated into Spanish by a Moorish *aljamiado* and revised by the narrator.[45]

Mancing attempts to resolve the conflict by arguing that Cervantes must be the narrator because he uses 'yo' ['I'], the first-person singular pronoun, and because the person who writes the prologue must be the same as the ultimate or final author.[46] Mancing agrees with Riley that, for practical purposes, 'the author of the final, edited text which

[36] El Saffar, pp. 38–9.
[37] El Saffar, p. 39. The author writes 'Second Author' in uppercase.
[38] El Saffar, pp. 39–40.
[39] El Saffar, p. 40.
[40] El Saffar, p. 41.
[41] Nepaulsingh, p. 515.
[42] Nepaulsingh, p. 515.
[43] Nepaulsingh, p. 515.
[44] Lathrop, p. 693.
[45] Lathrop, p. 697.
[46] Mancing, 'Cide Hamete Benengali…', p. 64.

we read is Miguel de Cervantes'.[47] The narrative structure, then, may be summarized as follow: after I.8, the Moorish historian Cide Hamete records the events in the lives of Don Quixote and Sancho Panza. The historian's Arabic manuscript is then translated into Spanish by an unnamed *morisco*. Finally, the Spanish version is edited by Miguel de Cervantes.[48]

Parr proposes that the voices in *Don Quixote* can be divided into two groups: mimetic and textual.[49] The mimetic voice is derived from the verbal imitation and representation. The textual voice stems from certain functions of the text itself; in other words, from the written speech—the text neither specifies who speaks nor embodies the speaker.[50] The author differentiates three classes of mimetic voice: dialogue, narration (by an identifiable narrator), and the author's discourse.[51] By contrast, the textual voice is derived from the most striking elements of the text, thus making it a source of meaning.[52] To resolve the issues concerning the narrative structure of *Don Quixote*, Parr focuses his attention on the mimetic voices of the implied author and the different narrators. According to Parr, the narrative hierarchy of *Don Quixote* may be understood as follows: first, there is the inferred author, who can be identified immediately after the end of the book because this voice marks the integration of the textual and mimetic voices that flow into them. However, this author can only be identified after a thorough reading of the text.[53] Second, there is an implicit author, who is unidentifiable and is found in unofficial elements such as prologues, titles, loyalties, verses, and chapter lists.[54] Third, there is an anonymous historian who narrates the first eight chapters, who disappears, and from whom we do not hear again after he runs out of material. Fourth, the voice of the super narrator appears from Chapter 8 to the end of the novel; it is anonymous and remains in complete control of the text and the remaining voices.[55] This particular voice introduces Cide Hamete Benengeli, who is portrayed as the fictitious author, always under the control of the super narrator.[56] There is also the issue of the translator who is responsible for translating from Chapter 9 to the end. Parr disagrees with Mancing, in particular, and with the scholars who reduce the voices to the same person: Cervantes.[57]

Fernández Mosquera, in line with other scholars, explains that the narrative structure of *Don Quixote* is formed by an author of the first eight chapters, an editor, a translator, Cide Hamete Benengeli, and a definitive author. However, one of his strongest assertions states that Cide Hamete cannot be the author of the first eight chapters, as some scholars have suggested. Unfortunately, the critic does not go into detail to support his claims, particularly regarding his argument that Benengeli may not be the author of the first eight chapters because, strictly speaking and based on the novel, he had not yet been

[47] Mancing, 'Cide Hamete Benengali…', p. 64. [48] Mancing, 'Cide Hamete Benengali…' p. 64.
[49] Parr, p. 401. [50] Parr, p. 401. [51] Parr, p. 401.
[52] For example, the sequence of chapters, the changes in different voices without any advice, or the different compositors of the text.
[53] Parr, p. 402. [54] Parr, p. 402. [55] Parr, pp. 402–3. [56] Parr, p. 403.
[57] Parr, p. 406.

born.[58] He also disagrees with scholars who argue that the first eight chapters are Cervantes's on the grounds that they do not have a better argument.[59] Fernández Mosquera highlights that the voice of the first eight chapters is neither Cervantes's nor Cide Hamete's, though the latter shares some characteristics with Cervantes.[60] In short, this voice belongs to an author about whom we know practically nothing and who occasionally hides himself behind the use of the third-person singular.[61]

Fernández Mosquera identifies the voice of a second author after Chapter 8 as a Christian editor responsible for printing and editing the text. This editor, in turn, can also be called an author because he incorporates his own commentary on the translation.[62] The voice of Cide Hamete is introduced by the Christian editor and is the author of the history of *Don Quixote*, or at least of the most important part, which accounts for the inclusion of other hands such as the editor and translator.[63] Finally, Fernández Mosquera proposes the presence of an *autor definitivo* [definitive author] who is responsible for the entire story, is omniscient, and has complete control of the fictitious authors.[64]

In 1991, Avalle-Arce presented the notion that Sansón Carrasco could be the narrator of the story. According to Avalle-Arce, Cervantes is the narrator of the prologue, an unknown voice in the first eight chapters, and Cide Hamete Benengeli is responsible for the rest of Part I and the beginning of Part II.[65] From this moment to the end, the critic argues that some unusual things happen and that Benengeli is removed from the story, as specifically observed when Sansón Carrasco enters, informing the main characters of the news that their history has been printed and was written by Cide Hamete.[66] Avalle-Arce argues than Sansón Carrasco is uniquely responsible for Don Quixote's third sally in search of adventures, complicit with the priest and the barber.[67] The scholar explains that during a conversation between Don Quixote and Sancho, Sansón Carrasco comes in and supports the third sally as follows:

> Quedaron en esto y en que la partida sería de allí a ocho días. Encargó don Quijote al bachiller la tuviese secreta, especialmente al cura y a maese Nicolás, y a su sobrina y al ama, porque no estorbasen su honrada y valerosa determinación. *Todo lo prometió Carrasco*. Con esto se despidió, encargando a don Quijote que de todos sus buenos o malos sucesos le avisase, habiendo comodidad, y así se despidieron, y Sancho fue a poner en orden lo necesario para su jornada. (Emphasis mine)
>
> [They agreed to this, and to the knight's departing in eight days. Don Quixote asked the bachelor to keep this secret, especially from the priest and Master Nicolás, and from his niece and housekeeper, so that they would not interfere with his honourable and valiant resolve. *Carrasco promised he would*, and then he took his leave, asking

[58] Fernández Mosquera, pp. 55–6.
[59] Fernández Mosquera, p. 56.
[60] Fernández Mosquera, p. 57.
[61] Fernández Mosquera, p. 57.
[62] Fernández Mosquera, pp. 57–9.
[63] Fernández Mosquera, p. 60.
[64] Fernández Mosquera, p. 63.
[65] Avalle-Arce, p. 5.
[66] Avalle-Arce, p. 5.
[67] Avalle-Arce, p. 5.

> Don Quixote to keep him informed, when possible, of all his successes and failures; and so they said goodbye, and Sancho left to make preparations for their journey.][68] (Emphasis mine)

Avalle-Arce highlights how, through the promise made by Carrasco to Don Quixote, Cervantes constructs an original ideal to give way to the third sally.[69]

Finally, Stoopen argues that the authors in the prologue (the apparent author and the friend) differ from other voices of the narration.[70] She notes the presence of a Castilian and an Arabic author, the former used to comment and criticize the latter.[71] Although Stoopen does not state as much explicitly, it can be understood that the Castilian voice corresponds to the author of the first eight chapters and the Arabic to Cide Hamete. Both are related by juxtaposition with the presence of the second author, who has the role of gathering both voices between the narrative discourses.[72]

This review reveals that there are different directions, terminology, and uncertainties regarding the narrative structure of *Don Quixote*.[73] In contribution to this discourse, I would like to offer another possible variation on the previous schemes. In the process, I will try to answer the unsolved puzzle of why the first eight chapters are written in Castilian with Latin characters and the rest in Castilian as well but in Arabic characters. My narrative proposal would be as follows: all of the narrative voices in *Don Quixote* are fictional. The first author is Cide Hamete Benengeli who is the responsible for Parts I and II. There is a second author who edits the story, and who writes both prologues as well. Finally, I consider the whole novel to have been written in Castilian but in Arabic characters. Therefore, we have two translators translating the text into Latin characters. The first one is anonymous and is responsible for Chapters 1 to 8, and the second translator is the *morisco aljamiado*, who translates the rest of the story, written in Castilian but in Arabic characters. Let's explain how the narrative structure works.

The first narrative voice found in the text appears in the prologue and belongs not to Cide Hamete but rather to the editor of the history of *Don Quixote* and narrator of the prologue. The creation of this section and the incorporation of his ideas and opinions into the main plot of the story allow us to designate him as an author as well. He may be called an editor-author, or the author who is responsible for the final version, the one that we read. According to Maestro, the prologue of 1605 is a fictional discourse, given that it is written in dialogue form and its content is not verifiable.[74] We can consider the prologue to be another fictional element designed by Cervantes to build the narrative structure in harmony with the rest of the novel. The true author, Cervantes, assigns the prologues to the editor, who uses this narrative to convey the guidelines for understanding this fictional game to the reader. It is precisely in the prologue where he confesses that he is the stepfather of the story: 'Pero yo, que, aunque parezco padre, soy padrastro

[68] Cervantes, *Don Quijote* II.4, p. 453; *Don Quixote*, p. 485. [69] Avalle-Arce, p. 5.
[70] Stoopen, p. 546. [71] Stoopen, p. 546. [72] Stoopen, p. 546.
[73] Other related studies to be consulted are: Canavaggio, Dotras, Gerli, Martín Morán, 'La débil…', and Price.
[74] Maestro, p. 115.

de don Quijote' ['But though I seem to be the father, I am the stepfather of Don Quixote'], because the father, as we will see, is Cide Hamete Benengeli.[75] The prologues are more than an introduction; they are instructions on how to read the novel. They are a kind of dialogue that the editor wants to maintain with the reader, which is why the editor starts with a salutation to the audience, 'Desocupado lector' ['Idle reader'], and closes the prologue with a farewell: 'Y con esto, Dios te dé salud, y a mí no olvide. Vale' ['And having said this, may God grant you health and forget me. *Vale*'].[76]

Outside the prologue, the presence of this editor-author is initially found at the end of Chapter 8. He appears to inform the readers that the author of the story in the first eight chapters leaves the Biscayan adventure unfinished. Furthermore, he explains that the excuse given by the author is that he has no more story to tell: 'Pero está el daño de todo esto que en este punto y término deja pendiente el autor desta historia esta batalla, disculpándose que no halló más escrito destas hazañas de don Quijote de las que deja referidas' ['But the difficulty in all this is that at this very point and juncture, the author of the history leaves the battle pending, apologizing because he found nothing else written about the feats of Don Quixote other than what he has already recounted'].[77] The editor-author, who has been editing the first eight chapters, cannot continue because there is nothing more to edit. Herein lies one of the puzzles of the novel: how is it possible that an author can say that he cannot continue with his own story because nothing more has been written? We have to continue reading to explain the enigma.

The editor-author cannot believe that the story ends here. Accordingly, he decides to find the rest of the manuscript. He narrates this search himself:

> Bien es verdad que el *segundo autor* desta obra no quiso creer que tan curiosa historia estuviese entregada a las leyes del olvido, ni que hubiesen sido tan poco curiosos los ingenios de la Mancha que no tuviesen en sus archivos o en sus escritos papeles que deste famoso caballero tratasen; y así, con esta imaginación, no se desesperó de hallar el fin desta apacible historia, el cual, siéndole el cielo favorable, le halló del modo que se contará en la segunda parte. (Emphasis mine)
>
> [It is certainly true that the *second author* of this work did not want to believe that so curious a history would be subjected to the laws of oblivion, or that the great minds of La Mancha possessed so little interest that they did not have in their archives or writing tables a few pages that dealt with this famous knight; and so, with this thought in mind, he did not despair of finding the conclusion to this gentle history, which, with heaven's help, he discovered in the manner that will be revealed in part two.][78] (Emphasis mine)

As observed above, the mention of a 'second author' has created another enigma. It can, however, be explained if we take the literal meaning of the paragraph. In other words, the editor-author defines himself as a 'second author'. He refers to himself as a 'second author' because he is very conscious of his active participation in the plot of the story

[75] I.Prólogo, p. 31; p. 3. [76] I.Prólogo, p. 31–5; pp. 3–9. [77] I.8, p. 89; p. 64.
[78] I.8, p. 89; pp. 64–5.

and decides to exert all his strength in finding the rest of the manuscript. His contribution to the text is such that he engages the reader, narrating his own quest in his own words:

> Estando yo un día en el Alcaná de Toledo, llegó un muchacho a vender unos cartapacios y papeles viejos a un sedero; y como yo soy aficionado a leer, aunque sean los papeles rotos de las calles, llevando desta mi natural inclinación, tomé un cartapacio de las que el muchacho vendía, y *vile con caracteres que conocí ser arábigos*. Y puesto que aunque los conocía no los sabía leer, anduve mirando si parecía por allí algún *morisco aljamiado* que los leyese, y no fue muy dificultoso hallar intérprete semejante, pues aunque le buscara de otra mejor y más antigua lengua le hallara. En fin, la suerte me deparó uno, que, diciéndole mi deseo y poniéndole el libro en las manos, le abrió por medio, y leyendo un poco en él, se comenzó a reír.
>
> [One day when I was in the Alcaná market in Toledo, a boy came by to sell some notebooks and old papers to a silk merchant; as I am very fond of reading, even torn papers in the streets, I was moved by my natural inclinations to pick up one of the volumes the boy was selling, and I saw that *it was written in characters I knew to be Arabic*. And since I recognized but could not read it, I looked around to see if some Morisco who knew Castilian, and could read it for me, was in the vicinity and it was not very difficult to find this kind of interpreter, for even if I had sought a speaker of a better and older language, I would have found him. In short, fortune provided me with one, and when I told him what I wanted and placed the book in his hands, he opened it in the middle, read for a short while, and began to laugh.][79]

It can be highlighted here that the old manuscript found by the editor-author was written in Arabic characters not in Arabic (language), as the scholars mentioned above have been holding.

The editor-author (or 'second author' as he calls himself) is then curious as to why the *morisco aljamiado* is laughing and, in his own words, explains it was because of something written in the margin of the book as an annotation on Dulcinea del Toboso.[80] The editor-author expresses that he is astonished because he knew that this was the manuscript for which he was searching. He asks the translator to read the beginning of the story, and he is the one who reveals the name of the author: '*Historia de don Quijote de la Mancha, escrita por Cide Hamete Benengeli, historiador arábido*' ['*History of Don Quixote of La Mancha, written by Cide Hamete Benengeli, an Arab historian*'].[81] The editor-author then hires the *morisco aljamiado* to translate the entire manuscript. We now know that the author of the story is Cide Hamete; authorship that can be attributed to Parts I and II because no one has said otherwise. We might claim that the problem of authorship has been solved.

One issue, however, remains to be solved: why are the first eight chapters in Latin characters and the rest of the story in Arabic characters? A possible explanation is that

[79] I.9, p. 92; p. 67 (emphasis mine in the original and the translation).
[80] I.9, p. 92; p. 67.
[81] I.9, p. 92; p. 67.

the author of the entire history of *Don Quixote* is Cide Hamete, who writes the complete story in Castilian but in Arabic characters. The first eight chapters were translated into Latin characters by an anonymous translator. Unfortunately, we know nothing about him because he did not include any particular information. The only words uttered by the anonymous translator are those that explain that he cannot continue because the manuscript does not contain any more information. Therefore, it is the voice of this anonymous translator who provides this information and not an anonymous author, as most critics have argued. We do not know where the original manuscript, with the first eight chapters written in Arabic characters, could be. This issue is an enigma that we most likely cannot solve because nothing is mentioned about the text, or maybe Cervantes intentionally does not want the issue resolved. After the first anonymous translator, there is a second one: the *morisco aljamiado*. The intervention of this translator is different from his predecessor because he includes his own textual interpretations and commentary. In so doing, he takes on the role of an additional author.

In summary, it can be claimed that the complete manuscript was written in Castilian but in Arabic characters by Cide Hamete Benengeli, an Arabic historian. We cannot be certain whether the entire manuscript was initially translated into Latin characters because we only have the first eight chapters, which were translated by an anonymous translator. This anonymous translation is the text in the hands of the editor-author, which he edited. He himself found the continuation in Castilian but in Arabic characters, that is, the original. He hired a translator/interpreter, the *morisco aljamiado*, who, in addition to the translation, includes commentary and opinions in the text. To complete his job as editor-author, he writes both prologues to frame the story. We can say that the version we are reading is the version that was edited by the person to whom he refers by himself as the 'second author'.

Cervantes's objective in creating this fictional narrative game is threefold. The first goal is to entertain and capture the attention of his readers. The second objective is to maintain some distance from the content of the story, particularly the social aspects criticized in the novel. The third purpose is to offer an innovative narrative structure that differs from previous literature. Cervantes's narrative game is to create Cide Hamete as the sole author of Don Quixote's adventures. The actual author, Cervantes, uses him to discredit the apocryphal *Don Quixote* of Avellaneda, to provide social criticism, and to distance himself from the characters in the story. Cervantes proposes a new way of reading and participating in a novel. He introduces a complex structure that, even today, has unsolved narrative issues. It is a game that still presents questions about the fictional authorship of *Don Quixote*. This complexity and innovation within the literary tradition allow us to argue that *Don Quixote* is the first modern novel.

This study is best concluded with a statement by Anthony Close: 'Cervantes's masterpiece contributes significantly to the birth of the genre in the first half of the eighteenth century, and ever since then, has been a model for general theories of it as well as an inspiration to novelists.'[82]

[82] Close, p. 227.

Works Cited

Avalle-Arce, Juan Bautista. 'Las voces del narrador'. *Ínsula* 538 (1991): pp. 4–6.

Canavaggio, Jean. 'Cervantes en primera persona'. *Journal of Hispanic Philology* 2, no. 1 (1977): pp. 35–44.

Cascardi, Anthony J. '*Don Quixote* and the Invention of the Novel'. In *The Cambridge Companion to Cervantes*, edited by Cascardi (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 58–79.

Castro, Américo. 'El cómo y el por qué de Cide Hamete Benengeli'. In *Hacia Cervantes* (Madrid: Taurus, 1967), pp. 409–19.

Cervantes, Miguel de. *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, edited by John J. Allen (Madrid: Cátedra, 2015).

Cervantes, Miguel de. *Don Quixote*, translated by Edith Grossman and edited by Harold Bloom (New York: Harper Collins Publisher, 2003).

Close, Anthony J. '*Don Quixote* and the Modern Novel'. In *A Companion to Don Quixote*. (Rochester, NY: Tamesis, 2008), pp. 227–53.

Dotras, Ana M. 'Cervantes: *Don Quijote de la Mancha*'. In *La novela española de metaficción* (Madrid: Ediciones Júcar, 1994), pp. 33–64.

El Saffar, Ruth. 'The Dynamics of Character-Author-Reader Interaction in *Don Quixote*'. In *Distance and Control in Don Quixote. A Study in Narrative Technique* (Chapel Hill: North Carolina Studies in the Romance Languages and Literatures, 1975), pp. 15–44.

Fernández Mosquera, Santiago. 'Los autores ficticios del *Quijote*'. *Anales Cervantinos*, XXIV (1986): pp. 56–63.

Gerli, E. Michael. 'Estilo, perspectiva, y realidad: *Don Quijote*, I, 8–9'. In *Cervantes, su obra y su mundo*. *Actas del I Congreso Internacional sobre Cervantes*, edited by Manuel Criado del Val (Madrid: EDI-6, 1981), pp. 629–34.

Haley, George. 'The Narrator in *Don Quixote*: Maese Pedro's Puppet Show'. *MLN* 80 (1965): pp. 145–65.

Lathrop, Thomas. 'Cide Hamete Benengeli y su manuscrito'. In *Cervantes, su obra y su mundo. Actas del I congreso internacional sobre Cervantes*, edited by Manuel Criado del Val (Madrid, EDI-6, 1981), pp. 693–7.

Maestro, Jesús G. 'El sistema narrativo del *Quijote*: La construcción del personaje Cide Hamete Benengeli'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 15, no. 1 (1995): pp. 111–41.

Mancing, Howard. 'Cide Hamete Benengeli vs. Miguel de Cervantes: The Metafictional Dialectic of *Don Quijote*'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 1, nos. 1–2 (1981): pp. 63–82.

Mancing, Howard. 'Ideas'. In *Cervantes's Don Quixote: A Reference Guide* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2006), pp. 87–124.

Martín Morán, José Manuel. 'La débil autoridad del padrastro del Quijote'. In *Actas del III Congreso Internacional de la Asociación de Cervantistas (Menorca, 20–25 de octubre de 1997)*, edited by Antonio Bernat Vistarini (Palma: Universitat de les Illes Balears, 1998), pp. 277–96.

Martín, Morán, José Manuel. 'La novela moderna en el *Quijote*'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 27, no. 1 (2007): pp. 201–26.

Nepaulsingh, Colbert. 'La aventura de los narradores en el *Quijote*'. In *Actas del VI Congreso de la AIH (Toronto, 22–26 de agosto de 1977)*, edited by Alan M. Gordon and Evelyn Rugg (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1980), pp. 515–18.

Parr, James A. 'Las voces del *Quijote* y la subversión de la autoridad'. In *Actas del VIII Congreso de la AIH (Brown University, 22–27 de agosto de 1983)*, edited by A. David Kossoff, José Amor y Vázquez, Ruth H. Kossoff, and Geoffrey W. Ribbans (Madrid: Istmo, 1986), pp. 401–8.

Price, Lisa. 'Cervantes y el poder de la narración'. *Anales Cervantinos* 31 (1993): pp. 247–51.

Riley, E. C. *Cervantes's Theory of the Novel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962).

Stoopen, María. 'El amplio espectro de la tríada autores, libro, lectores en el *Quijote*'. In *Volver a Cervantes. Actas del TV Congreso Internacional de la Asociación de Cervantistas (Lepante, 1–8 de octubre de 2000)*, edited by Antonio Bernat Vistarin (Palma: Universitat de les Illes Balears, 2001): pp. 545–52.

CHAPTER 9

DON QUIXOTE

Humour in Philosophy and Philosophy in Humour

DONALD PALMER
North Carolina State University

There is no need to treat the question of philosophy and humour in *Don Quixote* as opposing options; rather, the question here will concern how Cervantes manages to use humour (and, specifically, Baroque humour) to treat philosophical issues, or use humour in ways that invite philosophical analysis.[1] There are at least five ways in which philosophy appears in this humorous novel, or is tempted to intervene in it. First, there is Cervantes's familiarity with philosophical currents in ancient Greek, medieval, and Renaissance philosophy, and his use of them in his writings. Second, the thoughts, statements, and acts of Cervantes's hero position him in various philosophical stances, some of them fairly radical (Don Quixote as philosopher). Third, the employment by literary critics of more recent philosophical developments as they read Cervantes's novel providing insight into his ideas, even if those philosophies are not necessarily found in the novel itself. Fourth, we find philosophers of later generations analysing Cervantes's novel in ways that suggest new philosophical readings of it. Fifth, we discover that certain ideas in *Don Quixote* anticipate future philosophical developments. Below, I will provide examples of each of these ways in which *Don Quixote* is philosophical or attracts philosophical analysis. And, in doing so, I will argue that, in all cases, the Knight of the Doleful Countenance (a.k.a. the Knight of the Lions) appears in a positive light. I will show that one of the reasons for the apparent modernity of *Don Quixote* is Cervantes's comprehension of the philosophical past and his eventual escape from its grasp through his intellectual strategies, which are anticipatory of our own period. These strategies are, of course, related both to the philosophical perspicacity of the novel, and to its sharp humour.

[1] On the other hand, for a defense of reading *Don Quixote* essentially as a comic work, as it was received in the seventeenth century when it was published, see Gorfkle.

In mock humility and self-deprecation, Cervantes informs his readers both in his preface and conclusion that one of the weaknesses of his book is that it lacks philosophy. The reader is informed that the sole purpose of his novel is to satirize chivalric and pastoral works in order to prevent foolish readers from taking this escapist literature seriously. Mid-twentieth-century critics, most notably Erich Auerbach, Ramón Menéndez Pidal, and translator J. M. Cohen, seem to take Cervantes at his word, or deal with him merely as a humourist, asserting that there was no political content to the novel.[2] This implied that there was no philosophical content either, because during the Counter-Reformation no sensible author in Spain would dare to criticize either the monarchy, the aristocracy, or the Church. Contemporary commentators, however, point out that by Cervantes's day the tide of literary interest in the novels of chivalry had receded to the point that no 900-page book was needed to warn against them, and these commentators have instead looked for hidden political, social, and philosophical themes. Already, in 1948, in the shadow of Franco's censors, the important Spanish historian José Antonio Maravall wrote *Utopia y contrautopia en el* Quijote [*Utopia and Counterutopia in the* Quixote] in which he argued that Cervantes's book attacks not novels, ballads, romances, and pastorals, but liberal reformers who directed their intellectual energy to the imagination of utopian solutions to Spain's disastrous conditions in the Baroque period, thereby spending what transformational energy there might have been on useless fantasies.

Although Maravall and other contemporary critics find social and political satire in the *Quixote*, they do not find any serious attempt to depict the mentality of the Middle Ages, thereby implying that there is nothing to be learned about real medieval philosophy by reading Cervantes's text. Don Quixote, of course, detests 'these our despicable times',[3] and wishes to abolish them and return to the Middle Ages, but his love of the Middle Ages itself does not seem a fruitful venue for a study of the medieval world. After all, Quixote's grasp of that world seems to be based mainly on myth, fable, misunderstanding, invention, or half-truth. The medieval period that Quixote maintains in his own mind is one that never took place. Don Quixote is like other neo-medievalists who invent their own version of the Middle Ages. Nevertheless, I maintain that the medieval world's conception of itself was arrived at by making the kinds of historical, conceptual, religious, and factual mistakes about its own condition that are very similar to the ones made about it by Don Quixote himself. Many of the foundational beliefs of medieval citizens trump even Don Quixote's imaginative creations. Perhaps all historical periods misunderstand themselves—which is what Hegel surely meant when he wrote: 'The owl

[2] Cascardi addresses Cervantes's political ideas and his method of presenting them in an environment that threatened censorship and punishment to nonconformists (*Cervantes, Literature,*…). As will be seen below, Cascardi is also the foremost contributor to the discussion of the role of philosophy in Cervantes's writings.

[3] Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, I.11, p. 77.

of Minerva flies only at dusk'[4]—but medieval populations seemed better at self-deception than most populations.[5]

Medieval Epistemes, Foucault, and Cervantes

The philosopher and historian Michel Foucault (1926–84) challenges those who dismiss Don Quixote as someone who did not understand the Middle Ages. According to Foucault, by reading Cervantes's novel attentively we learn about an important aspect of the medieval mentality, one that Cervantes has grasped very well. In *The Order of Things,* Foucault understands the major break between the medieval world, on the one hand, and the worlds of the Renaissance and Baroque periods, on the other, in terms of what he calls *épistèmes*, or epistemes.[6] An episteme is a way of conceptualizing the world—a way of knowing it and categorizing it. It is 'a system of ordered surfaces and . . . planes' whose function is 'to tame the wild profusion of existing things' for a certain amount of time.[7] Each episteme is a semiologically closed reality. The episteme of the medieval world was one that obsessed over the relationships among signs, and one that also believed that the world itself was a semiotic system, a book—the Book of Nature—which had been written by God himself and which must be constantly consulted for signs of its author's intentions. In the old world, all signs pointed ultimately to God's will, and therefore everything was connected to everything else. That is, an understanding of the world was based on *analogy*, which held reality together (analogy = similitude, resemblance, sameness, metaphor, metonymy, etc.) while the new episteme propagated from the Renaissance forward, understands the world in terms of singularity, difference, and causal linearity.

Nevertheless, even at their most powerful moment, all epistemes threaten to collapse and to deconstruct themselves. Finally, like all epistemes before it, the medieval episteme did collapse, similar to the world of Wonderland just before Alice awoke from her dream, but in slow motion, not all at once. Though the Renaissance utilized many of the signs that were commonplace in the Middle Ages, they often did not have the same meaning. By the beginning of the Baroque period, analogy had lost its explanatory power, and 'the play of resemblance' was replaced by identity, difference, and exactitude, as represented in Descartes's 'clear and distinct ideas', Galileo's mathematical reductions, and Bishop Butler's depressing claim that 'Everything is what it is, and not another thing.'[8]

[4] Hegel, p. 256.

[5] For my account of the kinds of misunderstandings that medieval culture makes about itself, see Palmer, 'Don Quixote . . .', especially pp. 16–17.

[6] Foucault, p. xxii. [7] Foucault, p. xv. [8] Butler, section 30, n.p.

From within the new episteme, the old one, which not long before had seemed to be the *natural* way of understanding the world, now appeared archaic, laughable, and even mad. Don Quixote is a throwback to the earlier episteme. Alas, his defence of it arrives too late. With the collapse of the old world, 'resemblances and signs have dissolved their former alliance . . . words wander off on their own', no longer able to serve their function as proof of the oneness of things.[9] According to Foucault, Don Quixote travels in that empty space between things and the newly liberated words, gathering them together again, trying to press them into their old service. But this service is now the service of folly.

According to Foucault, Quixote 'inhabits the Sovereignty of the Same', and is the hero of that now-lost realm—and with it was lost a sense of oneness with the world, a sense that Cervantes and other Baroque poets tried to recover. Quixote's job, as he sees it, is to re-establish a system of meaning in 'this our detestable age', by becoming the defender of poetry itself; poets (or, at least, Baroque poets) and madmen (at least, Baroque madmen) are subversive of the new episteme. If Foucault is right about this, as I believe he is, then in order to comprehend medieval philosophy we must contextualize it in terms of its various epistemes, and specifically the one that prioritizes analogy as knowledge. Our expert in this domain can well be Don Quixote de la Mancha.

Cervantes and the Greeks

Cervantes was familiar not only with the philosophical mentality of the Middle Ages but with a number of the philosophers of ancient Greece, including some of the pre-Socratic philosophers. In Part II, Chapter 41, the duke and duchess, who have invited their friends to mock the knight and his squire, inform them that a certain Countess Trifaldi has come from a distant land seeking the succour of Don Quixote. Her plight is that she and all of her waiting-women have had a spell cast upon them that has caused them to grow thick black beards; the 'Countess' and her ladies are, of course, men in disguise. They can only be disenchanted if Don Quixote and Sancho agree to be blindfolded and ride the magic wooden horse Clavileño to the outer realm of the universe, leaving the realm of earth, passing through the realms of water, fire, and air, which, conveniently, is the plan of the universe laid out by the pre-Socratic philosopher, Anaximander (*c.*610–*c.*546 BC). Once the knight and his squire are blindfolded and mounted upon the horse, the Duke and his friends throw water on the riders, brush them with torches, and blow giant billows on them as they pass through these ontological realms, reversing the process as they return to the realm of earth. Upon their return knight and squire are allowed to remove their blindfolds, finding that the disenchanted smooth-faced and beautiful ladies had disappeared and returned to their native land as soon as Don Quixote and Sancho reached the edge of the universe.

[9] Foucault, pp. 47–8.

Plato crops up in this story as well. Earlier, the countess tells how she had once been seduced by a honey-tongued poet, whose verses 'overpowered' her and threw her 'to the ground'. As a result, she has concluded that 'from virtuous and harmonious republics poets must be banished, as Plato advised'.[10] Indeed, as is well known, in Book X, the final chapter of the *Republic*, Plato has Socrates 'banish poetry from our city'.[11]

Cascardi has pointed out that there is another episode in *Don Quixote* that makes direct reference to Plato's banishment of artists from the republic. In Chapter 47 of Part I, the canon of Toledo launches his famous diatribe against the romances of chivalry, which he describes as 'harmful to the republic'.[12] Notice that if Cervantes's true objective in writing *Don Quixote* is to banish the novels of chivalry from the Spanish republic, then here he is playing the role of Plato. Yet his method of banishing all chivalric novels is to write another chivalric novel.

Consider Plato's ontological ladder presented in Book VI of the *Republic*, now called the Simile of the Line.[13] According to the Simile, there is a hierarchy of reality, divided radically between the intelligible world on top and the material world below, the material world being an imitation (*mimesis*) of the intelligible world (hence, less real than the original). Yet each of the two worlds is again split into two divisions that are defined by the same formula of original and copy. At the highest level, hence the most real level, are the Forms, eternally unchanging archetypes such as Truth, Justice, and Beauty. Below this level, which only philosophers can know, there is a world of mathematical-like concepts that are mental copies of the Forms (e.g. the concepts of truth, justice, and beauty). They are mathematical in that math itself is the primary example of conceptual perfection, also in that all concepts here can be defined with mathematical precision. The physical world, being a flawed copy of the intelligible world, can be understood only through these concepts. This lower world exhibits itself as being in constant movement, because things in this world pass from creation and birth to destruction and death. It is a Heraclitian world in constant flux, while the intelligible world is Parmenidean—nothing ever changes; all is eternally the same.

The lowest of the four levels of reality consists of copies of the material world: images, reflections, and shadows. This is the realm three times removed from Truth, and it is here that Plato locates mimetic art. It is for this reason that he banishes the artist from the ideal Republic. Art claims to be Truth, but it is a lie. It claims to be based in Reason, but it is grounded in emotionality and stirs up Id-like passions. Socrates discusses the base passions from which art derives and to which it appeals. They are 'aroused in sleep', they are 'bestial and savage':

> [T]here is nothing [such desire] will not dare to do, thus freed and rid of all shame and reason; it shrinks not from attempting in fancy to lie with a mother, or with any

[10] I.38, p. 708. [11] Plato, p. 407, § 607B.

[12] Cascardi, 'Two Kinds…', p. 407. Cascardi is right about this; the Spanish is 'perjudiciales en la república', almost certainly a reference to Plato's *Republic*. Translators Grossman (2003), Raffel (1999), and Cohen (1950) all miss this hint, Grossman translating 'república' as 'nation', Raffel as 'country', and Cohen as 'commonwealth'.

[13] Plato, pp. 118–422, §508E–511E.

> other man or god or beast, shrinks from no bloodshed, refrains from no food—in a word, leaves no folly or shameless untried.[14]

Plato associated art with dreams. If art emerges from this dark part of the soul and responds to the unconscious demands made there, then art is, in a word, dangerous.

Aristotle defended the poet against Plato's attack, reasoning that 'the historian relates what happened, the poet what might happen. That is why poetry is more akin to philosophy and is a better thing than history.'[15] It is clear that Cervantes was familiar with this debate between Aristotle and his former teacher. Cascardi points out that in *Don Quixote*, II.3 Cervantes puts into Sansón Carrasco's mouth Aristotle's words almost verbatim: 'the poet can recount . . . things not as they were, but as they should have been, and the historian must write about them not as they should have been, but as they were, without adding or subtracting anything from the truth.'[16] The paradox here is that the trickster, Bachelor Sansón Carrasco, utters these words in describing to Don Quixote and Sancho the new book about their adventures by the Arab historian Cide Hamete Benengeli, explaining why Benengeli needed to include unflattering gaffs and embarrassments in their history.

Sansón Carrasco is having fun with knight and squire by mocking them while pretending to take them seriously. Because Sansón uses Aristotle's argument sophistically and maliciously, I doubt that we can use this paraphrase of Aristotle's poetics to argue that it proves that Cervantes sides with Aristotle against Plato in their debate about the value of art. None of this is meant to say that Cervantes is a fan of Plato.[17] Recall that Cervantes's mention of Plato in Part II, when the bearded Countess Trifaldi, lamenting that a poet once seduced 'her', expresses 'her' agreement with Plato's decision to expel all poets from the republic. This reference to Plato appears in the context of yet another mean trick against knight and squire, so that the duke and his gaggle of lackeys can laugh uproariously at their foolishness. The duke may be lampooning Don Quixote and Sancho, but it appears that Cervantes is lampooning the ancient Greek philosophers—pre-Socratic and Socratic—and perhaps is parodying philosophy itself. It is hunting season in La Mancha, and all ideas are fair game. Yet this caricature too is philosophical.

It can be said that Friedrich Nietzsche (1844–1900) spent all of his sane life attacking Plato, from his first book to his last, attempting to invert the Simile of the Line, to place art at the highest level of reality: 'it is only as an *esthetic phenomenon* that existence and the world are eternally *justified*'.[18] Even Nietzsche's attacks on Christianity are often a form of anti-Platonism, as when he calls Christianity 'Platonism for the masses'.[19] In *Don Quixote* everything that happens is indeed based on transcendent ideals, on imitations of higher Forms. But these Forms are not those that exist in the Platonic Heaven of

[14] Plato, Book IX, p. 370, § 571C.
[15] Aristotle, p. 18, § 1451b.
[16] Cascardi, 'Two Kinds . . . , p. 407; Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, II.3, p. 476.
[17] For an account of Cervantes's intentional incorporation into his work of Aristotle's principles of tragic or epic action ('intención'), and of the extent to which Cervantes rejects Aristotles's principles, replacing them with his own ('invención'), see Williamson.
[18] Nietzsche, *The Birth* . . . , p. 17; original emphases.
[19] Nietzsche, *Beyond* . . . , p. 3.

Essences. The acts and thoughts in Cervantes's novel are imitations not of higher truths but of other art—or artifice, as in the case of all of the fictitious knights errant that Don Quixote mentions, imitates, or curses. In addition, according to one critic, all art is a form of Donquixoteism,[20] which is tantamount to saying all art is a lie. I would say that on the Cervantine/Nietzschean Simile of the Line, art of one sort or another is the highest form, and everything else is a copy of art, hence, also being art. There is a disturbing syllogistic conclusion here: everything is a lie—disturbing partly because it plunges us into the Cretan Liar's paradox.[21] Nietzsche himself was accused of taking such a plunge, as were the Sophists in Socrates's time, and Jacques Derrida in our time.

Don Quixote: Modernism and Postmodernism

Cervantes's project in his novel is a proto-Nietzschean one. He deconstructs his world's understanding of 'truth' by blurring and eventually erasing the line between history (fact) and art (lie),[22] beginning with his reference to his book as 'this true history'.[23] Apparently, Miguel de Cervantes came to understand that politically conservative forces not only controlled the content of art but of 'history' (i.e. the telling of the past), making certain that published accounts of the past all confirmed Spain's divinely ordained superior status in the world and the divine right of Spanish monarchs. The blatant censorship of art came mainly from Rome and took place in broad daylight, while the Spanish control of 'historical truth' was exercised off-stage in a realm of shadowed enticements and warnings. Cervantes must have concluded that the result of this control of historical discourse effaced the distinction between history and fiction. Cervantes participates in revealing the results of this interference into both art and history by alluding to certain embarrassing historical frauds that had come to light in recent times.

Bruce Wardropper explains that the Spanish reading public was responsive to Cervantes's effort. It had already been jaded by recent literary frauds that had nearly succeeded. First, there were the so-called 'Leaden Books', purportedly discovered in the Sacro Monte [Holy Mountain] of Granada. Before these apparently ancient metallic plates proved to be a 'gross forgery',[24] they seemed to prove the truth of the Spanish Church's favourite dogma of the Immaculate Conception, and established that St. James—*Santiago*, the patron saint of Spain—had indeed come to the Iberian Peninsula during his lifetime. These books were accepted as authentic by Kings Philip II,

[20] Hauser, p. 55.

[21] Epimenides of Crete is supposed to have said that 'all Cretans are liars'. If this assertion is true, then it is false. If it is false, then it is true.

[22] 'By the sixteenth century, fiction, whether in poetry or prose, was unequivocally called lying' (Wardropper, p. 145).

[23] Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, I.1, p. 23.

[24] Ticknor, p. 215, n15. Quoted by Wardropper, p. 150.

Philip III, and Philip IV, before the revelation of their fraudulent status. Wardropper adds one more dramatic case of literary hoax: the *falsos cronicones*, circulating at the end of the sixteenth century, justifying questionable sainthoods, bestowing nobility on families whose escutcheons were doubtful, and lauding non-existent Christian military victories.[25]

Cervantes responded to this realization not by expressing reformist views in his art or by correcting fallacious history, but by finding an ingenious way to attack both art and history, showing how they had become the same (in Spanish, of course, *historia* means both 'history' and 'story'), and demonstrating how easily both were manipulated by power. He could only do this in a consciously paradoxical manner, using the authority of *arte* and *historia* to undermine that very authority. If knowledge, history, and art are manipulated by political power, Cervantes will not mock the powerful; he will appear to mock knowledge, history, and art. Possibly his attack is at least as much motivated by genuine philosophical doubt[26] as by a political agenda, but in either case, it would have political consequences that would be punished if they were understood by the authorities.

It is unclear how many readers in his own age thought of Cervantes's book in this way, as they probably thought of it mostly as a very funny story. In our age, Cervantes's work can be read as a kind of deconstruction of the ideas of art, history, and truth in the name of a politico-philosophical point. It is this feature of the novel that makes this, the first modern novel, an anticipation of post-modernist philosophy. This deconstruction is exhibited prominently in the very first line of the book as the problem of the unreliability of the book's narrative strategies: 'Somewhere in La Mancha, in a place whose name I do not care to remember, a gentleman lived not long ago . . .'.[27] This narrator begins his history by challenging us in a somewhat insulting manner as if to show us from the first moment who is in charge here.

Although there are similarities in our descriptions of Cervantes's symptoms of modernity (and sometimes of postmodernity), Cascardi has a slightly different diagnosis of Cervantes's 'illness'. He does not treat these 'symptoms' as a narrative strategy with a philosophical goal, as I do; rather, he seems to detect in Cervantes a disenchantment (pun intended) based on his realization that the power and authority of the past are no longer a trustworthy guide toward the future; yet, when confronting that past, our poetic imagination fails and is overwhelmed by that same power and authority. According to Cascardi, during Spain's Golden Age 'poetry is supposed to have the power to transform occasions of conflict and loss into experiences of an inestimable, if painful, beauty.

[25] Wardropper, pp. 150–1.

[26] Daniel Lorca defends the view that Cervantes was directly influenced by the school of Greek sceptics, and especially by Sextus Empiricus (second and third century CE), who 'rejects authority as a valid mechanism to obtain truth. Argumentation and direct observation ought to be used instead' (p. 116). Lorca makes a strong case, but the scepticism of *Don Quixote* seems to me to be more radical than that of Sextus Empiricus. Cervantes challenges not only authority but argumentation and observation, and perhaps 'truth' itself.

[27] Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, I.1, p. 19.

Its efficacy is reputed to be nearly miraculous', yet Cervantes raises a doubt 'whether poetry can serve a redemptive function in the . . . secular world'. Cascardi holds that it is this scepticism that makes Cervantes modern, and it allows him to 'create a new form by questioning the motives of all those who would inherit the past'.[28]

In addition, I have argued that Cervantes's novel pushes even beyond modernism. We saw above that Foucault admired Don Quixote for his philosophical insight into the epistemes of the Middle Ages. Foucault is thought of as a poststructuralist, hence, by association, as a philosopher of postmodernism. I have suggested that Cervantes's novel anticipated certain philosophical themes of postmodernity. It is not only Foucault's admiration that takes us to the borders of that new land, nor the intentionally unreliable narrators of this story, nor the mysteriously sliding signifiers designating proper names, but also the intentional manipulation of chronology throughout the novel.[29]

Don Quixote and the Philosophy of the Baroque

Philosophically, let us move backwards from postmodernity to Cervantes's own century. A major problem in the philosophy of the 1600s is the question of self-identity, resolved with Baroque pessimism in the theories of Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679), who depicts human nature as thoroughly selfish ('Of the voluntary acts of every man, the object is some good to himself'[30]), power-mongering ('a general inclination of all mankind, a perpetual and restless striving of power after power, that ceaseth only in death'[31]), and taking pleasure in the misery and pain of others (violence is motivated by people's desire for self-preservation, 'and sometimes their delectation only' (i.e. for the fun of it)[32]). If I have philosophical understanding, I realize that this is who I am, and that therefore my natural relation to others is as their enemy in a state of war ('and such a war, as is of every man, against every man'[33]). Who am I? I am the one who hates his neighbour, and who is the object of his neighbour's hate. All of this, of course, is who I am in the 'state of nature'. Self-identity in the Commonwealth is more negotiable, but always in fear and intimidation.

At about the same time, René Descartes moved the core of self-identity not onto desire, as does Hobbes, but to consciousness, with his discovery of the only thoroughly self-evident philosophical truth: 'I think, therefore I am', first announced dramatically in

[28] Cascardi, *Ideologies* . . . , pp. 233, 229, 245.

[29] Examples of the historical incongruities: The events of the story happened 'not long ago' (I.1, p. 19). The story was 'written in Gothic parchments' hundreds of years before the date of publication of Part I (i.e. before 1605) (I.52, p. 445). Sancho's letter to his wife, dated 'the twentieth of July, 1614' (II.36, p. 699). The episode in the Cave of Montesinos: 'more than five hundred years have passed' (II.23, p. 608).

[30] Hobbes, p. 88. [31] Hobbes, p. 66. [32] Hobbes, p. 83. [33] Hobbes, p. 84.

1637 in his *Discourse on Method*.[34] In Descartes's *Meditations*, following four years later, we see the same ideas, now swaddled in the Baroque wrappings of his philosophy. José Antonio Maravall, in his *Culture of the Baroque*, defines the Baroque period roughly as the years between 1600 and 1680. He characterizes the Baroque with adjectives such as '*irrational*, *irreal*, *fantastic*, *complicated*, *obscure*, *gesticulating*, *unrestrained*, *exuberant*, *frenetic*, *transitive*, and *changing*'. He contrasts these qualities with those of the Renaissance: '*logical*, *restrained*, *real*, *clear*, *serene*, and *calm*'.[35] Descartes would certainly be offended by being called irrational, but we easily recognize the other adjectives as applicable to his *Meditations*, just as they are applicable to *Leviathan* and to *Don Quixote*. Maravall adds one more characteristic: 'There is scarcely a Baroque work of high quality—from Bernini's *Santa Teresa* to Poussin's *Pastoral*, to Calderón's *La vida es sueño*—that escapes being touched by kitsch'.[36]

In Descartes's search for the foundations of knowledge, his Baroque imagination runs wild. He decides to assume that our five senses always deceive us, that it is impossible to distinguish the waking state from the dream state, and declares that dreams are madder than madness, and therefore imagines the possibility that we are all mad, and because he believes that we dream all night, he declares that even if we are sane, we enter into a state of temporary madness each night, and that therefore we all spend about a third of our lives in a state of insanity.[37] Then he imagines that the world he inhabits was not created by the God of Christianity but by an 'Evil Genius'[38] who causes every one of his thoughts, beliefs, and perceptions to be false, and Descartes entertains the possibility that he and the Evil Genius are the only beings in this world.

The 'second author' of *Don Quixote* (the anonymous entrepreneur who discovers the original manuscript written by Cide Hamete Benengeli and has it translated from the Arabic into Castilian) informs us that the decision of Alonso Quijano 'to become a knight errant and travel the world with his armour and his horse to seek adventures . . . righting all manners of wrongs and . . . placing himself in danger and . . . winning eternal renown and everlasting fame' was 'the strangest thought any lunatic in the world ever had'.[39] This claim may have been true when the 'second author' penned it, but this mad thought was surpassed by Descartes's hypothesis, which is surely the most paranoid thought that has ever invaded a human mind. Yet Descartes's concern about the effect of the Evil Genius on his own mental state is similar to Don Quixote's fear that he is pursued by an evil magician, Frestón, who transforms his perceptions, interferes with his beliefs, and turns all victories into defeats (not to mention that he turns Dulcinea, the fairest, purest, most desirable woman in history into a dirty, ugly peasant girl who smells of garlic).

[34] Descartes, *Discourse* . . . , p. 127.
[35] Maravall, *Culture* . . . , p. 207; original emphases.
[36] Maravall, *Culture* . . . , p. 90.
[37] Cascardi detects important similarities between elements of Cervantes's account of the dream problem and Descartes's, but stresses differences between them, concluding that Descartes makes a fundamental philosophical error that Cervantes avoids ('Cervantes and Descartes . . . , pp. 109–22).
[38] Descartes, *Meditations* . . . , p. 169.
[39] Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, I.1, p. 21.

I will not claim that Descartes borrowed his paranoia from Cervantes's novel, even though Descartes surely had read the adventures of our knight. (A French translation first appeared in 1615 and immediately became popular. Other works of Cervantes, particularly the *Novelas ejemplares*, were translated soon after.) Indeed, if we look at one of Descartes's characterization of madmen ('persons devoid of sense, whose cerebella are so troubled and clouded by the violent vapours of black bile, that they… imagine that they… are made of glass'[40]), we might suspect that Descartes had indeed borrowed from Cervantes, who had published as one of his *Novelas ejemplares* a story called *El licenciado Vidriera*, in which a philosophy student at the University of Salamanca goes mad because of a failed romance, and avoids the halls of the university, fearing that he is made of glass, and if he is jostled by other students, he will shatter.

If the Evil Genius hypothesis is true (a possibility that Descartes's method of radical doubt requires him to consider), then Descartes must suppose 'that the heavens, the earth, colours, figures, sounds, and all other external things are nought but the illusions and dreams of which this genius has availed himself in order to lay traps for my credulity'. He writes: 'I shall consider myself as having no hands, no eyes, no flesh, no blood, nor any senses, yet falsely believing myself to possess all these things.'[41] What is left for Descartes in the wake of this Baroque masterpiece (and its touch of kitsch)? He asks, 'I myself, am I not at least something?' He arrives at the 'definite conclusion' that the proposition 'I am, I exist, is necessarily true each time that I pronounce it, or that I mentally conceive it'. 'I know that I am'. He continues, 'But what am I?' and he concludes, 'I am not more than a thing which thinks, that is to say, a mind or a soul, or an understanding, or a reason… I am a real thing and really exist; but what thing? I have answered: a thing which thinks [*res cogitans*]'.[42]

From this it follows that nothing physical is essential to selfhood; I am my consciousness, *mon ésprit* (my mind). It is this proposition that allows Descartes to hope for an eternal life; this is a *religious* hope that cannot be proved true philosophically. His *philosophical* problem is to solve the mind/body problem that he has created, and to escape the solipsism into which he has cornered himself. It is almost universally held that he fails on both accounts.

Personal Identity as Goffmanian Performance

I do not know if Cervantes personally developed a theory of selfhood, but we can deduce from Don Quixote's words and acts that, as Cervantes's creation, Quixote does entertain such a theory, one that is not encumbered with Descartes's solipsism and his mind/body

[40] Descartes, *Meditations*…, p. 166.
[41] Descartes, *Meditations*…, pp. 169–70.
[42] Descartes, *Meditations*…, p. 171, 173.

problem. The theory that we can attribute to Quixote is much more modern than Descartes's, and, I would say, more plausible. We catch first sight of it with the episode early in the novel in which Alonso Quijano's neighbour, Pedro Alonso, finds señor Quijano (only recently having become Don Quixote de la Mancha) in a gulley, beaten, bruised, and bloodied by some angry mule drivers with whom he has picked a fight. A groggy Quixote mistakes this neighbour first for the Marquis of Mantua—hero of a popular ballad—and then for the legendary knight Rodrigo de Narváez. At that moment, Quixote tells his neighbour that he himself is Valdevinos, nephew of that same Marquis of Mantua, and then that he is the Moor, Abindarráez, governor of Antequera. These confused claims, products of his battered brain, startle his neighbour, who thinks señor Quijano has gone mad. The injured knight angrily rebukes his worried neighbour, assuring him that he, Don Quixote, is cognizant of his personal identity: '¡Yo sé quién soy!' ['I know who I am!'],[43] an assertion almost Cartesian in its certainty, and one that ought to resolve the problem once and for all. Yet he continues his asseveration, saying, 'and I know I can be not only those that I have mentioned [Valdevinos and Abindarráez] but the Twelve Peers of France as well and the nine paragons of Fame'.

Therefore, when Don Quixote claims to know who he is, what he knows about his identity is that he is the person who could play the role of virtually anybody—from which we could deduce from Quixote's thought the view that *the self is a theatrical illusion*—and Quixote thereby stakes out a radical position in the Baroque philosophical debate concerning the nature of personal identity. In doing so, he anticipates the theories of the twentieth-century sociologist Erving Goffman (1922–82).[44] I am not asserting here simply that it is possible to study Don Quixote from a Goffmanian perspective (if Goffman's theory is true, then *all* social activity could be studied using his schemas) but rather that the thoughts and actions of Don Quixote de la Mancha *anticipate* Goffman's theory. Now, because Cervantes's novel employs parody and satire, when one says that the novel *expresses* or *anticipates* a certain philosophy (and I do treat Goffman here more as a philosopher than as a scientist, that is, as someone who offers us a new way of seeing the world and human behaviour), it is always possible that the 'expression' or the 'anticipation' is really Cervantes's idea of a joke. That's the problem for any critic trying to discuss serious philosophical themes in *Don Quixote*.

Nevertheless, I would argue that, in addition to Cervantes, another Baroque artist, Diego Velázquez, in *Las Meninas*, also anticipates Goffman, and in ways that are not in jest. Peering at that painting, at one moment we are looking at the scene depicted as if we were King Philip IV of Spain or Queen Mariana of Austria; our presence has attracted the attention of the five-year old Infanta Margarita Teresa, of the hydrocephalous dwarf, Mari Bárbola, of the lady in waiting, Doña Isabel de Velasco, that of José Nieto, Velázquez's cousin, and of Diego Velázquez himself. Gazing at these individuals as we

[43] Cervantes, *Don Quijote,* I.5, p. 36; Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, I.5, p.43.

[44] For an alternative explanation of the significance of Quixote's 'I know who I am!,' see Lugo Acevedo, pp. 173–93. Rather than finding Goffman in Cervantes, Lugo Acevedo claims to find philosophers Ludwig Wittgenstein, J.L. Austin, and Judith Butler.

do from the perspective of the king and queen, *we* have assumed their royal roles. But at the next moment we realize that we are looking at the scene from the perspective of the painter; we see what he would see if he were us. We have assumed the role of Velázquez himself; however, we see him in his role as royal artist looking at *us*. In this painting there is an entire system of fractured identities, for a moment, certainties (as in Descartes), but suddenly evanescing, lost, and then recovered, stabilized only when we tear our eyes from the painting. (By moving back and forth between the roles of the king and queen of Spain and one of the greatest artists in history, are we being any less presumptuous than Don Quixote when he says he could play the roles of the Twelve Peers of France?). By painting the red cross of the Order of Saint James on the image of himself on the canvas, was not Don Diego knighting himself, much as Don Quixote did to himself?

The application to *Don Quixote* of Erving Goffman's theory of performativity may seem anachronistic, but it also seems quite natural. Don Quixote himself might approve of it.[45] If Goffman was the first scientist to assert that selfhood is performance, Don Quixote was the first who tried to prove it. A Baroque performance produces Baroque selves. What is important, Goffman would later write, is that the performance be credible to its audience. A credible performance *creates* social reality. Cervantes mocks Baroque social reality by representing it. In such a world, true parody is impossible:

> A correctly staged and performed scene leads the audience to impute a self to a performed character, but this imputation—this self—is a *product* of a scene that comes off, and is not a *cause* of it. The self, then, as a performed character, is not an organic thing that has a specific location, whose fundamental fate is to be born, to mature, and to die; it is a dramatic effect arising diffusely from a scene that is presented, and the characteristic issue, the crucial concern, is whether it will be credited or discredited.[46]

Goffman, then, studies the self as 'dramatic effect'—the 'product of a scene that comes off'. He does not deny that there is such a thing as a self behind the performed self, but there is little that is sociologically useful in the characterization of that self. The self-behind-the performed-self he calls 'our all-too-human-self', and, in the guise of that self, we are 'creatures of variable impulse with moods and energies that change from one

[45] To this extent, I am in agreement with Cascardi's account of selfhood in *Don Quixote*: 'his identity is a function of the models he imitates, the roles he plays' (*The Bounds*…, p. 68). He adds, 'all the evidence of the novel suggests that Don Quixote gains personal identity and value through the role, not the "self" ". However, Cascardi would shy away from my Goffmanian thesis, as he has written, 'for sociologists (e.g., Goffman), the role dissolves the self' (p. 70). I believe this is an inaccurate reading of Goffman. According to Goffman, the performances of roles do not dissolve the self, they *present* the self, as we see in the title of his book.

[46] Goffman, pp. 252–3; original emphasis. In associating Cervantes's sociological theory with Goffman's sociology, I am following the lead of Leila S. May, who employs Goffmanian categories in her exploration of Victorian secrecy and subjectivity.

moment to the next'.[47] Sociality, however, cannot function without certain agreed-upon consistencies that overcome the 'ups and downs' of emotional and impulsive life; staged performances bridge these gaps, because sociality is 'the show that must go on'.[48]

Applying Goffmanian theory to Cervantes's novel leaves us with the conclusion that neither Alonso Quijano nor Don Quixote, in terms of their 'all-too-human selves'—that is, as the self behind the performing self—is the 'real' character in the novel; rather, both Quijano and Quixote are 'the product of a scene that comes off'. The implication is that the only selves in this novel are those that are the product of the roles they have been assigned, but what makes Quixote sociologically interesting is that, unlike most of us, he plays roles he assigns to himself. It is historically clear that the roles assigned to the petty aristocracy in the early Baroque period were quickly becoming antiquated, and in many cases, both politically and economically bankrupt. Cervantes's character señor Alonso Quijano earned enough from his small holdings to maintain a simple country lifestyle. Probably the only way to recover the now-lost economic standing of his forbears would have been an advantageous marriage to the daughter of a wealthy *hidalgo* (which were few and far between on the plains of La Mancha) or a wealthy peasant with large agricultural holdings. For whatever reason, señor Quijano remained a bachelor, sinking into what must have been a rather tedious daily routine over a period of many years. His options were to slip into boredom and historical redundancy, or to break dramatically out of the mould. According to Goffman, 'the object of a performer is to sustain a particular definition of the situation, this representing, as it were, his claim as to what reality is'.[49] For a long time, Alonso Quijano did so only in a half-hearted manner, allowing his name and family history to sustain a definition of the social situation in which he and his kind would remain in the privileged condition that his forbears had occupied, mostly in an unself-conscious way.

When we turn to the character that Quijano becomes—Don Quixote of La Mancha—Goffmanian theory becomes more interesting, because the new knight-errant's task is precisely and consciously that of imposing his definition of the situation on an unwilling audience, and to do so in order to convert individuals—indeed, a whole nation—to accept his definition of reality (or the definition of reality set forth by Amadís of Gaul[50]), and to develop performances that will achieve that end. The performances engaged in by Don Quixote presuppose a different social reality than the one assumed by his audience/fellow actors; even a different metaphysical reality is assumed, involving, as it does, magical powers of enchantment, demons, flying horses, and evil dwarves and giants. This is a 'separate reality' from the one that Quixote's audiences believe they inhabit. Yet Don Quixote does not and cannot remain alone in a solipsistic world; he meets the world of his sceptics and opponents head-on, often with his lance lowered.

[47] Goffman, p. 56. [48] Goffman, p. 252. [49] Goffman, p. 72.

[50] My reference here is to the late René Girard, who opens his book claiming that Don Quixote is the paradigm case of what he calls 'triangulated desire', or 'mediated desire', or 'imitated desire'. Girard says, 'Don Quixote has surrendered to Amadís the individual's fundamental prerogative: he no longer chooses the objects of his own desire—Amadís must choose for him' (p. 1). For an excellent presentation of Girard's thesis and an adjustment to it, see Malfatti.

Ludwig Wittgenstein (1889–1951) argued against the possibility of private languages, which would be a language spoken and understood only by the single individual. According to Wittgenstein, all languages are rule-bound, and it is logically impossible to obey a rule by oneself, because then one would never know for certain whether one has obeyed or broken a rule ('to *think* one is obeying a rule is not to obey a rule. Hence it is not possible to obey a rule privately: otherwise thinking one was obeying a rule would be the same thing as obeying it'[51]). The rules of a language game generate the meaning of the words in the game, just as the rules of chess determine the meaning of the chess pieces, and the use to which they can be put, that is, they determine the work that the words/chess pieces can perform ('the meaning of a word is its use in the language'[52]); 'The question, "What is a word really?" is analogous to "What is a piece in chess?"'. When the rules of a language-game are broken, 'language goes on holiday';[53] in that case, 'language is like an engine idling, not . . . doing work'.[54] This is how nonsense is produced. Therefore, Quixote must find other players to play his language games and to be his audience/fellow performers. The alternative is to inhabit a solipsistic world of nonsense (i.e. a world of madness)—such as the one into which Cervantes's Baroque counterpart, René Descartes, almost fell.

Don Quixote and Jean-Paul Sartre

Apparently there is a feature of the life of Don Quixote that is not easily accounted for in Goffman's theory of the self as dramatic effect, and that is precisely the conversion of *hidalgo* Quijano into the glorious Knight of the Lions (or the abandonment of one set of dramatic effects for another yet more dramatic one), and the intensity in which these new performances are conducted. The explanation of those features will require either a specific theory of madness or a theory of existential self-creation.

We can say that Cervantes's characterization of Don Alonso's conversion from bored petty nobleman in a sleepy village into a courageous knight errant anticipates the Sartrean view that there are certain 'original projects'[55] that each of us chooses, and in doing so, we create not only ourselves but a world for ourselves to inhabit. If we normally feel that these projects and that world are not our own choices but were chosen for us by others or by anonymous forces—by family, religion, ethnicity, social class, geography, or by Freudian-like episodes in our early childhood—then, according to Sartre, we are engaging in a form of denial or 'bad faith'.[56] Sartre calls the decision to break with an old original project and choose a new one a 'radical conversion'.[57] When Quixote

[51] Wittgenstein, p. 81; original emphasis. [52] Wittgenstein, p. 20. [53] Wittgenstein, p. 19.
[54] Wittgenstein, p. 51.
[55] Sartre writes: 'I am referred to . . . my original project; that is, to my being-in-the-world in so far as this being is a choice' (p. 589). Sartre also calls this choice 'an initial project' (p. 588).
[56] See Sartre, pp. 86–116, for a discussion on his concept of 'bad faith'. [57] Sartre, p. 598.

says, 'cada uno es el artifice de su ventura' ['each man is the architect of his own fortune'][58] he is rejecting the determinism that seems to drive the Goffmanian project. But, someone might ask, is not the selfhood that Quixote 'chooses' really only the product of madness? One of the most astonishing moments in the novel is when Quixote explains to Sancho that the roles he has assumed as knight errant require that he choose to go mad. Even though we normally think that madness is something that befalls one, not something that one chooses, Freud himself admits the existential possibility of such a choice:

> As a last *technique of living*, which will at least bring him substitutive satisfactions, he is offered that of a flight into neurotic illness—a flight which he usually accomplishes when he is still young. The man who sees his pursuit of happiness come to nothing in later years can still find consolation in the yield of pleasure of chronic intoxication; or *he can embark on the desperate attempt at rebellion seen in a psychosis*.[59]

Indeed, in *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, Goffman on numerous occasions quotes approvingly two philosophers of freedom, Jean-Paul Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir, in order to support his dramaturgical theory of social reality. This shows that Goffman is open to a non-deterministic interpretation of his own theory of performativity. According to Sartre, each individuals reassert the primacy of their 'original project' in every act that they undertake thereafter until they no longer do, until they undergo a new radical conversion—choosing a new life project—or until they die. According to Sartre, such a 'transformation of my being-in-the-world' is possible at every moment: 'I could have done otherwise. Agreed. But *at what price?*'[60] At what price, indeed? It cost Alonso Quijano his sanity, and perhaps his life. Yet many admirers of Don Quixote wish that he had not suddenly chosen to abandon his inspired radical conversion at the end of his life in order to return to the bosom of 'normality', that is, to reassume the role of Alonso Quijano the Good. The kind of selfhood, self-identity, and subjectivity that Cervantes deals with in this story is more Goffmanian and Sartrean than Cartesian, and also approaches the scary vision of Velázquez and Foucault,[61] warning us of the unstable and shifting grounds of self-identity. True, this is a Baroque conception of self-identity, but, even so, it is an existential one.

Although Sartre coined the term existentialism, Søren Kierkegaard (1813–55) is acknowledged as the founder of this philosophy. The pseudonymous 'author' of

[58] Cervantes, *Don Quijote,* II.66, p. 675; Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, II.66, p. 893.

[59] Freud, pp. 35–6; my emphasis. For other connections between Freud and Cervantes, see Palmer, 'Unamuno, Freud…, pp. 243–9.

[60] Sartre, p. 585; original emphasis.

[61] Consider the notorious final paragraph of *The Order of Things*: '…man is an invention of a recent date. And one perhaps nearing its end.' Foucault continues, speculating on an eventual collapse of the epistemic conditions that brought man about, '…then one can certainly wager that man would be erased, like a face drawn in sand at the edge of the sea' (p. 387).

Kierkegaard's *Either/Or* urges his reader to 'Choose thyself'.[62] He explains, 'in making the choice it is not so much a question of choosing the right as of the energy, the earnestness, the pathos with which one chooses. Thereby the personality announces its inner infinity, and thereby, in turn, the personality is consolidated'.[63] A choice very much like this was made 'somewhere in La Mancha, . . . not long ago'.

Don Quixote, Miguel de Unamuno, and Søren Kierkegaard

My last example of anticipations of future philosophies by Cervantes is not based on a claim made by me, but on one asserted by the Basque philosopher Miguel de Unamuno y Jugo (1864–1936). Unamuno is considered to be an older member of what was called the Generation of '98, a group of writers, poets, and artists who were in the intellectual vanguard after the loss of the Spanish-American War in 1898. This military disaster, and with it the loss of what remained of the old Spanish Empire (e.g., Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines), forced an anguished recognition of the need to challenge all of the old national myths, and to reconsider all things Spanish. A more realistic understanding of Spain's place in the world was required, and less construction of fantasy castles in the sky.

In June of 1898, Unamuno published an article called '¡Muera Don Quijote!' ['Death to Don Quixote!']. In that article he clamoured, 'Let Don Quixote die that Alonso Quixano the Good may be reborn! Let Don Quixote die!'[64] But by 1905, Unamuno had changed his tune completely; Spain did not need less Quixotic madness but more of it. Unamuno published his panegyric on the Knight of the Doleful Countenance in 1905, titling it *Vida de Don Quijote y Sancho* [*The Life of Don Quixote and Sancho*]. I am sure that a number of things happened in Unamuno's volatile mind to provoke that radical change of heart, but certainly one of the most important was his discovery of Kierkegaard in 1900. After Unamuno's death, fourteen volumes by Kierkegaard in Danish were found in Unamuno's library, all with copious marginalia. Among those books was Kierkegaard's small masterpiece, *Fear and Trembling*. It was, I suggest, Unamuno's confrontation with this book that made him rethink *Don Quixote*.[65]

The subject of Kierkegaard's book is the Biblical Abraham, whom Kierkegaard's pseudonym, Johannes de Silentio, dubs 'a Knight of Faith'. The subject of Unamuno's book, of course, is Don Quixote, whom he also dubs 'un Caballero de la Fe' ['a Knight of Faith']. Johannes de Silentio's task is to discover exactly what it is that made Abraham a Knight of Faith, but he is unable to do so because he finds the story of Abraham to be incomprehensible. The figure of Abraham presents a paradox. Abraham waited seventy

[62] Kierkegaard, *Either/Or*, v. 2, p. 226.
[63] Kierkegaard, *Either/Or*, v. 2, p. 171.
[64] Unamuno, '¡Muera Don Quixote!', p. 1196.
[65] The ideas in this section are developed more fully in Palmer, 'Unamuno's Don Quijote . . .'.

years of his life for the son who, as God had promised, would become the seed of a great nation. Finally, in her ninetieth year, Abraham's wife Sarah was blessed with the long-promised son. The child grew in stature and in moral quality, and Abraham loved him. Then came that terrible night described in Genesis 22:1–2:

> And it came to pass… that God did tempt Abraham, and said unto him, Abraham: and he said, Behold, here I am. And he said, Take now thy son, thine only son Isaac, whom thou lovest, and get thee into the land of Moriah; and offer him there for a burnt offering on one of the mountains which I will tell thee of.

Abraham, without hesitation, telling no one, took Isaac, travelled with him three days through that lonely desert, placed the boy on the appointed altar, lifted the sacrificial knife, and was totally prepared to make the fatal thrust when the Angel of the Lord stopped him, telling him that he had passed the test, and allowing him to sacrifice a ram, conveniently caught in some brambles, instead of his son.

Johannes de Silentio cannot understand how Abraham could have done all this. 'Who gave strength to Abraham's arm? Who held his right hand up so that it did not fall limp at his side? He who gazes at this becomes paralyzed. Who gave strength to Abraham's soul, so that his eyes did not grow dim, so that he saw neither Isaac not the ram? He who gazes at this becomes blind'.[66]

But it is not just Abraham's resoluteness that is incomprehensible. There is something more profound. When Abraham lifts his knife to sacrifice Isaac he *knows* that in the next moment his child will be dead, yet *at the same time* he absolutely believes God's old promise; hence he believes that he will get Isaac back. He has this impossible hope 'by virtue of the absurd'.[67] Kierkegaard wants his readers to ask themselves what kind of mental condition one must be in to be capable of Abraham's absurd faith. The radical incongruity of Abraham's beliefs seems to indicate a state of what has sometimes been called schizophrenia. This sobering thought, of course, is meant to provoke the fear and trembling of the book's title, and the fear and trembling should become more acute to people who profess to be Christians, Jews, or Muslims when it occurs to them that it was God himself who demanded this of Abraham, and that Abraham is the father of us all. Unamuno, reading in his newly acquired Danish, recognized Kierkegaard as a 'brother'. Unamauno may have realized that Kierkegaard was revealing to 'Christendom' that what was demanded of Christ was a radical form of differentness that was in truth a form of madness: 'divine madness',[68] but madness nevertheless. The Dane knew that this message would be too much for most of them to bear.

How does Cervantes himself relate to this Kierkegaardian project? It is possible—but unlikely, in my opinion—that the real target of Cervantes's barbs was Spanish Roman Catholicism. According to this hypothesis, in mocking the enchantments, magic, superstitions, miracles, curses, and punishments to which Don Quixote agrees to submit,

[66] Kierkegaard, *Fear and Trembling*, p. 36.
[67] Kierkegaard, *Fear and Trembling*, p. 69.
[68] Kierkegaard, *Fear and Trembling*, p. 3.

Cervantes was actually mocking the madness of the form of Baroque Christianity to which his fellow Spaniards had dedicated themselves. The desert of La Mancha is not the desert of Galilee, but there are enchantments, curses, and miracles galore in both venues. Think of Jesus's cursing the fig tree that did not provide him with a fruit:

> [F]or the time of figs was not yet. And Jesus answered and said unto it, No man eat fruit of thee hereafter forever … And in the morning as they passed by, they saw the fig tree dried up from the roots. And Peter saith unto him, Master, behold, the fig tree which thou cursedst is withered away. And Jesus answering saith unto them, Have faith in God.[69]

Jesus of Nazareth not only cast a spell on a fig tree, killing it for not producing a fig out of season, but he also cured leprosy by the touch of his hands and he extracted demons from a madman and cast them into a herd of swine, all of which ran off a cliff into the sea and drowned; he raised the dead. He changed water into wine, and he turned a basket of fish and loaves into a meal for hundreds of listeners. He, his Father, and the Holy Spirit intercede in the lives of human beings, rewarding friends with eternal happiness and punishing with eternal fires those who declare themselves to be enemies. According to this line of thought, Don Quixote is no more mad than his readers, who are still mesmerized by medieval enchantments. Like Don Quixote, they were neo-medievalists despite themselves, dazzled in broad daylight by ancient dreams.

Kierkegaard did not call himself a Christian; he wrote that he was trying to become a Christian. To achieve that difficult status one would have to understand and even aspire to Abraham's greatness: 'Abraham was greater than all, great by reason of his power whose strength is impotence, great by reason of his wisdom whose secret is foolishness, great by reason of his hope whose form is madness'.[70] It is this absurd 'hope whose form is madness' that intrigued Unamuno. It was that 'faith in the absurd'[71] that motivated Quixote and made him great. 'Only the man who attempts the absurd is capable of conquering the impossible.'[72] In *The Life of Don Quixote and Sancho*, Unamuno apologizes to Don Quixote for his article of a few years earlier, 'Death to Don Quixote!', and he begs of him, 'Touch me with your madness, my Don Quixote, touch me to the quick'.[73]

Not everyone can withstand such a strong dose of religiosity; most people prefer a diluted version, what Kierkegaard calls 'lemonade twaddle'.[74] Kierkegaard had plumbed to the depths the question, what would it be like to commit absolutely to the absolute—to commit to obedience to an absolute authority that demands total submission to demands that come from so high that they are unintelligible? Unamuno has understood Kierkegaard's message. Referring to the Dane, he says in his *The Tragic Sense of Life*, 'No

[69] St. Mark 11:12–14, 20–2.
[70] Kierkegaard, *Fear and Trembling*, p. 31.
[71] Unamuno, *Life of Don Quixote* …, p. 112.
[72] Unamuno, *Life of Don Quixote* …, p. 146.
[73] Unamuno, *Life of Don Quixote* …, p. 280.
[74] Kierkegaard, *Attack upon 'Christendom'*, p. 277.

wonder that a man entitled to make the statement spoke of the madness of the Cross. Madness, without a doubt, madness'.[75]

Humour and Philosophy

In Shakespeare's *As You Like It*, the shepherd Touchstone, upon meeting another shepherd, Corin, asks him, 'Hast any philosophy in thee, shepherd?'[76] This is a question that Quixote poses indirectly to several shepherds and goatherds in the novel of which he is the hero. I have tried to show here that if this question were posed to Don Quixote it would receive a resoundingly affirmative answer. And this is as it should be. In Cervantes's Prologue to his novel, he reports to his 'idle reader' a conversation he has had with a friend to whom he had apologized for failing to imitate other authors whose fictions 'are so full of citations from Aristotle, Plato, and the entire horde of philosophers that readers are moved to admire . . . My book will lack all of this'.[77] In fact, this is ironic humour of the type that fills the whole book. Cervantes knew very well that Aristotle had asserted that 'poetry is more akin to philosophy and is a better thing than history',[78] and he had set out to prove that philosophical proposition, even while undermining poetry's authority.[79] His '*historia*' (story) is philosophically superior to '*historia*' (history), but this truth is realized only after the dusky flight of the owl of Minerva. The difference between Hegel's owl and Cervantes's is that the latter had a grin on its face—the grin of the Cheshire Cat.

Similarly, Cervantes certainly intended to write a book that was humorous, and he succeeded. 'It is said that the king, when he saw a student laughing boisterously, declared . . . "That student is either out of his mind or he is reading the story of Don Quixote" '.[80] Cervantes's irony is still funny to us. His prologue addressed to his readers is full of humorous irony. He regrets that his manuscript is 'a tale as dry as esparto grass, devoid of invention, deficient in style, poor in ideas and lacking in all erudition and doctrine'. He admits that he has not quoted any 'Holy Scripture' nor preached any 'Christian sermon', and he deplores his 'incompetence and lack of learning'.[81] He bemoans the fact

[75] Unamuno, *The Tragic* . . . , p. 280.
[76] Shakespeare, *As You Like It*, p. 383.
[77] Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, p. 4.
[78] Aristotle, p. 18.
[79] Cascardi suspects that Cervantes was familiar enough with both Plato and Aristotle to know that in works other than the *Republic* and the *Poetics,* each of them set forth more nuanced views of the 'place of imaginative literature in the formation of the state' and of the citizen. Cascardi's view is that, according to Cervantes, 'fiction itself does political work, and does so through the invention in words of possible worlds. The ordinary world—with all its heterogenerity, its alternating stretches of consistency and inconsistency, irreducible to any single kind—is one of them' ('Two Kinds . . .', p. 421). I find Cascardi's argument to be innovative and convincing, but I think that on another level Cervantes saw 'imaginative literature' as *deconstructive* as much as *constructive.* If I am right about this, then there is a sense in which Cervantes agrees with Plato; art is indeed dangerous to the republic, or at least to those who hold power in it.
[80] Canavaggio, p. 217.
[81] Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, p. 4.

that he has no lofty passages in Latin, and that no elevated men of letters have written sonnets for him that he could reproduce in his introduction. As we saw, he despairs of the ability to include quotations and theories of great philosophers, placed alphabetically, from Aristotle to Xenophon, despite the fact that his novel bristles with philosophical insight, as I have tried to show.

Cervantes's plot is funny: a man goes crazy reading novels and comes to believe he is the hero of these novels; he acts out his heroic role in a madly noble manner but gets in lots of trouble doing so; he is laughed at and mocked by all, but nevertheless engages in foolish but nobly inspired activity; on his deathbed he comes to his senses and denounces his former madness. It is this plot that accounts for most of the humour in the novel and for its general entertainment value. Much was said above about the philosophy and social criticism in Cervantes's novel; this does not mean that Cervantes's masterpiece is *not* a satire of chivalric literature. Such satire certainly exists in the novel, but that attack is really only an aspect of a much larger project. Cervantes's art is 'politics by other means', as Von Clausowitz said about war. All attacks must have a medium, and Cervantes's medium is humour. Nevertheless, *Don Quixote* is not as funny to us as it was to Cervantes's contemporaries—both because it contains certain 'in-jokes' that most lay readers today would not understand, or, if we did understand them, would find them less funny now because they are less immediate—and because in the late Renaissance and early Baroque period it was expected that people would take great pleasure at the expense of the displeasure of others.[82] When the shepherds stone Don Quixote, bruising him and breaking a tooth, readers found his pain highly amusing. It was jolly to mock the mad, or anyone who was different. Recall that Velázquez placed two jesters in *Las Meninas*—a hydrocephalous dwarf and a midget—whose function in the Baroque world was to be laughed at, as it was with madmen, such as Alonso Quijano, a.k.a. Don Quixote. It is for this reason that Vladimir Nabokov judges the novel to be 'a cruel and crude old book'.[83] Few people today would admit to finding other people's pain funny. Jokes today are still usually at someone's expense, and sometimes at the expense of those who are different; often it is at the expense of the powerful. Cervantes's words are subversive because humour and the carnivalesque always have had subversive potential, as Mikhail Bakhtin insists, and because writing a work of fiction is an act of *hubris*, the author assigns to himself or herself the godly role of creator. And, on the seventh day, 'God saw everything that he had made, and, behold, it was good'.

Works Cited

Aristotle. *On Poetry*. In *On Poetry and Style*, translated by G. M. A. Grube (New York: The Liberal Arts Press, 1958).

Butler, Joseph. *Fifteen Sermons Preached at the Rolls Chapel* [1729] (Boston: Hilliard, Gray, Little, and Wilkins, 1827).

[82] This topic is treated thoroughly by Martín, pp. 160–85.

[83] Nabokov, p. 108.

Canavaggio, Jean. *Cervantes*, translated by J. R. Jones (New York & London: W. W. Norton & Co, 1990).
Cascardi, Anthony J. 'Cervantes and Descartes on the Dream Argument'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 4, no. 2 (1984): pp. 109–22.
Cascardi, Anthony J. *Cervantes, Literature, and the Discourse of Politics* (Madrid: Vervuert, 2006).
Cascardi, Anthony J. *Ideologies of History in the Spanish Golden Age* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997).
Cascardi, Anthony J. *The Bounds of Reason: Cervantes, Dostoyevsky, Flaubert* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986).
Cascardi, Anthony J. 'Two Kinds of Knowing in Plato, Cervantes, and Aristotle', *Philosophy and Literature* 24, no. 2 (2000): pp. 406–23.
Cervantes, Miguel de. *Don Quixote*, translated by Edith Grossman (New York: Harper Collins, 2003).
Cervantes, Miguel de. *El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1959).
Descartes, René. *Discourse on Method* and *Meditations on First Philosophy*. In *The Essential Descartes*, translated by Elizabeth S. Haldane and G. R. T. Ross (New York: Signet, 1969).
Foucault, Michel. *The Order of Things: An Archaelogy of the Human Sciences* (New York: Random House/Vintage Books, 1973).
Freud, Sigmund. *Civilization and its Discontents*, translated by James Strachey (New York and London: Norton, 1989).
Girard, René. *Deceit, Desire, and the Novel: Self and Other in Literary Structure*, translated by Yvonne Freccero (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1965).
Goffman, Erving. *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (New York, London, Toronto: Doubleday Anchor, 1959).
Gorfkle, Laura J. *Discovering the Comic in 'Don Quixote'* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina Studies in the Romance Languages and Literatures, 1993).
Hauser, Arnold. *The Philosophy of Art History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1959).
Hegel, G. W. F. *The Philosophy of Right*. In *Hegel: The Essential Writings*, edited by Frederick G. Weiss (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1974).
Hobbes, Thomas. *Leviathan: Or the Matter, Forme and Power of a Comonwealth Ecclesiasticall and Civil* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).
Kierkegaard, Søren. *Attack upon 'Christendom'*, translated by Walter Lowrie. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1959).
Kierkegaard, Søren. *Either/Or*, vol. 2, translated by David F. Swenson and Lillian Marvin Swenson (Garden City, NY: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1959).
Kierkegaard, Søren. *Fear and Trembling*, translated by Walter Lowrie (Garden City, NY: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1954).
Lorca, Daniel. 'The Function of Skepticism in Part I of *Don Quijote*'. C*ervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 30, no. 2 (2010): pp. 115–48.
Lugo Acevedo, María Luisa. '¡Yo sé quién soy!: Acerca de cómo Don Quijote construye su identidad a través del nombre'. C*ervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 33, no. 2 (2013): 173–92.
Malfatti, Sarah. 'El deseo de ser sí mismo: Don Quijote y la mímesis girardiana'. C*ervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 33, no. 2 (2013): 193–215.

Maravall, José Antonio. *Culture of the Baroque: Analysis of a Historical Structure*, translated by Terry Cochran (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986).
Maravall, José Antonio. *Utopia and Counterutopia in the 'Quixote'*, translated by Robert W. Felkel (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1991).
Martín, Adrienne L. 'Humour and Violence in Cervantes'. In *The Cambridge Companion to Cervantes*, edited by Anthony J. Cascardi (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 160–85.
May, Leila S. *Secrecy and Disclosure in Victorian Fiction* (London & New York: Routledge, 2017).
Nabokov, Vladimir. *Lectures on Don Quixote* (San Diego: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1984).
Nietzsche, Friedrich. *Beyond Good and Evil*, translated by Walter Kaufmann (New York: Random House, 1966).
Nietzsche, Friedrich. *The Birth of Tragedy*, translated by Clifton F. Fadiman (New York: Dover Publications, 1995).
Palmer, Donald D. 'Don Quixote and the Remembrance of Things Medieval'. *Postmedieval: A Journal of Medieval Cultural Studies* 5, no. 1 (2014): pp. 10–20.
Palmer, Donald D. 'Unamuno, Freud, and the Case of Alonso Quijano'. *Hispania* 54, no. 2 (1971): pp. 243–9.
Palmer, Donald D. 'Unamuno's Don Quijote and Kierkegaard's Abraham'. *Revista de estudios hispánicos* 3, no. 2 (1969): pp. 1–18.
Plato. *The Republic*. In *Great Dialogues of Plato*, translated by W. H. D. Rouse (New York and Scarborough, Ontario: New American Library, 1956).
Sartre, Jean-Paul. *Being and Nothingness: A Phenomenological Essay on Ontology*, translated by Hazel E. Barnes (New York: Washington Square Press, 1992).
Shakespeare, William. *As You Like It*. In *The Riverside Shakespeare* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1997).
Ticknor, George. *History of Spanish Literature,* 4th ed. (Boston: Houghton, Osgood and Company, 1879).
Unamuno, Miguel de. '¡Muera Don Quixote!'. In *Miguel de Unamuno: Obras Completas*, vol. VII (New York: Las Americas Publishing Co., 1967), pp. 1194–6.
Unamuno, Miguel de. *The Life of Don Quixote and Sancho*, translated by Anthony Kerrigan (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1967).
Unamuno, Miguel de. *The Tragic Sense of Life*, translated by Anthony Kerrigan (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1972).
Unamuno, Miguel de. *Vida de Don Quijote y Sancho* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1958).
Wardropper, Bruce W. '*Don Quixote:* Story or History?'. In *Cervantes's 'Don Quixote': A Casebook*, edited by Roberto González Echevarría (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 141–61.
Williamson, Edwin. '"Intención" and "invención" in the *Quixote*'. C*ervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 7, no. 2 (1988): pp. 7–22.
Wittgenstein, Ludwig. *Philosophical Investigations*, translated by G. E. M. Anscombe (New York: Macmillan, 1964).

SECTION 3

CERVANTES'S PROSE

CHAPTER 10

'PARA EMPRESAS MÁS ALTAS Y DE MAYOR IMPORTANCIA'

The rota Virgilii *and the Orphic Poet in Miguel de Cervantes's* La Galatea *(1585)*

BENJAMIN J. NELSON
The University of South Carolina Beaufort

DUE to the popularity of *Don Quixote* and later works, Miguel de Cervantes's *La Galatea* (1585) has suffered from being overlooked, forgotten, or even maligned. George Ticknor, for example, states that Cervantes 'was led by the spirit of the times, rather, perhaps, than by his own taste, to begin—as an offering to the lady of his love—the "Galatea"'.[1] Later, Hugo Albert Rennert bluntly writes:

> It [*La Galatea*] is, however, one of the poorest of all Cervantes's works, and gives little promise of his becoming the greatest name in the literature of Spain . . . There seems to be no attempt at plot or connected narrative, and it is with the greatest difficulty that the reader keeps track of the various characters; a great number of shepherds and shepherdesses (some one has said there are no less than seventy-one) are brought successively upon the scene, and the maze of incidents is almost inextricable.[2]

Upon concluding his analysis, Rennert labels Cervantes's first prose piece as being 'a dull book'.[3] Amadeu Solé-Leris agrees with Rennert by stating that *La Galatea* 'represents,

[1] Ticknor, p. 101. [2] Rennert, p. 116. [3] Rennert, p. 122.

together with some plays, an initial unsuccessful bid to establish himself [Cervantes] as a writer'.[4]

Parting from the aforementioned critics, I argue that Cervantes, by choosing the pastoral as his first substantial narrative, continues the tradition of *libros de pastores* initiated by Montemayor's *La Diana* and, yet, supersedes it.[5] Additionally, Cervantes introduces himself as an Orphic poet who participates in the famed *rota Virgilii*, or Virgil's Wheel. The *rota Virgilii* may have originated from the enigmatic verses that appeared in the frontispiece of a first-century edition of Virgil's *Aeneid*: 'I am he who once tuned my song on a slender reed, / then, leaving the woodland, compelled the neighbouring / fields to serve the husbandman, however grasping— / a work welcome to farmers: but now of Mars' bristling'.[6] By starting with the pastoral, a writer would emulate the famed Virgil by later composing works comparable to the *Georgics* and, afterwards, to the *Aeneid*.[7]

[4] Solé-Leris, p. 69. Much later, however, Juan Bautista Avalle-Arce redeems the literary merit of *La Galatea* by stating that Cervantes presents a 'poetic' world, which is invaded by the 'historical' circumstance, for the reader, for example, is presented with the refined Elicio (the 'poetic') and the rustic Erastro (the 'historical') (Avalle-Arce, pp. 243–4). Yet, Avalle-Arce cannot refrain from comparing elements of this pastoral novel to episodes in Cervantes's later works. Due to Cervantes's later unmitigated success as a writer, critics throughout the twentieth century have generated book-length studies of *La Galatea*. Francisco López Estrada and Michele Ricciardelli both analyzed various elements of this pastoral novel, including the concepts of nature, fortune, time, and love, and possible literary sources. Concerning the use of pastoral in all of Cervantes's works of fiction, critics Dominick Finello and José J. Labrador et al. have studied the various connections between the pastoral episodes.

[5] In terms of Cervantes's own opinion of *La Galatea*, he provides his own review during the oft-quoted reaction of the curate priest's upon discovering this tome in Don Quixote's (Alonso Quijano's) library: 'Muchos años ha que es grande amigo mío ese Cervantes, y sé que es más versado en desdichas que en versos. Su libro tiene algo de buena invención; propone algo, y no concluye nada: es menester esperar la segunda parte promete; quizá con la emienda alcanzará del todo la misericordia que ahora se le niega' (Cervantes, *El ingenioso hidalgo*, pp. 120–1) ['That fellow Cervantes has been a good friend of mine for years, and I know he's more conversant with adversity than with verse. His book's ingenious enough; it sets out to achieve something but doesn't bring anything to a conclusion; we'll have to wait for the promised second part; maybe with correction it'll gain the full pardon denied it for the time being'] (Cervantes, *The Ingenious Hidalgo*, p. 58). Additionally, Lope de Vega indicates the popularity and circulation of *La Galatea* in his own dramatic works. In *La dama boba* (1613), for example, Otavio, describing to Misenio the literary collection of Nise, lists: '*Historia de dos amantes*, / sacada de lengua griega; / *Rimas*, de Lope de Vega; / *Galatea*, de Cervantes' (Vega, p. 146, vv. 2117–20) [*The Story of the Two Lovers*,/ taken from the Greek language; / *Rhymes*, by Lope de Vega; / *Galatea*, by Cervantes]. Otón, in *La viuda valencia* (1620), offers the following books to Leonarda: 'Aquéste es la *Galatea*, / que si buen libro desea, / no tiene más que pedir. / Fue su autor Miguel Cervantes, / que allá en la Naval perdió / una mano…' [This one is the *Galatea*, / that if you desire a good book, / you do not have to ask for more. / It was its author Miguel de Cervantes, / who away in the Navy lost/a hand…] (Vega, p. 162, vv. 846–51). Unless stated otherwise, all translations are mine.

[6] Virgil, p. 261.

[7] In his translation of the *Aeneid*, H. R. Fairclough comments that the word 'ego' misled ancient commentators into believing that these quoted verses were 'composed by the poet himself and then deleted by his editor Varius' (Virgil, p. 261). Due to this error, later commentators and readers of the *Aeneid* thought that Virgil was offering to them advice on how to model their poetic enterprises to garner eternal literary fame for themselves.

In the prologue to *La Galatea*, Cervantes responds to his readers' curiosity on why this rather mature soldier-turned-author would pen a pastoral novel as his first major novelistic enterprise. Entitled 'Curiosos lectores' ['Bystanding Readers'], these opening pages reflect the readers' inquisitiveness by responding to 'la ocupación de escrebir [sic] églogas en tiempo que, en general, la poesía anda tan desfavorecida' ['the occupation of composing eclogues in a time that, in general, poetry walks so disfavoured'].[8] Due to the inherent blend of prose and poetry within a pastoral novel, Cervantes could have introduced himself as a writer and poet, and, at the same time, initiated his literary career via the *rota Virgilii*. In his study of Cervantes's relation with the *rota Virgilii*, Frederick de Armas warns that the literary career of this famed Spaniard might not fully approximate Virgil's *cursus*: '[Cervantes] begins with pastoral, continues with an apprenticeship in epic, and culminates with epic. Although he wrote texts that do not correspond to this pattern, he followed it in most of his major works so that his career would be associated with the Virgilian *cursus*'.[9] Within the same prologue, the author states:

> De más de que no puede negarse que los estudios de esta facultad [la poesía] (en el pasado tiempo, con razón, tan estimada) traen consigo más que medianos provechos, como son: enriquecer el poeta considerando su propia lengua, y enseñorearse del artificio de la elocuencia que ella cabe, para empresas más altas y de mayor importancia, y abrir camino para que, a su imitación, los ánimos estrechos, que la brevedad del lenguaje antiguo quieren que se acabe la abundancia de la lengua castellana.
>
> [In as much that one cannot deny that the studies of this faculty [poetry] (so esteemed, with reason, in the past) bring with them more than mediocre advantages, as they are: to enrich the poet considering his own language, and to master the artifice of the eloquence that it [poetry] contains, for higher enterprises and of greater importance, and to lay out the path so that, in its imitation, the narrow spirits, will want the brevity of the ancient language to end with the abundance of the Spanish language.][10]

While attempting to justify the poetic art contained in his literary creation, Cervantes contrasts the brevity of ancient languages and the relative abundance of modern ones, primarily Spanish. Although Cervantes favours the latter, he also constructs a *translatio studii*, for he is drawing upon Antiquity's poetics as a basis for his poetic creations scattered throughout the pages of *La Galatea*.[11] The concluding paragraphs of the prologue, in fact, further this *translatio studii* by associating Cervantes himself with Virgil and reminding readers that this great classical poet was also maligned for several of his eclogues—the basis for the celebrated *rota Virgilii*:

[8] Cervantes, *La Galatea*, p. 155.
[9] De Armas, p. 270.
[10] Cervantes, *La Galatea*, p. 156.
[11] Francisco López Estrada and María Teresa López García-Berdoy observe this contrast between the two languages and Cervantes's preference for modern Spanish (Cervantes, *La Galatea*, p. 156, n. 11).

> pues el príncipe de la poesía latina fue calumniado en algunas de sus églogas por haberse levantado más que en las otras; y así no temeré mucho que alguno condene haber mezclado razones de filosofía entre algunas amorosas de pastores, que pocas veces se levantan a más que a tratar cosas del campo, y esto con su acostumbrada llaneza.
>
> [for the prince of Latin poetry was slandered in some of his eclogues for having raised himself more than in others; and so I shall not fear too much if someone may condemn my having mixed philosophical reasoning among the amorous talk of shepherds, for a few times they are elevated more than just treating matters of the country, and doing so with their customary simplicity.][12]

The mention that Virgil was criticized for 'haberse levantado más que en las otras' of his eclogues prepares readers that Cervantes, who may have been attempting to approximate Virgil's literary career, may have attempted to go beyond their perceived standard norms of pastoral novels and, by doing so, incorporated loftier themes ('que pocas veces se levantan a más que a tratar cosas del campo'), and even promote Cervantes himself as an Orphic poet.

In the preliminary verses that follow the prologue, Don Luis de Vargas Manrique offers a sonnet that suggests that Cervantes's pastoral continues the tradition already established by Montemayor:

> Hicieron muestra en vos de su grandeza,
> gran Cervantes, los dioses celestiales,
> y cual primera, dones inmortales
> sin tasa os repartió Naturaleza.
> Jove su rayo os dio, que es la viveza
> de palabras que mueven pedernales;
> Dïana, en exceder a los mortales
> en castidad de estilo con pureza.
>
> [They showed signs in you of their grandeur,
> great Cervantes, the celestial gods,
> and which first, immortal gifts
> without price Nature shared with you.
> Jove gave you his ray, which is the liveliness
> of words that move flints;
> Diana, in exceeding mortals
> in chastity of a pure style.][13]

By invoking the two Greco-Roman deities Jupiter and Diana, Vargas Manrique bestows upon the novice writer the artistic ability of composing lively words that will move even stones ('palabras que mueven pedernales') and possessing a pure, original style ('de estilo con pureza'). With the name of Diana mentioned, readers would automatically recall Montemayor's *La Diana*. Yet, in the same stanza, Vargas Manrique constructs a

[12] Cervantes, *La Galatea*, p. 158. [13] Cervantes, *La Galatea*, p. 161.

comparison between Cervantes and a figure unique to *La Diana*—Orpheus. Ovid reminds us the supernatural powers Orpheus's music had on nature: 'While Orpheus sang his minstrel's songs and charmed / The rocks and woods and creatures of the wild / To follow'.[14] Thus, Vargas Manrique may be attempting to label Cervantes as a new Spanish Orphic poet—a key feature to understanding the poetic *cursus* of Montemayor's text.[15] As Cervantes interjects poetry throughout the prose of *La Galatea*, his ambitious poetic attempt will culminate in his epic-like 'Canto de Calíope', which will be discussed later.

By mentioning Diana in the preliminary verses and presenting a dichotomy between a refined shepherd (Sireno in *La Diana* and Elicio in *La Galatea*) and a rustic one (Silvano in *La Diana* and Erastro in *La Galatea*), Cervantes appears to be producing a pastoral tome reminiscent of Montemayor's creation. As other previous *libros de pastores*, *La Galatea* continues the tradition of grounding the *locus amoenus* within the confines of Iberia: 'Esto cantaba Elicio, pastor en las riberas de Tajo, con quien Naturaleza se mostró tan liberal cuanto la Fortuna y el Amor' [Elicio was singing this, shepherd along the shores of the Tagus, with whom Nature showed herself as generous as much as Fortune and Love].[16] However, *La Galatea* breaks from this tradition. Early on, Erastro confides to Elicio that he failed to find any remedy that would cure his love sickness for the elusive, eponymous Galatea: 'y si otras tantas [mil veces] no he andado a los médicos y curas del lugar a que me diesen remedio para las ansias que por su causa padezco. Los unos me mandan que tome no sé qué bebedizos de paciencia; los otros dicen que me encomiende a Dios, que todo lo cura, o que todo es locura' [and if another so [thousand times] I have not walked to the doctors and village priests so that they would give me a remedy for the anguishes that for her cause I suffer. The first ones order me to try I-don't-know-what potions of patience; the others tell me to entrust myself to God, who cures all, or everything is madness].[17] These 'bebedizos de paciencia', prescribed by doctors, bear a striking resemblance to the magic elixirs of Montemayor's Felicia. In Cervantes's narrative, however, no magical concoction can ameliorate Erastro's amorous anguish. An aficionado of pastoral novels would undoubtedly have realized this two-fold connection between *La Diana* and *La Galatea*. Although Cervantes could be informing his readers that the initial inspiration for his pastoral work may have come from Montemayor's, at the same time he is declaring his artistic departure from the progenitor.

After either implicitly or explicitly declaring his artistic separation from *La Diana*, Cervantes furthers this distancing in the first *libro* by transforming his *locus amoenus* into a nightmarish world with an event relatively foreign to the Spanish pastoral novel—homicide:

[14] Ovid, p. 149.

[15] For the discussion of Montemayor's portrayal of himself as an Orphic poet, see Nelson.

[16] Cervantes, *La Galatea*, pp. 166–7.

[17] Cervantes, *La Galatea*, p. 174. See Hernández-Pecoraro for discussion of the portrayal of shepherdesses as objects of desire.

> por un espeso montecillo que a sus espaldas [las de Elicio y Erastro] estaba, un no pequeño estruendo y ruido; y levantándose los dos en pie por ver lo que era, vieron que del monte salía un pastor corriendo a la mayor priesa del mundo, con un cuchillo desnudo en la mano, y la color del rostro mudada; y que tras él venía otro ligero pastor, que a pocos pasos alcanzó al primero, y, asiéndole por el cabezón del pellico, levantó el brazo en el aire cuanto pudo, y un agudo puñal que sin vaina traía se le escondió dos veces en el cuerpo.
>
> [through a dense hillock that was to their backs [of Elicio and Erastro], a no small din and noise; and raising to the their feet to see what it was, they saw a shepherd leaving from the woodland running at the greatest speed in the world, with a knife unsheathed in his hand, and the colour of his face was changing; and behind him was approaching another swift shepherd, who in a few steps caught up with the first one, and, seizing him by the head-opening of his sheepskin jacket, raised his arm in the air as much as he could, and hid a sharp, unsheathed dagger into his body two times.][18]

Distraught over Carino's meddlesome interference in his love affair with Leonida, Lisardo pursues Carino to avenge his beloved's death. In their joint study, Bruno Damiani and Barbara Mujica point out Cervantes's deviation from the already-established pastoral novels of his time: 'Perhaps because the characters' passions seem stronger in *La Galatea* than in any other pastoral novel, the wish for death often leads to suicide attempts.'[19] In addition to Carino's death, *La Galatea* is replete with homicide, suicidal thoughts, and even a kidnapping. Table 10.1 illustrates how *La Galatea* is populated with these brutalities.

In addition to an ideal place corrupted by its own inhabitants (as seen above), even external forces threaten Cervantes's *locus amoenus*. During the narration of his doleful tale, the knight-courtier, not shepherd, Silerio narrates the invasion of Turks while he and his comrade Timbrio were residing in a Catalonian coastal town:

> Poco más de media noche sería, hora acomodada a facinerosos insultos, y en la cual la trabajada gente suele entregar los trabajados miembros en brazos del dulce sueño, cuando improvisamente por todo el pueblo se levantó una confusa vocería diciendo: «¡Al arma, al arma, que turcos hay en la tierra!». Los ecos de estas tristes voces ¿quién duda que no causaron espanto en los mujeriles pechos, y aun pusieron confusión en los fuertes ánimos de los varones?
>
> [It probably was a little past midnight, hour accommodated to delinquent offenses, and in which the labouring people are accustomed to hand over their laboured members into the arms of sweet sleep, when suddenly throughout the town was

[18] Cervantes, *La Galatea*, p. 179–80. Murder, however, is not an uncommon event in the bucolic world. Returning to Montemayor's *La Diana*, one can easily recall Felismena's slaughtering of three *salvajes* (in Book II), but, unlike Cervantes's blatant homicide, these three (almost mythical) wild beasts were intruders threatening the tenuous stability of the *locus amoenus* by abducting its nymphs. For a more extensive discussion of violence within the *libros de pastores*, see Castillo Martínez.

[19] Damiani, p. 70.

Table 10.1. Homicide, suicidal thought, and kidnapping in *La Galatea*

Character	Homicide, Suicidal Thought, and Kidnapping	Book
Carino	Murdered by Lisandro	I
Leonida	Murdered by Crisalvo and his henchmen (in Lisandro's narration)	I
Libeo	Murdered by Crisalvo and his henchmen (in Lisandro's narration)	I
Crisalvo	Murdered by Lisandro (in Lisandro's narration)	I
Rosaura	Attempts suicide in Grisaldo's presence	IV
Rosaura	Kidnapped by Artandro and his henchmen	V
Galercio	Attempts suicide in Gelasia's presence	V
Galercio	Attempts suicide	VI
Lenio	Contemplates suicide	VI

> raised a confused uproar saying: 'To arms, to arms, for there are Turks on land!' The echoes of these sad voices, who will doubt that they did not cause fright in the women's chests, and even put confusion in the strong spirits of the men?][20]

Although Cervantes narrates a fictitious attack on Spanish spoil, this naval attack brought on by the Ottomans reflects a historical fear that Christian Europeans, especially Spaniards and the inhabitants of Spanish possessions, shared:

> Since early 1566 the intelligence services of the West had not ceased to convey alarming news of Turkish naval activity in the Mediterranean and military movements on the Hungarian frontier. It was feared that the aged Ottoman ruler, Suleiman the Magnificent, hoped to make one last great drive against Christian Europe.[21]

In *La Galatea*, Silerio recounts the damage, pillaging, and overall sacrilege caused by these merciless invaders:

> A la luz de las furiosas llamas se vieron relucir los bárbaros alfanjes y parecerse las blancas tocas de la turca gente, que, encendida, con sigures o hachas de duro acero las puertas de las casas derribaban y, entrando en ellas, de cristianos despojos salían cargados…La fiera y endiablada canalla, viendo cuán poca resistencia se les hacía, se atrevieron a entrar en los sagrados templos y poner las descomulgadas manos en las santas reliquias poniendo en el seno el oro con que guarnecidas estaban, y arrojándolas en el suelo con asqueroso menosprecio…aquellos descreídos perros, los cuales, después de abrasadas las casas, robado los templos, desflorado las vírgenes, muertos los defensores, más cansados que satisfechos de lo hecho, al tiempo que el

[20] Cervantes, *La Galatea*, p. 280. [21] Kamen, p. 183.

> alba venía sin impedimento alguno se volvieron a sus bajeles, habiéndolos ya cargado de todo lo mejor que en el pueblo había, dejándole desolado y sin gente, porque toda la más gente se llevaban, y la otra a la montaña se había recogido.
>
> [By the light of the furious flames the gleaming barbarous cutlasses were seen and appeared the white hats of the Turkish people, which, alit, with sickles or axes of hard steel were knocking down the doors of the houses and, entering in them, were leaving loaded with Christian spoils… The cruel and diabolical rabble, seeing how much little resistance was made to them, dared to enter into the sacred temples and place their excommunicated hands on the holy relics, putting into their breasts the gold with which they were embellished, and throwing them onto the floor with loathsome despise… those infidel dogs, which, after setting fire to the homes, robbing temples, deflowering virgins, killing the defenders, more tired than satisfied of what they have done, when the dawn was approaching without any impediment some returned to their vessels, having already loaded them all the best that there was in town, leaving it desolated and without people, because most of the people were carried away, and the other had gathered together at the mountain.][22]

Thus, the *locus amoenus* that Cervantes paints in the pages of his pastoral novel is one that has become unstable and threatening due to its internal and external problems.[23] As critics have attempted to categorize the bucolic world displayed in Spanish pastoral novels as 'myth' and reality as 'history', Cervantes demonstrates artistically how 'history' can unravel the 'myth' that the fragile pastoral world struggles to maintain.[24]

[22] Cervantes, *La Galatea*, p. 281.

[23] This Turkish threat is not only limited to Catalonia. After Timbrio and Silerio are united again, Timbrio narrates how, after discovering Nísida and Blanca on a boat, the crew spotted a small Turkish fleet: 'Uno de ellos, que a una parte de la proa iba sentado, descubrió, con la claridad de los bajos rayos de la luna, que cuatro bajeles de remo, a larga y tirada boga, con gran celeridad y priesa hacia la nave se encaminaban, y al momento conoció ser de contrarios, y con grandes voces comenzó a gritar: «¡Arma, arma, que bajeles turquescos se descubren!»' [One of them, who on one part of the prow was seated, discovered, with the clarity of the dim rays of the moon, that four rowing vessels, at long and pulled rowing, with great speed and hurry directed themselves toward the ship, and at the moment of knowing them to be adversaries, with great voices he began to shout: 'Arms, arms, for Turkish vessels have been discovered!'] (Cervantes, *La Galatea*, p. 491). After a grueling naval battle, the victorious Turks take the surviving Christian crew as prisoners of Arnaute, 'el general de los bajeles' ['the general of the vessels'] (Cervantes, *La Galatea*, p. 494). While heading to the Barbary Coast, a fierce storm breaks out, scattering the fleet and directing the boat containing the Christian prisoners toward Catalonia. Desperate, the Turks 'rogaban a los cristianos que iban al remo cautivos que invocasen y llamasen a sus santos y a su Cristo para que de tal desventura los librase' ['begged the Christians who were rowing captives to invoke and call upon their saints and their Christ so that he would free them from such misadventure'] (Cervantes, *La Galatea*, p. 496). Reaching the shore, the Turks and captured Christians encounter a small army of armed soldiers who 'esperaban [a los turcos] con deseo de vengarse de la ofensa que estos mesmos turcos les habían hecho saqueándoles su lugar' ['were waiting [for the Turks] with a desire to exact revenge for the offense that these same Turks had done to them, plundering their village'] (Cervantes, *La Galatea*, p. 497). This desire for revenge results in a 'tan cruel matanza en los cosarios que muy pocos quedaron con la vida' ['so cruel slaughtering of the corsairs that a very few remained alive'] (Cervantes, *La Galatea*, p. 497). The slaughter of the Turks completes Silerio's narrated tale of when the Turks earlier invaded this region. At the same time, however, these two episodes illustrate the on-going battle between the Hapsburg and Ottoman Dynasties.

[24] See Avalle-Arce.

Although critics have demonstrated that Cervantes approximates the *rota Virgilii* via his three novelistic enterprises—*La Galatea*, *El ingenioso hidalgo Quijote de la Mancha*, and *Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda*, I argue that Cervantes accomplishes the same by presenting the entire *rota* in the same text. Cervantes, who was already in his late thirties, could not have foreseen in the first half of the 1580s that he would have been composing his later masterpieces. Therefore, planning a cumbersome project of composing three separate works to encompass Virgil's literary model could have appeared too ambitious for this ex-soldier. Incorporating the three literary genres into one work, however, would have seemed more plausible. As I have discussed earlier, the *Prólogo* of *La Galatea* establishes the text as being pastoral, although the author posits throughout the narrative several deviations from the established norm of this literary mode.

In the six-part *La Galatea*, Cervantes places an epithalamium, to celebrate the wedding nuptials of Daranio and Silveria, in the third book. Recited by four *cultos* shepherds, this marital poem is presented superficially as an *égloga* [eclogue]: 'para efecto de que los cuatro discretos y lastimados pastores Orompo, Marsilio, Crisio y Orfenio, por honrar las bodas de su amigo Daranio y por satisfacer el deseo que Tirsi y Damón tenían de escucharles, querían allí en público recitar una égloga que ellos mesmos de la ocasión de sus mesmos dolores habían compuesto' ['for the effect of the four discrete and doleful shepherds Orompo, Marsilio, Crisio, and Orfenio, to honour the wedding of their friend Daranio and to satisfy the desire that Tirsi and Damon had of listening to them, wanted there to recite in public an eclogue that they themselves had composed for the occasion out of their own pains'].[25]

Assuming the role of Orpheus, Cervantes incorporates his poetic voice in the figure of Orfenio, a name which closely resembles the Spanish *Orfeo*. In shepherd's garb, Orfenio forms part of the quartet that performs the epithalamium for Daranio and Silveria's nuptials. As Thomas Deveny points out, epithalamia are not uncommon to the pastoral, citing the classical example of Theocritus's 'Idyll 18', an epithalamium written for the marriage of Helen and Menelaus.[26] While discussing *La Galatea*, Deveny mentions the curious nature that Cervantes's pastoral creation contains not one, but two epithalamia.[27] The presence of this unique poetic duality may point to Cervantes's loftier aspiration to fulfil the coveted *rota Virgilii*.

Although appearing as a simple rustic wedding, the marriage of Daranio and Silveria betrays the pastoral confines in which it is framed. Since *La Galatea* presents itself in the opening of the prologue as a pastoral, this wedding, as I argue, approximates more Virgil's *Georgics*—fulfilling the second rung of the *rota*. What announces this literary departure from the pastoral mode coincides with the entrance of the bridegroom himself: 'A esta sazón salió el rico pastor Daranio a la serrana vestido: traía camisa alta de cuello plegado, almilla de frisa, sayo verde escotado, zaragüelles de delgado lienzo, antiparas azules, zapato redondo, cinto tachonado, y de la color del sayo, una cuarteada caperuza' ['At that time the rich shepherd Daranio stepped out dressed as an highlander: he was wearing a tall shirt with a pleated collar, an under waistcoat of frizz, a low-necked

[25] Cervantes, *La Galatea*, pp. 344–5. [26] Deveny, p. 81. [27] Deveny, p. 84.

green frock, breeches of thin linen, blue gaiters, round shoe, a studded belt, and of the colour of the frock, a quartered hood'].[28] Having Daranio dressed 'a la serrana', as Francisco López Estrada and María Teresa López García-Berdoy point out, fashionably separates him from his pastoral brethren: 'Cervantes specifies the condition of Daranio's clothing: according to the manner of the people of the mountains, more durable than that of the plains'.[29]

Comprised of four shepherds, this epithalamium is presented as a simple *égloga* but structured as a dramatic piece, indicating its importance: 'Acomodados, pues, en sus asientos todos los pastores y pastoras que allí estaban, después que la zampoña de Erastro y la lira de Lenio y los otros instrumentos hicieron prestar a los presentes un sosegado y maravilloso silencio, el primero que se mostró en el humilde teatro fue el triste Orompo' ['All the shepherds and shepherdesses there, then, were accommodated in their seats, after Erastro's reed pipe, Lenio's lyre and other instruments presented to the attendees a peaceful and marvellous silence, the first one who showed himself in the humble theatre was the sad Orompo'].[30] Bemoaning their pitiful amorous states, these four shepherds enter into a poetic competition to determine who has suffered the most: Orompo, whose Listea is deceased; Marsilio, whose Belisa treats him with scorn; Crisio, whose Claraura is absent; and Orfenio, who suffers from jealousy over the unnamed object of his desire.

Throughout this epithalamium, the singers continually reassure themselves that they and the objects of their amorous desires are shepherds: '¿Do estáis agora, gallardos pastores?' ['Where are you now, gallant shepherds?'][31] Near the conclusion of their poetic performance, Crisio reminds them of their pastoral responsibilities: 'Hágase lo que pide Orompo agora, / pues ya de recoger nuestro ganado / se va llegando a más andar la hora' [Let's now do what Orompo requests, / well now for gathering our flocks / the hour is arriving to depart].[32] A cursory reading of this eclogue, therefore, does not appear to fulfil Cervantes's higher poetic aspirations. In the exordium of his lament over his beloved's demise, Orompo evokes his 'palabras sangrientas, con muerte mezcladas' ['bloody words, mixed with death'] to describe his deplorable state.[33] While describing these same words, however, Orompo describes their loftier purpose: 'Poco perdéis en verso perdidas, / pues ya os ha faltado el alto sujeto / por quien en estilo grave y perfecto / hablábades cosas de punto subidas' ['Little you lose lost in verse, / then now you have lacked the high subject / for whom in a low and perfect style / you were speaking matters elevated a point'].[34] By mentioning that Orompo and his fellow poets will be discussing an 'alto sujeto' in the disguise of an *égloga* ('en estilo grave y perfecto') mimics, I argue, less Virgil's *Eclogues* and more his later *Georgics*.

[28] Cervantes, *La Galatea*, pp. 338–9.
[29] Cervantes, *La Galatea*, p. 338, n. 61.
[30] Cervantes, *La Galatea*, p. 345.
[31] Cervantes, *La Galatea*, p. 348, v. 69. When quoting the poem, I provide the page number first and then the verse number(s) for easier reference.
[32] Cervantes, p. 366, vv. 617–19.
[33] Cervantes, *La Galatea*, p. 346, v. 2.
[34] Cervantes, *La Galatea*, p. 346, vv. 9–12.

Having epithalamia, or love poetry, representing an author's progression on the coveted *rota Virgilii* was commonplace during the Renaissance. In his analysis of Edmund Spenser's poetry, Patrick Cheney first confesses that Spenser transcended the natural order as dictated by the *rota Virgilii*, for this English poet composed his 1579 bucolic *The Shepherds Calendar* and the first part (Books I–III) of his epic *The Faerie Queen* in 1590 before publishing his 1595 *Amoretti and Epithalamion*. In his discussion on how this latter work figures in the *rota Virgilii*, Richard Neuse comments on how a marriage, an epithalamion, presents the transformation of a poet like Spenser:

> the epithalamic represents a triumph of the poetic eros that had remained baffled in the *Shepheardes Calender*. By this eros I mean in the first place the impulse toward union in its various manifestations, an impulse in which the self seeks completion through being united with something beyond itself. The epithalamic ritual, therefore, in the course of which the many-layered reality of the wedding day is evoked, is no mere ritual but becomes for the poet, its priest and master of ceremonies, a symbol of his intimate participation in that reality.[35]

Thus, Cheney comments on how Spenser's *Amoretti and Epithalamion* emulates Virgil's *Georgics*: 'In *Epithalamion*, I would add, Spenser also resolves or releases tensions about the writing of a visionary marriage poem. The greatest tension is the one I believe a sixteenth-century poet like Spenser most pressingly inherits: the problematic role of the love lyric in a laureate career'.[36]

Although throughout Cervantes's epithalamium the singers constantly remind their listeners of their pastoral state, the poetic language employed to describe their doleful existence approximates more that found in the *Georgics*. To describe how Belisa's scorn has affected him, Marsilio compares himself to a sailor:

> Más sorda a mi lamento,
> más implacable y fiera
> que a la voz del cansado marinero
> el riguroso viento
> que el mar turba y altera
> y amenaza a la vida el fin postrero
> [Deafer to my lament,
> more implacable and cruel
> than to the voice of the weary sailor
> the rigorous wind
> that stirs up and alters the sea
> and the last end threatens his life][37]

[35] Neuse, p. 617. [36] Cheney, p. 188.
[37] Cervantes, *La Galatea*, p. 350, vv. 128–33.

The mention of the profession of sailor exceeds the limits of a bucolic world and is better suited for a farming one. Later, Orompo compares himself to a profession befitting Virgil's *Georgics*, that of a *labrador*:

> Yo quedé cual labrador
> que del trabajo contino
> de su espaciosa labor
> fruto amargo de dolor
> le concede su destino
>
> [I remained such a labourer
> who of the continual work
> of his spacious labour
> bitter fruit of pain
> his destiny concedes to him][38]

Following a similar pattern, Orfenio associates himself with a farmer who plants and reaps what he sows:

> El fruto que fue sembrado
> por mi trabajo contino,
> a dulce sazón llegado,
> fue con próspero destino
> en mi poder entregado.
>
> [The fruit that was sown
> by my continual work,
> arrived at a sweet moment,
> it was prosperous destiny
> in my surrendered power.][39]

Although utilized to heighten their poetic expressions, the professions expressed by these shepherds release them from the thematic confines of an eclogue to express with words what Orompo hoped for at the beginning of their epithalamium—an 'alto sujeto'. As I have mentioned earlier, Crisio, who does not compare his grief with another profession, has to remind them that they are shepherds with the pressing responsibility of taking care of their herds.[40] The poetic competition over who has suffered the most does not end with a clear winner announced, for the wedding guests (and subsequently the readers) have to decide for themselves. Thus, after the conclusion of the epithalamium, the *discretos* shepherds Damón and Tirsi comment how this performed *égloga* exceeded their expectations—reinforcing that Cervantes's elongated poem is loftier than a mere

[38] Cervantes, *La Galatea*, pp. 359–60, vv. 93–7.
[39] Cervantes, *La Galatea*, p. 362, vv. 473–7.
[40] Francisco López Estrada and María Teresa López García-Berdoy discuss how Crisio's reminder is reminiscent of how Virgil would end his *Eclogues* with the shepherds gathering their flocks and returning home (Cervantes, *La Galatea*, p. 366, n. 108).

bucolic composition.[41] Upon discussing which shepherd's situation merits the most pity, they conclude that, interestingly enough, Orfenio and his jealousy is the most dire amorous condition—eclipsing a lover's death, absence, or scorn.[42] As I have mentioned earlier, 'Orfenio' closely approximates the name 'Orfeo'. Later in *La Galatea*, the reader realizes that Orfenio's poetry is designated for 'loftier topics', for, when the knight-courtiers Silerio and Timbrio and the two *damas* Nísida and Blanca are reunited, only Orfenio can accompany their songs with his instrument playing.[43] By placing this epithalamium in the centre of his pastoral novel, Cervantes, cognizant of the literary integration of the *rota Virgilii* within the confines of a single literary work, achieves the task of integrating Virgil's *Eclogues* and *Georgics*. What remains to fully imitate this classic literary career is an epic poem, which Cervantes presents in the final book of his *La Galatea*.

In the sixth and final *libro* of *La Galatea*, the shepherds sojourn to the funeral of another shepherd, Meliso, at the Valle de los Cipreses. With the pagan, not Christian, funeral rites directed by Telesio, Cervantes announces the fulfilment of the *rota Virgilii* with an impending epic poem. During these ceremonies, Telesio indirectly references Virgil's *Aeneid* by incorporating the cypress tree:

> Y, en diciendo esto, [Telesio] se llegó a un ciprés de aquellos y, cortando algunas ramas, hizo de ellas una funesta guirnalda con que coronó sus blancas y veneradas sienes, haciendo señal a los demás que lo mesmo hiciesen, de cuyo ejemplo movidos todos, en un momento se coronaron de las tristes ramas… Hecho esto, mandó Telesio encender el sacro fuego, y en un momento alrededor de la sepultura se hicieron muchas, aunque pequeñas, hogueras, en las cuales solas ramas de ciprés se quemaban.
>
> [And, in saying this, [Telesio] arrived at one cypress of those and, cutting some branches, made of them an ill-fated garland with which he crowned his white and venerated temples, signalling to the rest that they do the same, by whose example all were moved, in a moment they crowned themselves with the sad branches… This being done, Telesio ordered for a sacred fire to be lit, and in a moment around the sepulchre many, although small, bonfires were made, in which only cypress branches were burnt.][44]

In the sixth book of the *Aeneid*, Aeneas witnesses the burial of Misenus, which incorporates the cypress: 'No less meanwhile on the beach the Teucrians were weeping for Misenus and paying the last dues to the thankless dust. And first they raise a huge pyre, rich with pitchy pine and oaken logs. Its sides they entwine with sombre foliage, set in

[41] 'especialmente a Damón y a Tirsi, que gran contento en oírlos recibieron, pareciéndoles que más que de pastoril ingenio parecían las razones y argumentos que para salir con su propósito los cuatro pastores habían propuesto' [especially to Damon and Tirsi, who received great contentment in hearing them, seeming to them that their reasons and arguments seemed more than of pastoral ingenuity than the four shepherds had proposed with their intention] (Cervantes, *La Galatea*, p. 369).

[42] Cervantes, *La Galatea*, p. 369.

[43] Cervantes, *La Galatea*, pp. 520–2.

[44] Cervantes, *La Galatea*, pp. 545–6.

front funereal cypresses, and adorn it above with gleaming arms.'[45] Since parallels may be drawn between the burial of Virgil's Misenus and that of Cervantes's Meliso, the reader might expect the inclusion of an epic-like work in the pages of *La Galatea.* After the funeral rites for the departed shepherd have been performed, a fantastic event occurs over the gravesite with the appearance of 'un grande y maravilloso fuego, tan luciente y claro, que en un momento todo el escuro valle quedó con tanta claridad como si el mesmo sol le alumbrara' ['a great and marvellous fire, so bright and clear, that in a moment the entire dark valley remained with so much clarity as if the sun itself illuminated it'].[46]

As Varius and Augustus Caesar intervened to rescue Virgil's *Aeneid* from its doomed fiery grave, Cervantes has Calliope, the muse of epic poetry, leap out of the flames to deliver his epic—the 'Canto de Calíope'. Like the celebrated *Aeneid*, Cervantes's poem is also saved and recited so that future generations may remember it. Before reciting the verses of her prepared poem, Calliope reaffirms her status as the muse for matters that are, as Cervantes wrote in his prologue, 'levantado más que en las otras': 'Mi nombre es Calíope; mi oficio y condición es favorecer y ayudar a los divinos espíritus, cuyo loable ejercicio es ocuparse en la maravillosa y jamás como debe alabada ciencia de la Poesía' ['My name is Calliope; my occupation and condition is to favour and help divine spirits, whose praiseworthy exercise is to take part in the marvellous and never-as-it-should-be-praised science of Poetry'].[47] She then proceeds to name famed poets throughout history she has favoured: Homer, Virgil, Catullus, Horace, Propertius, Petrarch, Dante, Ariosto, Boscán, Garcilaso, Castillejo, Torres Naharro, Francisco de Aldana, Hernando de Acuña, and Diego Hurtado de Mendoza. By mentioning these celebrated writers both classical and contemporary, Cervantes achieves a *translatio studii* by having Calliope present to recite *his* composed verses and, thus, include him in the aforementioned throng of celebrated poets.

In the exordium of her *canto*, Calliope announces the topic of her verses:

> Al dulce son de mi templada lira
> prestad, pastores, el oído atento:
> oiréis cómo en mi voz y en él respira
> de mis hermanas el sagrado aliento.
> Veréis cómo os suspende, y os admira
> y colma vuestras almas de contento,
> cuando os dé relación, aquí en el suelo,
> de los ingenios que ya son del Cielo.
> Pienso cantar de aquellos solamente
> a quien la Parca el hilo aún no ha cortado,
> de aquellos que son dignos justamente
> de en tal lugar tenerle señalado,
> donde, a pesar del tiempo diligente,
> por el laudable oficio acostumbrado

[45] Virgil, *Aeneid*, p. 547. [46] Cervantes, *La Galatea*, p. 558.
[47] Cervantes, *La Galatea*, pp. 560–1.

vuestro, vivan mil siglos sus renombres,
sus claras obras, sus famosos nombres.

[To the sweet sound of my tuned lyre
lend, shepherds, your attentive ear:
you shall hear how in my voice and in it breathes
the sacred breath of my sisters.
You shall see how it astonishes you, and admires you
and fills your souls up with contentment,
when I give you an account, here on the ground,
of the ingenuous ones who are already in Heaven.
I plan to sing only of those
to whom the Fates have not yet cut their thread,
of those who are justly worthy
of being named in such place,
where, despite assiduous time,
for the praiseworthy occupation customary
to you, may live for a thousand centuries their fame,
their lucid works, their famous names.][48]

In this 'disproportionately bulky section',[49] Calliope chooses not to honour the already-deceased poets but those who are still alive, or rather, 'a quien la Parca el hilo aún no ha cortado'. Cervantes presents a poem that contains a total of 111 stanzas. Although a detailed study of all the poets that Calliope mentions would exceed the confines of the present study, I would like to focus on two distinct stanzas.

Early in her *canto*, this muse of epic poetry praises don Alonso de Ercilla and his celebrated *La Araucana*. The fourth stanza reads:

Otro del mesmo nombre, que de Arauco
cantó las guerras y el valor de España
el cual los reinos donde habita Glauco
pasó y sintió la embravecida saña;
no fue en voz, no fue su acento rauco,
que uno y otro fue de gracia,
y tal, que Ercil[l]a, en este hermoso asiento,
merece eterno y sacro monumento.

[Another by the same name, that of Araucan
sang the wars and valour of Spain
which the reigns where Glauco inhabits
happened and felt the enraged fury;
it was not in voice, it was not his raucous accent,
that it was one and another of grace
and so, that Ercilla, in this beautiful seat,
deserves eternal and sacred monument.][50]

[48] Cervantes, *La Galatea*, p. 563, vv. 1–16.
[49] Solé-Leris, p. 85.
[50] Cervantes, *La Galatea*, p. 564, vv. 25–32.

Although the 'Canto de Calíope' does not meet the standard requirements to be classified as being an epic poem, Cervantes circumvents these necessities by referencing others who have written epic poems or epic-like verses. In a later stanza, in fact, Calliope mentions how Spanish poets have accomplished a *translatio studii* from Antiquity by possessing the capability of composing verses similar to those of the most celebrated classical poets of epics. In the eighteenth stanza, this muse sings:

> Aquel ingenio que al mayor humano
> se deja atrás, y aspira al que es divino,
> y, dejando a una parte el castellano,
> sigue el heroico verso del latino;
> el nuevo Homero, el nuevo mantuano,
> es el maestro Córdoba, que es digno
> de celebrarse en la dichosa España,
> y en cuanto el sol alumbra y el mar baña.
>
> [That ingenious one who to the greatest human
> is left behind, and breathes in what is divine,
> and, leaving Spanish to one side,
> follows the heroic verse of Latin;
> the new Homer, the new Mantuan,
> he is the Cordovan master, who is worthy
> of being celebrated in fortunate Spain,
> and in as much the sun illuminates and the sea bathes.][51]

According to Francisco López Estrada and María Teresa López García-Berdoy, this 'maestro Córdoba' is Juan de Córdoba, an acquaintance of Lope de Vega.[52] Describing this poet as a new Homer and a new Virgil ('el nuevo mantuano'), Cervantes reminds the reader, albeit indirectly, of the *rota Virgilii* that he has strived to accomplish within the confines of *La Galatea*.

After reciting her lofty verses, Calliope departs as the flames from which she first appeared extinguish themselves. To close the funeral ceremonies that have honoured the deceased Meliso, Telesio summarizes the importance of the 'Canto de Calíope' and the grandeur of contemporary Spanish poetry, in which Cervantes has just participated:

> Y no penséis que es pequeño el gusto que he recibido en saber por tan verdadera relación cuán grande es el número de los divinos ingenios que en nuestra España hoy viven, porque siempre ha estado y está en opinión de todas las naciones extranjeras que no son muchos, sino pocos, los espíritus que le tienen levantado, siendo tan al revés como se parece, pues cada uno de los que la ninfa ha nombrado al más agudo extranjero se aventaja, y darían claras muestras de ello, si en esta nuestra España se estimase en tanto la poesía como en otras provincias se estima.

[51] Cervantes, *La Galatea*, p. 567, vv. 137–44.

[52] Cervantes, *La Galatea*, p. 634.

> [And do not think it is small the pleasure that I have received in knowing for such a true account on how great is the number of the divine ingenious ones who today live in our Spain, because it always has been and is the opinion of all foreign nations that there are not many, but rather few, the spirits who have raised it, being such to the contrary as it appears, then each one of those that the nymph has named exceeds the most acute foreigner, and they would give clear signs of it, if the poetry in this Spain of ours was esteemed as much as it is esteemed in other provinces.][53]

In conclusion, although early criticism has largely dismissed Cervantes's first endeavour into prose, this overshadowed pastoral romance stands alone as this author's attempt to present himself as an Orphic poet. Within the confines of this bucolic text, he pursues the famed *rota Virgilii* by incorporating poems that surpasses the expectations of the low-style normally expected of shepherds' songs. Along with discussing his artistic plan in the prologue to incorporate themes of great(er) importance, Cervantes appears to first follow the already-established tradition of Spain's *libros de pastores*. Yet, shortly within the narrative, Cervantes breaks the established mould and, thus, makes his narrative stand out by presenting a Spanish *locus amoenus* that is threatened by internal (e.g. homicides, suicides, and kidnappings) and external forces (e.g. Turkish battles both by land and by sea). Within this space, he presents himself to his reader, as Luis de Vargas Manrique describes him, as a new Orpheus within the mixture of prose and poetry. With the four shepherds' epithalamium and the 'Canto de Calíope', Cervantes participates within the *rota Virgilii* to achieve his own artistic grandeur. Reading *La Galatea* as such, redeems the text from its muddied literary criticism past and relative obscurity due to the unmitigated success of *Don Quixote* and other later works.

Works Cited

Avalle-Arce, Juan Bautista. *La novela pastoril española*, 2nd edn. (Madrid: Ediciones Istmo, 1974).

Castillo Martínez, Cristina. 'La violencia en los libros de pastores'. *Revista de Literatura* 72, no. 143 (2010): pp. 55–68.

Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de. *El ingenioso hidalgo don Quijote de la Mancha*, edited by L. A. Murillo (Madrid: Castalia, 1978).

Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de. *La Galatea*, edited by Francisco López Estrada and María Teresa López García-Berdoy (Madrid: Cátedra, 1999).

Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de. *The Ingenious Hidalgo Don Quixote de la Mancha*, translated by John Rutherford (New York: Penguin Books, 2003).

Cheney, Patrick Gerard. *Spenser's Famous Flight: A Renaissance Idea of a Literary Career*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993).

Damiani, Bruno Mario, and Barbara Louise Mujica. *Et in Arcadia ego: Essays on Death in the Pastoral Novel* (Lanham, MD: UP of America, 1990).

[53] Cervantes, *La Galatea*, p. 590.

De Armas, Frederick A. 'Cervantes and the Virgilian Wheel: The Portrayal of a Literary Career'. In *European Literary Careers: The Author from Antiquity to the Renaissance*, edited by Patrick Gerard Cheney and De Armas (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), pp. 268–85.

Deveny, Thomas. 'The Pastoral and the Epithalamium of the Spanish Golden Age'. In *Cervantes and the Pastoral*, edited by José J. Labrador and Juan Fernández Jiménez (Erie, PA: Penn State-Behrend College Symposium, 1986), pp. 81–99.

Finello, Dominick. *Pastoral Themes and Forms in Cervantes's Fiction* (Lewisburg: Bucknell UP, 1994).

Hernández-Pecoraro, Rosalie. *Bucolic Metaphors: History, Subjectivity, and Gender in the Early Modern Spanish Pastoral* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2006).

Kamen, Henry Arthur Francis. *Empire: How Spain Became a World Power, 1492–1763* (New York: HarperCollins, 2003).

Labrador, José J. and Juan Fernández Jiménez. *Cervantes and the Pastoral: Proceedings* (Erie, PA: Penn State–Behrend Collage Symposium, 1986).

López Estrada, Francisco. La Galatea *de Cervantes* (La Laguna de Tenerife: Universidad de La Laguna, 1948).

Nelson, Benjamin J. 'Ovidian Fame: Garcilaso de la Vega and Jorge de Montemayor as Orphic Voices in Early Modern Spain and the *Contamino* of the Orpheus and Eurydice Myth'. In *Ovid in the Age of Cervantes*, edited by Frederick de Armas (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), pp. 203–25.

Neuse, Richard. 'Milton and Spenser: The Virgilian Triad Revisted'. *ELH* 45, n.4 (1978): pp. 606–39.

Ovid. *Metamorphoses*, translated by E. J. Kenney (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1986).

Rennert, Hugo Albert. *The Spanish Pastoral Romances* (Philadelphia, 1912).

Ricciardelli, Michele. *Originalidad de* La Galatea *en la novela pastoril española* (Montevideo: Imprenta García S. A., 1966).

Solé-Leris, Amadeu. *The Spanish Pastoral Novel* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1980).

Ticknor, George. *History of Spanish Literature*, 6th edn. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin and Company, 1891).

Vega, Lope de. *La dama boba* (Madrid: Cátedra, 1989).

Vega, Lope de. *La viuda valenciana* (Madrid: Castalia, 2001).

Virgil. *Eclogues, Georgics, Aeneid I–VI*, translated by H. Rushton Fairclough (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1999).

CHAPTER 11

NOVELAS EJEMPLARES (1613)

BARRY IFE
King's College London and the Guildhall School of Music & Drama

Madrid, autumn 1613. A man enters a bookshop on the Calle Mayor in search of something to read. This is not just any bookshop: these are the premises of Francisco de Robles, 'librero del Rey nuestro Señor', bookseller by appointment to King Philip III, and 'the most successful and powerful bookseller in Madrid'.[1] His shop was the Hatchards, the Barnes & Noble, of seventeenth-century Spain.

Our reader has come here with a particular end in view. He and his family enjoyed reading *Don Quixote* when it first came out in 1605, but Cervantes has produced nothing since then. Now, the *tertulias* are abuzz with the news that he has—at long last—produced another book. Robles was an obvious choice as publisher: he had published *Don Quixote* in 1605 and, twenty years earlier, in Alcalá de Henares, his father Blas had brought out Cervantes's first novel, *La Galatea* (1585). Now, in early autumn 1613, Robles is finally able to offer our book-buyer, from among the thousands of titles he has in stock, a new work by Miguel de Cervantes, the *Novelas ejemplares*.

Book-buying in 1613 was a rather different experience from what we are familiar with today. For a start, most books were sold unbound. It was normal to purchase the printed sheets and send them off to be custom-bound to meet the needs or aspirations of the owner: serviceable vellum, or a uniform calf binding embossed in gilt if the book was destined for a private library. But in the bookshop a book without a cover is difficult to judge. There were none of the obvious clues to the contents that we rely on today: no seductive dust jacket, no blurb and, often, no portrait of the author, something that seems to have exercised Cervantes, if we are to believe what he says in the prologue of the *Novelas ejemplares*. An engraved frontispiece had been planned but did not materialise, and Cervantes was left to fill the gap with a self-portrait in words.[2]

[1] Clement, p. 115.

[2] 'En fin, pues ya esta ocasión se pasó, y yo he quedado en blanco y sin figura, será forzoso valerme por mi pico…' (Cervantes, *Novelas ejemplares*, p. 17). ['In the event, for that opportunity was lost and I

And, of course, there was no attendant PR industry: no book launch, no reviews, no literary prizes or other means of promoting the author. Literary celebrity depended on word of mouth, a bookseller's recommendation ('if you enjoyed *Don Quixote* you might also enjoy the *Novelas ejemplares*'), or the occasional disparaging mention in the work of a jealous rival.

But the seventeenth-century book-buyer was not entirely without guidance in his choice of reading. Books from this period came with extensive preliminaries or 'paratexts', in which writers and publishers did their best to catch the attention of potential purchasers and reassure them that their money would be well spent. If we assume that Robles had a shop copy of the *Novelas ejemplares* ready bound for browsing, the first thing the customer might have noticed was the size and format of the volume: seventy-one and a half *pliegos* or folded sheets, making 12+274 folios or 24+548 pages; that is, not far short of the length of the 1605 *Don Quixote*. And, allowing for inflation, the price was just about the same: eight reales and fourteen maravedís (about £25 or $30 at today's prices). Author and publisher were clearly trying to create some sense of equivalence between this new work and the established best-seller.

The next feature to catch the customer's attention might have been the extent of the preliminaries. Lengthy even by seventeenth-century standards, they take up the first twenty-four pages: title, contents, errata, certificate of retail price control, four statements of approval by censors, royal warrants to publish in both Castile and Aragon, Cervantes's prologue to the reader, a formal dedication to the Conde de Lemos, and four endorsements in verse by friends and supporters. Some of these were statutory requirements, others were optional extras. But they were all designed to impress and reassure.

The paratexts make clear that the *Novelas ejemplares* had been in preparation for well over a year. The four ecclesiastical approvals were issued in July and August 1612 and the 'privilege' or licence to print in Castile is dated November of the same year. But Robles clearly wanted a licence for Aragon as well, in order to minimise the likelihood of pirate editions, and this was not granted until August 1613.[3] Cervantes himself may have contributed to the delay by trying to drive a hard bargain over the sale of the rights. He and Robles eventually settled at 1,600 reales plus 24 free copies, which is almost certainly a much better deal than he got for *Don Quixote*, Part I.[4]

Most striking of all will be the title page itself (see Figure 11.1).

The wording of the title ('Exemplary Novels by Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra') is confident and takes Cervantes's reputation for granted: *Don Quixote* had sold well, had been reprinted several times, and Madrid was a small but powerful cultural hub that

have been left blank and unillustrated, I shall have to make do with my tongue…'] (Cervantes, *The Complete Exemplary Novels*, p. xxxi). All subsequent references are to these editions. For a comprehensive analysis of Cervantes's prologue see Boyd and for a more general overview of the collection see Ife, 'General Introduction'.

[3] *Don Quixote*, Part I had been printed in Valencia and Lisbon in 1605, which were not covered by the licence for Castile and hence represented lost income for Robles. The *Novelas ejemplares* fared no better, with pirate editions in Pamplona and Brussels in 1614 and Milan in 1615, and a counterfeit edition, claiming to be from the press of Juan de la Cuesta in Madrid, but probably printed in Seville in 1614.

[4] García López, in Cervantes, *Novelas ejemplares*, p. 770.

FIGURE 11.1 Miguel de Cervantes, *Novelas ejemplares* (Madrid; Francisco de Robles, 1613), title page.

Source: Internet archive.

made it possible for a successful author to build a reputation. The dedicatee was also well known: the Count of Lemos, who had recently been appointed Viceroy, Governor, and Captain General of Naples. Cervantes had travelled to Barcelona in 1610 to be present at the Count's departure for his new posting and had entertained hopes of accompanying him in service in Italy. Cervantes will have more to say about him in the prologue.

The engraved emblem of a hooded hawk and the motto *Post tenebras spero lucem* [I hope for light after darkness] was the same as had been used for the 1605 *Don Quixote* and would be used again for the second part in 1615, and for *Persiles y Sigismunda* in 1617. The imprint was that of Juan de la Cuesta, one of the best print shops in Madrid and often used by Robles, although Cuesta himself had left the firm in 1607. As to Robles, we have already seen that Cervantes 'could have had no better publisher'.[5] He had inherited the shop—through his mother's side of the family—from another great publisher and bookseller, Juan de Medina, and had built it up to become one of the best-capitalized operations in an otherwise under-capitalized industry.[6] As far as the front page is concerned, everything points to a solid, reliable, dependable product with satisfaction guaranteed.

But what about that title—*Novelas ejemplares*—what does that mean? Turn the page and the table of contents shows twelve novels (see Figure 11.2).

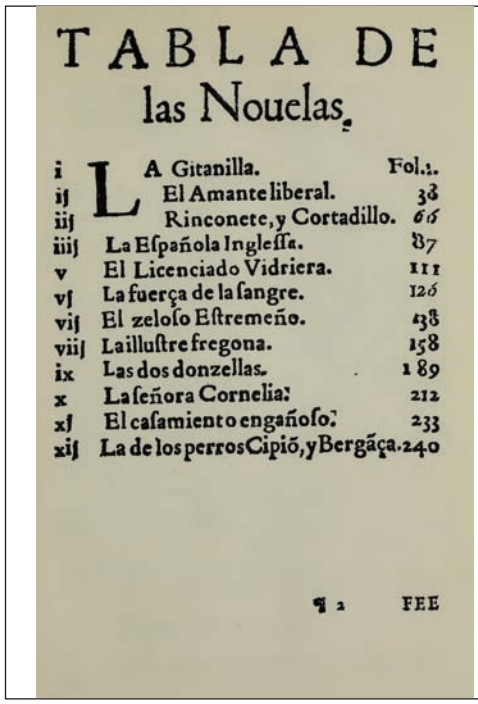

TABLA DE
las Nouelas.

i	La Gitanilla.	Fol.1.
ij	El Amante liberal.	38
iij	Rinconete, y Cortadillo.	61
iiij	La Eſpañola Ingleſſa.	87
v	El Licenciado Vidriera.	111
vj	La fuerça de la ſangre.	126
vij	El zeloſo Eſtremeño.	138
viij	La illuſtre fregona.	158
ix	Las dos donzellas.	189
x	La ſeñora Cornelia.	212
xj	El caſamiento engañoſo.	233
xij	La de los perros Cipiõ, y Bergãça.	240

¶ 2 FEE

List of the Novels

The Little Gypsy Girl
The Generous Lover
Rinconete and Cortadillo
The English Spanish Girl
The Glass Graduate
The Power of Blood
The Jealous Old Man from Extremadura
The Illustrious Kitchen-Maid
The Two Damsels
Lady Cornelia
The Deceitful Marriage
The one about the dogs Cipión and Berganza

FIGURE 11.2 Miguel de Cervantes, *Novelas ejemplares* (Madrid; Francisco de Robles, 1613), fol. 2r, contents page.

Source: internet archive. Author's translations.

[5] Clement, p. 115. [6] Cruickshank, p. 815.

There are many intriguing titles here, with a tendency towards oxymoron: a generous lover? An English Spanish girl? An illustrious kitchen-maid? And a novel about two dogs?[7] But one title in particular might have caught the attention of a dedicated and assiduous reader of *Don Quixote*, Part I: *Rinconete y Cortadillo*. In Chapter 32 of *Don Quixote*, the innkeeper Juan Palomeque investigates the contents of a suitcase left behind by a previous guest at the inn. Inside, there are three printed books and a manuscript of a 'novela' called *El curioso impertinente*. The customers at the inn ask the priest to read it to them, and the reading takes up virtually the whole of the next three chapters of the host novel. Cervantes has simply inserted a completely different novel into his main narrative and forced the reader of *Don Quixote* to sit there with the rest of the clientele and listen while the priest reads out the whole thing, all sixteen and a half thousand words of it, word for word. This is one of Cervantes's boldest and most provocative experiments in narrative architecture, the keystone in the great arch that keeps Part I aloft.

Much later, in Chapter 47, it turns out that there had, in fact, been two novels in the mysterious suitcase, the other one being *Rinconete y Cortadillo*. That novel remained unread in 1605, but here it is again, having finally found its way into print in 1613. Why now, and why in this format?

Part of the answer lies in Cervantes's relationship to the market, which is why we have started this chapter by looking at the extrinsic factors governing the publication of the *Novelas ejemplares*. Cervantes spent the last thirty or more years of his life desperately trying to make ends meet. His military career had ended to all intents and purposes at the battle of Lepanto in 1571, when the Holy League under Don John of Austria defeated the Turkish fleet and Cervantes sustained a gunshot wound that left him permanently unable to use his left hand. Cervantes was very proud of this wound, 'cobrado en la más memorable y alta ocasión que vieron los pasados siglos' ['collected . . . in the greatest and most memorable event that past centuries have ever seen'].[8] But it rendered the business of making a living doubly difficult.

And there was worse to come. On returning to Spain from further, less conspicuous service in 1575, he was captured by corsairs and imprisoned for more than five years in Algiers. Curiously, he makes no mention of this episode in his short biography in the prologue to the *Novelas ejemplares*, although he turned some of it into fiction in the Captive's Tale in *Don Quixote* I.39–41 and revisited the theme of captivity and redemption several times in the *Novelas ejemplares* themselves.

At the age of 33, then, this much travelled old soldier found himself back home in Spain, a war veteran without a pension, with no visible means of support and, as soon became apparent, unable to hold down a regular job without falling foul of the authorities and spending more time in jail. His first literary venture, a pastoral novel called *La Galatea*, appeared in 1585. Cervantes later wrote disparagingly, in the scrutiny of Don Quixote's library, that it was all proposition and no conclusion: 'propone algo, y no concluye nada'.[9] The reading public saw no reason to disagree with him. It was not published

[7] Note that Cervantes does not reveal at this stage that Cipión and Berganza are talking dogs.

[8] Cervantes, *Novelas ejemplares*, p. 17; p. xxxi.

[9] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, v. I, p. 94. All subsequent references are to this edition. The priest goes on to say that they would have to wait for the second part to see if it got any better.

again in Spain in his lifetime, and the second part—which he was still promising, over thirty years later, in the dedication of *Persiles y Sigismunda*—never appeared, if, indeed, it was ever written.

Nevertheless, Cervantes evidently had a strong sense that there was a living to be made from writing, if he could only find the right formula. There is considerable evidence that he was already experimenting with a new literary form that he was to make his own, the long short story or *novela*—what in English we would now call, somewhat confusingly in this context, a 'novella'.[10] The Spanish word *novela* was not much used in the sixteenth century to describe a work of prose fiction. When it was, it generally referred to a narrative form made popular by a succession of Italian writers, of whom the best known is Giovanni Boccaccio. His collection of 100 tales, *Il Decamerone* (*c.*1348–53), appeared in five editions in Spanish before it was placed on the Index of Prohibited Books in 1559. Collections of short stories by several sixteenth-century Italian writers were also published in Spanish, including: Giovanni Francesco Straparola, *Le piacevole notti* [*Pleasant Nights*], 1550–3 (Zaragoza, 1578 and six further editions by 1598); Matteo Bandello, *Novelle*, 1554–73 (Salamanca, 1589) and Giovanni Battista Giraldi Cinthio, *Hecatommithi*, 1565 (Toledo, 1590).

These collections of short stories were sometimes little more than anecdotes, often bawdy or salacious in character, and loosely assembled within some form of frame. The *Decameron* is perhaps the best-known example of the genre, where the frame is provided by an outbreak of plague in Florence. Seven young women and three young men, all of whom have been evacuated from the city to a country retreat, pass the time by telling each other 100 tales in ten days.

The Arabic equivalent, *One Thousand and One Nights* (often called the *Arabian Nights*) in which the virgin queen Scheherazade tells a succession of unfinished tales night after night, could well have been known to Cervantes, either directly during his period of imprisonment in Algiers, or indirectly through any number of medieval Spanish intermediaries.

Such collections of short stories were much translated or imitated in sixteenth-century Spain, from Juan de Timoneda's *El Patrañuelo* [*The Hoaxer*] (Valencia, 1567) to re-editions of medieval wisdom literature, notably *El Conde Lucanor* [*Count Lucanor*] (Seville, 1575) by Don Juan Manuel, written *c.*1330–5. The widespread popularity of these short narratives throughout Europe is attested by the fact that many of them found their way onto the English stage through the work of Shakespeare and his contemporaries.

Given Cervantes's need to earn a living, and his ambition to do so from writing, the popularity of the Italian short story had a lot to recommend it. But he was clearly aiming to write at greater length than the Italians (his *novelas* are anything up to 15,000 to 20,000 words long)[11] and with greater complexity; to be more original and sophisticated;

[10] See Laspéras.

[11] When Juan Palomeque hands the manuscript of *El curioso impertinente* to the priest in *Don Quixote*, I.32, the narrator notes that it is 'hasta obra de ocho pliegos' (i.e. 16 folios or 32 pages), written in an exceptionally fine hand ('de tan buena letra', p. 410). With characteristic deftness, Cervantes subtly draws attention to the substantial length of the *novela*, and implies that the manuscript has been

to create a form of fiction with literary aspirations, something that would challenge his readers and make them think.

Cervantes's claim in the prologue to be the first to write novels in Spanish ('yo soy el primero que he novelado en lengua castellana') is more than justified, not just on grounds of originality, but also for the skilful blend of entertainment and literary sophistication they offer. Whereas other Spanish collections of *novelas* are imitated or plagiarised, these are all his own work ('éstas son mías propias, no imitadas ni hurtadas').[12] And while other *novelas* are often little more than bawdy anecdotes, these novels offer the most wholesome entertainment, that is, entertainment that our book-buyer could allow his wife—or even his servants—to read. Several of the paratexts refer to the collection as *Novelas ejemplares de honestísimo entretenimiento* [*Exemplary Novels of the Most Wholesome Entertainment*],[13] suggesting that this had been Cervantes's, or Robles's, original choice of title. Whether this longer form was dropped for reasons of brevity, economy, more positive marketing, or to avoid the charge of over-protesting, can only be surmised. But what is clear is that the title Cervantes eventually settled on would have struck most contemporary readers and book-buyers as an intriguing contradiction in terms.

We can be reasonably certain that Cervantes had written at least six *novelas* of this type before 1605. As we have seen, *El curioso impertinente* was inserted wholesale into *Don Quixote*, Part I, and *Rinconete y Cortadillo* might have been, if the innkeeper had pulled that manuscript out of the mystery suitcase first. But we also have an independent sighting of *Rinconete y Cortadillo* from another manuscript, compiled by Francisco Porras de la Cámara for Cardinal Fernando Niño de Guevara in or about 1604.

This source, known as the Porras manuscript, also contained two other *novelas*, one of which—*El celoso extremeño*—was subsequently included in the *Novelas ejemplares*, and the other of which—*La tía fingida*—is generally attributed to Cervantes but was not included in the 1613 collection. The Porras manuscript was destroyed in 1823, but not before its contents were transcribed, and comparison of the 1604 and 1613 versions shows that Cervantes revised his earlier work, in places quite extensively, before it was published.

prepared by a professional copyist, perhaps for presentation to a patron, for private circulation, or in readiness for publication.

[12] Cervantes, *Novelas ejemplares*, p. 19.

[13] Specifically, the censor's report by Alonso Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo (31 July 1613, p. 8) and the two royal warrants for Castile (22 November 1612, pp. 9–10) and Aragon (9 August 1613, pp. 11–12), twice in the latter case. The censor's report by Fr. Juan Bautista (9 July 1612, pp. 5–6) also uses the phrase 'entretenimiento honesto', though not as part of the title but as a definition of the quality of *eutropelia* that he discerns in the novels: 'porque entretienen con su novedad, enseñan con sus ejemplos a huir vicios y seguir virtudes, y el autor cumple con su intento, con que da honra a nuestra lengua castellana, y avisa a las repúblicas de los daños que de algunos vicios se siguen, con otras muchas comodidades…' ['they entertain with their novelty, they teach with their examples the fleeing of vice and the following of virtue, and the author fulfils his intention, honouring our Spanish language and warning nations of the harm that stems from some vices, with many other benefits…'] (p. xxv). The range of dates for these paratexts suggests that the longer version of the title was still in play until shortly before publication.

Then there is the further interpolated *novela*, *El capitán cautivo*, mentioned earlier. And finally, there is the original short story, itself possibly based on an anonymous short play, which is thought to have formed the basis of Don Quixote's first sally, before the introduction of Sancho Panza.[14] What is interesting about these six pre-1605 short novels is that between them they exemplify many of the characteristics of the 1613 *Novelas ejemplares*, particularly Cervantes's fondness for working in a wide variety of genres in different combinations.

But there were undoubtedly many more examples of this type: there are four self-contained stories interpolated into *La Galatea* and several other shorter episodes; there are similar episodes interpolated into both parts of *Don Quixote* (especially Cardenio's story, I.23–36); there are the 'thirteen exemplary novels' embedded into *Persiles y Sigimunda*;[15] and there are the remaining ten stories from the *Novelas ejemplares*. Viewed from this perspective, it soon becomes apparent that the *novela* is one of the basic building blocks of all Cervantes's fiction in prose.

Cervantes might well have taken his new format to market much earlier had it not been for the publication in 1599 of the first part of *Guzmán de Alfarache* by Mateo Alemán, a *converso* from Seville, government official, and frequent inmate of the debtors' prison. His novel about corruption in the criminal underworld would consolidate the genre of the picaresque and change Spanish fiction beyond recognition. Loosely based on its precursor, *La vida de Lazarillo de Tormes* (1554), Alemán's version of the picaresque is much darker in tone, more cynical in attitude, yet, ostensibly, with a strong moral purpose.

A loner from the underclass, living off his wits, Guzmán staggers from one life crisis to another, winning some but losing many more. His career ends as a galley slave, and from the galley he writes his autobiography, an interior dialogue between his younger, foolish self (Guzmanillo) and his older, wiser, repentant self (Guzmán). That structure, pioneered by the anonymous *Lazarillo* and crystallized by Alemán, was to become the very definition of the Spanish picaresque.

Guzmán de Alfarache was the biggest publishing success of its time, with sixteen editions in five years.[16] A spurious continuation, written by a Valencian lawyer, Juan Martí,

[14] The view that Don Quixote's first sally derives from a *novela* or an *entremés* is traditional, and has been contested, but the arguments were reviewed and crystallized in Stagg, 'Revision' and 'Retrospective'. The first six chapters make a coherent whole, are the right length, have a strong focus on a single sally and a clear, exemplary theme, to undermine the authority of books of chivalry and their influence on the minds of common people: 'deshacer la autoridad y cabida que en el mundo y en el vulgo tienen los libros de caballerías' (p. 19). What is more, the earlier statement in the prologue that the whole thing is a diatribe against books of chivalry ('todo él es una invectiva contra los libros de caballerías', p. 18) is true of the first six chapters in a way that is only partly true of the rest of the novel. The absence of Sancho from the first sally provides some of the strongest evidence in favour of a pre-existent *novela*, otherwise, why not include Sancho from the outset, do away with the short first sally, and leave out the scrutiny of the books?

[15] Wilson, pp. 151–76.

[16] Luis de Valdés, writing in a preface to the 1604 second part, claims that 50,000 copies of the first part alone were in circulation, in 26 editions, mostly pirated. The novel was also a major international success—though that was the least of Cervantes's worries—appearing in French in 1600, Italian in 1606, German in 1615, English in 1622, and Latin in 1623.

and published under the pseudonym Mateo Luján de Sayavedra, appeared in 1602 before Alemán could bring out his own second part in 1604.

The popularity of *Guzmán de Alfarache* was a major stimulus to the writing of *Don Quixote* and to Cervantes's subsequent literary career.[17] Cervantes was a very competitive man: he took proper pride in his own ability but never felt he got the recognition he deserved. He had published nothing in prose since *La Galatea* some fifteen years earlier and his alternative career as a playwright had been frustrated by the popular appeal of Lope de Vega. So the publishing success of *Guzmán de Alfarache* was both a challenge and an opportunity. How could, how should, Cervantes respond?

There were aspects of *Guzmán de Alfarache* that clearly did not appeal to him, and the picaresque in its 'pure' form was the only popular genre to which Cervantes never did turn his hand. He preferred to use singleton characters in heroic or romance contexts, and when working with anti-heroic material he would generally use two protagonists rather than one (Carriazo and Avendaño, Rinconete and Cortadillo, Don Quixote and Sancho). The former approach was better suited to third-person narrative, while the latter lent itself more obviously to comic dialogue, from which Cervantes created his own form of picaresque 'lite'. Cervantes never adopts the classic, introspective, picaresque interior dialogue, though there are some passages of interior monologue in I.2, when Don Quixote has no one to talk to other than himself. Most significantly, Cervantes clearly did not care for the corrupt lifestyle of the *pícaro* or share Alemán's very bleak view of the world: only *El coloquio de los perros* comes close, and even then Cervantes wraps the cynicism in a multi-layered blanket of playful irony. This is, after all, a dog's-eye view of the world.

But there were other aspects of *Guzmán de Alfarache*, apart from its sheer popularity, that obviously did appeal to Cervantes. It was a long book, at least as long as many of the books of chivalry that had dominated the leisure market in the sixteenth century, but it was episodic rather than 'interlaced'.[18] The episodic structure of *Guzmán de Alfarache* reflects the protagonist's constant flight from one entanglement to another, but it also allows Alemán to insert long quasi-novelistic episodes into the main narrative in the interests of variety. In so doing, Alemán was channelling the latest neo-Aristotelian literary theory, championed in Spain by Alonso López Pinciano in his *Philosophía antigua poética* (1596).[19]

If Cervantes had looked to see what he had in his bottom drawer and how he could hitch it to Alemán's bandwagon, the answer could easily have been a *novela* about an impoverished hidalgo: a singleton protagonist (Sancho has not yet been invented), a socially and financially dysfunctional member of the gentry, unmarried and without children; someone who fails to husband his land and his assets productively and who develops a propensity to wander. The early exploits of Alonso Quijano, with its gentle

[17] See Close.

[18] The French term 'entrelacement' is used to describe the traditional romance technique of intertwining several narrative strands so that they each surface in turn to create variety within a single narrative.

[19] See Riley, *Cervantes's Theory*…, pp. 116–31.

satire on anachronistic conduct fuelled by uncritical reading, would not have been such an odd card to play in the circumstances. Add in Sancho—after a careful re-reading of what the innkeeper says about the need for a squire in I.3—and Cervantes would have a formula that could run and run. Part I did not quite achieve the commercial success of *Guzmán de Alfarache*, but seven editions by 1608 helped to establish the knight and his squire in the popular imagination and translations into several European languages soon followed. What is more, Part I did sufficiently well to pose the perennial question faced by any successful writer: what to do for an encore?

As we have already noted, Cervantes published nothing between Part I in 1605 and the *Novelas ejemplares* in 1613, a gap of eight years,[20] so he cannot be accused of being in a rush. He clearly had difficulty in deciding what to write next or in getting down to the task of actually writing it. One possible explanation—borne out by the evidence of the so-called 'late flowering' of the years 1613 to 1616—is that he had too many options, all of which he tried to tackle in tandem rather than one at a time. Broadly speaking, there were at least three things he could do next:

a) He could write a sequel to *Don Quixote*, which he eventually did, and which Francisco de Robles published in 1615, but not before Alonso Fernández de Avellaneda pre-empted him with an apocryphal second part in 1614.
b) He could use the success of *Don Quixote* as a way of promoting some of his other work, particularly his plays, which he thought had never received the attention they deserved due to the greater popularity of Lope de Vega. This he also did, by bringing out the *Ocho comedias y ocho entremeses* in 1615.
c) He could finish his great prose romance, *Persiles y Sigismunda,* the book that he intended to be his masterpiece—the book that dared to compete with Heliodorus and which he had been working on for several years.[21] This he also did, just in time, a few days before he died in 1616; it was published posthumously, though not by Robles, the following year.

But each of these would take time. Cervantes was evidently a slow writer: as late as 1613, in the prologue to the *Novelas ejemplares*, he would still be announcing the imminent arrival of the second part of *Don Quixote*, and of *Persiles y Sigismunda*, in a desperate attempt to forestall imitators and manage readers' expectations. So maybe there was a quicker option, one that would allow him to capitalise on his new-found reputation and make use of material that he had already written:

[20] Seven, if we take into account the fact that the earliest censors' reports are dated July 1612.

[21] Heliodorus of Emesa (mid-third century AD) was famed for a Greek romance called the *Aethiopica* about the lives of the two lovers Theagenes and Chariclea. The manuscript was discovered in the sixteenth century, printed in Basel in 1534, translated into French in 1547, Latin in 1551, English in 1569, and Spanish, twice, in 1554 and 1587. It was held in high regard by Renaissance humanist critics who valued it for its exemplarity and verisimilitude; that is, although it was a work of the imagination, it kept within the bounds of credibility, unlike many other romances of the period.

d) Bring out a collection of shorter novels like *Rinconete y Cortadillo*, the ghost *novela* that never made it into the text of *Don Quixote*.

This option had much to commend it in both practical and literary terms. In spite of its success, Part I was not without its critics. In II.3, Sansón Carrasco reports adverse comments on the inclusion of *El curioso impertinente*, 'no por mala, ni por mal razonada, sino por no ser de aquel lugar, ni tiene que ver con la historia de su merced del señor don Quijote' ['not that it's a bad one, or badly told, but it's out of place and has nothing to do with the history of the great Don Quixote'].[22]

Cervantes expanded on the implications of this remark in II.44, when he reports that Cide Hamete Benengeli had regretted embarking on the history of Don Quixote because it is so dry and one-dimensional ('tan seca y tan limitada');[23] it did not give him the chance to branch out into weightier and more entertaining episodes ('otras digresiones y episodios más graves y más entretenidos')[24] as he had done in the first part with *El curioso impertinente* and *El capitán cautivo*. These digressions relieved him, he says, of the insufferable task ('trabajo incomportable') of having to write about a single subject in the voices of very few characters ('escribir de un solo sujeto y hablar por las bocas de pocas personas').

What is more, he feared that his readers might give more attention to the exploits of Don Quixote than to the novels themselves, which they might skip, and not appreciate their elegance and artistry, which would be more apparent if they were published separately ('pasarían por ellas . . . sin advertir la gala y artificio que en sí contienen, el cual se mostrara bien al descubierto, cuando por sí solas . . . salieran a luz').[25] This is scarcely a Spanish artist's reply to just criticism. Rather, Cervantes seems unrepentant in support of his original remarks in I.28 concerning the merits of the *novela*: that the stories and episodes are no less agreeable, well-written, and true than the history itself ('los cuentos y episodios . . . que en parte no son menos agradables y artificiosos y verdaderos que la misma historia').[26]

Cervantes's response in the second part, therefore, hovers between irony and insolence: he will not include self-contained novels but only include episodes that have the appearance of novels ('en esta segunda parte no quiso injerir novelas sueltas ni pegadizas, sino algunos episodios que lo pareciesen').[27] But the second part is just as

[22] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, p. 710; *Don Quixote*, p. 506. [23] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, p. 1069.

[24] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, p. 1070.

[25] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, p. 1070. Cervantes's use of two imperfect subjunctives in this passage ('el cual se mostrara, cuando por sí solas salieran a luz') makes the meaning ambiguous: either 'as would be clear *if they were* published separately' or 'as would be clear *when they are* published separately'. In the latter case, Cervantes could be alluding directly to the publication of the *Novelas ejemplares*. If we take the chronology of Part II at face value, Cervantes had reached Chapter 36 by 20 July 1614, the date of Sancho's letter to his wife Teresa. If this passage were written after the publication of the *Novelas ejemplares,* the allusion could still be prospective in reported speech: '[Cide Hamete said that] it would be clear when they were published separately'.

[26] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, p. 347. [27] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, p. 1070.

episodic as the first, if not more so. He may have made the joins less visible but he'll be damned if he'll allow others to dictate what he writes and how he writes it.[28]

A separate collection of short novels like the *El curioso impertiente*, therefore, offered a number of advantages. Firstly, it would free him from the requirement to provide a frame, relieve him from the 'dry constraints' of a single narrative thread, and open up a world of many voices. Novels like *Rinconete y Cortadillo* pointed the way to a new type of fiction: short novels that can stand alone without the need for a larger frame-story in which they have to be set. Even so, Cervantes did not wish the absence of a frame to go unremarked: the last *novela*, *El coloquio de los perros*, is embedded into the previous one, *El casamiento engañoso*, providing just enough framing here to draw attention to its absence elsewhere.

Secondly, the absence of a frame allowed Cervantes to explore the widest possible range of genres, geographical settings, social classes, and plot types, and to mix and match the most popular genres, providing an extraordinary degree of variety within the collection. No novel in the collection is quite like any of the others. While *Don Quixote*, Part I takes place in a few square miles of La Mancha, the geographical settings of the *Novelas ejemplares* range from the Aegean to the Caribbean and from Britain to North Africa. The characters are drawn from an equally broad social spectrum, from the new, affluent nobility to self-made merchants, criminals, confidence tricksters, dominant women, and excluded minorities. Contemporary political and social conflicts feature extensively in the foreground as well as the background and several of the novels are set in the major cities of Spain and the rest of Europe.

Finally, with the possible exception of the picaresque, none of the principal fictional genres of Cervantes's time is missing from this well-stocked anthology of popular literary types designed to appeal to a well-read, metropolitan audience. Setting the stories free in this way allowed Cervantes to demonstrate his *gala y artificio*, to concentrate on the formal and technical challenges and opportunities provided by a tight, focused narrative structure with a beginning, a middle, and an end—although not always in that order.

Exactly how many of the *Novelas ejemplares* were already in Cervantes's bottom drawer in 1605 is not clear and much critical effort has been expended on attempting to establish the order in which they were written. Aside from the inherent interest of the question, a reliable order of composition could give a clue to what Cervantes was trying to achieve by adding the later novels to 'complete' the 'collection'.

Sadly, the facts of the matter are far from clear, and there is no consensus other than that we are unlikely ever to know for certain. Approaches to solving the puzzle have largely been based on extrinsic factors, internal evidence,[29] or—largely untenable—

[28] Dmitri Shostakovich adopted the same approach when criticized by the Soviet authorities for failing to compose in a way that was consistent with socialist realism. His Fifth Symphony (1937) embraced the requirement for exalted rhetorical optimism to such an extent as to make a mockery of it. Shostakovich famously described the symphony, ironically, as 'a Soviet artist's creative response to justified criticism'.

[29] Internal evidence based on historical events needs careful handling because comparison of the manuscript and published versions of *Rinconete y Cortadillo* and *El celoso extremeño* shows that

assumptions about Cervantes's changing preferences for certain genre types. Early twentieth-century critics, reflecting the prevailing tastes of the nineteenth century, thought in terms of an 'evolution' from romance towards a form of realism they saw as characteristic of the novel.[30] This approach explains the virtual disappearance of Cervantes's prose epic *Persiles y Sigismunda* from the canon of his works at that time.

In 1974, Ruth El Saffar turned this paradigm on its head in a book entitled *Novel to Romance*, reversing the direction of travel and rehabilitating romance as a major feature of Cervantes's fiction in prose. A subsequent extremely influential essay by E.C. Riley ('Cervantes: A Question of Genre') argued that one of the distinctive features of Cervantes's work is the way he mixes romance and realism, embedding romance features into recognisably real-world situations and locations. This approach, which captured the essence of Cervantes's aesthetic more convincingly than any previous attempt, also had the effect of ruling out genre-based approaches to the chronology of the *Novelas ejemplares*.

The most systematic recent assessment of the chronology of the *Novelas ejemplares* has been made by Jorge García López.[31] His taxonomy produces four broad groups:

a) Novels that probably pre-date *Don Quixote*, Part I, the Porras manuscript, and *Guzmán de Alfarache* (i.e. before 1599), at least in their original versions: *El amante liberal* and *La española inglesa*.
b) Those that are included in the Porras manuscript or are contemporary with *Don Quixote*, Part I, but post-date *Guzmán de Alfarache* (1600–4) and were subsequently revised: *Rinconete y Cortadillo*, *El celoso extremeño*.[32]
c) Novels that presuppose that the Court was still in Valladolid or which retain references to Valladolid (1601–6): *El licenciado Vidriera*, *El coloquio de los perros*, *El casamiento engañoso*, and *La gitanilla*.
d) A group from around 1608–10 that most closely resemble the Italian models and may have been included as 'fillers': *La ilustre fregona*, *Las dos doncellas*, *La fuerza de la sangre*, and *La señora Cornelia*.

The most striking conclusion from this summary is that, significantly, the majority of the novels had been written, at least in early drafts, by 1605 or very shortly afterwards.[33] It seems clear that, several years before they were eventually published, Cervantes was already thinking about how to showcase this new form of fiction that had few if any precedents in European literature. This was a logical next step for a talented and ambi-

Cervantes revised his work extensively; and because he was quite capable of telescoping or elongating historical time in the service of literary time, as is apparent from the internal chronology of *Persiles y Sigismunda*.

[30] See, among others, González de Amezúa y Mayo, vol. I, Chapter 11.

[31] Cervantes, *Novelas ejemplares*, pp. 726–35 and García López, *Cervantes*…, p. 213.

[32] *La tía fingida* would be part of this group if it had been included in the 1613 collection.

[33] This conclusion is supported by the overwhelming use in the *Novelas ejemplares* of the linguistic formula 'a lo cual' rather than 'a lo que' which predominates in Cervantes's later work (see Rico).

tious writer who was keen to build on his new-found literary celebrity and who had some great stories to tell.

Whatever the order in which the novels were written and revised, that chronology is clearly not reflected in the order in which they appear in the published volume; which prompts the question, what is the rationale for that order? In what sense are the *Novelas ejemplares* a collection, a set, or a cycle? Is there any unifying structure, thread, or overall design, and if so, what?

Cervantes himself suggests at least two features that the novels have in common. The first clue is in the title: 'Heles dado nombre de ejemplares, y si bien lo miras, no hay ninguna de quien no se pueda sacar algún ejemplo provechoso; y si no fuera por no alargar este sujeto, quizá te mostrara el sabroso y honesto fruto que se podría sacar, así de todas juntas, como de cada una de por sí' ['I have called them *Exemplary*, and if you look closely, you will see that there is not one from which you cannot extract some profitable example; and if it were not for the fact that it would make this over-long, perhaps I would show you the delicious and wholesome fruit which could be pulled both from the collection as a whole and from each one alone'].[34]

Cervantes's suggestion that there is a moral to be drawn from each novel and from the collection as a whole ('así de todas juntas') creates a powerful unifying theme for the collection but not one that stands up to close scrutiny—at least, not in any conventional sense. Given the prevalence of sex and violence in the collection and the fact that many of the plots turn on a murder, rape, or abduction, his insistence that they are not just harmless ('honestísimo entretenimiento') but exemplary leaves him open to the charge that he is being disingenuous. What is more, as with the frame, the occasional banal gesture towards a medieval *fabliau* ('and the moral of the story is…') only serves to underline the absence of similar conclusions elsewhere. Two lines of Petrarch at the end of *El casamiento engañoso* do not make a 'delicious and wholesome fruit', nor does the claim at the end of *La española inglesa* that the story shows what beauty and virtue can achieve in the face of adverse fortune; such a conclusion, if meant without irony, would be an insult to the reader's intelligence.

In this case, as in many others, Cervantes's prologue is more problematic than it makes out. It provides a fitting introduction to a thought-provoking collection of novels, and it sets the agenda for an intelligent discussion of them. But it should not be taken at face value. Like the stories themselves, the prologue is ambivalent, cryptic, and laden with Cervantes's characteristic irony. By inviting the reader to look for profitable examples that are not explicit, or by providing banal conclusions that fly in the face of common sense and experience, Cervantes is underlining the way in which the lesson has to be learned by dint of careful consideration and close reading. Even then, the lessons will be complex and often inconclusive: human nature—and divine providence—are complex matters which do not lend themselves readily to clear-cut judgments.

The exemplarity of the *Novelas ejemplares* is not, therefore, the kind that can be stuck onto the end of the story as an afterthought; it is woven into the fabric of the novel and

[34] Cervantes, *Novelas ejemplares*, p. 18; p. xxxiii.

depends both on how the tale is told and—just as important—how it is read. Cervantes himself is usually relatively noncommittal towards his material; in some of the stories (*Rinconete y Cortadillo*, *El licenciado Vidriera*, and *El coloquio de los perros*) he is overtly satirical, although in the latter two cases the majority of the satire is delegated to a potentially unreliable mouthpiece: a man who thinks he is made of glass and a dog, respectively. But for the most part, Cervantes simply states the facts and leaves the reader to draw conclusions. The quest for profit is part of the pleasure. In this way, it is perhaps better to think of the *Novelas ejemplares* as providing 'samples' rather than examples to be followed or avoided: 'samples' that illustrate the complexity of life and human nature and show how people are apt to behave in particular circumstances. As a noun, the word *ejemplar* in Spanish can mean precisely that: a copy of a book, one instance of many, or a part that stands for the whole.

But what are we to make of the many 'samples' of circumstances and events that manifestly do not happen in real life, when the example contradicts our everyday experience? What lessons are to be drawn from these? A good proportion of the collection is either drawn from or shares significant characteristics with romance,[35] that is, the novels deal with the imaginary, exotic, or counter-factual. Four in particular (*La gitanilla*, *La española inglesa*, *La ilustre fregona*, and *La fuerza de la sangre*)[36] tell the story of a heroine who is redeemed from the consequences of a criminal or immoral act: Preciosa is stolen by a gypsy as a baby and brought up as a gypsy; Isabel is abducted by the English during a raid on Cadiz and is brought up in the English court; Costanza is the product of an illicit union in which her mother is raped, and is brought up by an innkeeper and his wife; and Leocadia is the victim of a vicious rape that renders her unmarriageable and therefore socially null and void.

None of these crimes is unthinkable—far from it: child theft, abduction, and rape were all too frequent then as now—and abduction, captivity, and redemption were central to Cervantes's own experience in the years 1575–80. Capture by Barbary pirates and imprisonment in Algiers was clearly a life-changing experience for him. He made four unsuccessful escape attempts and was eventually redeemed by payment of a large ransom. On his release and return to Spain, the authorities debriefed him to ensure that he had not been 'turned' while in prison, and he made a written deposition. He subsequently reworked the experience of these five years into two short novels and a number of plays.[37]

[35] Fuchs, *Romance*, is an excellent introduction and overview, and there is a useful summary of the main characteristics in Riley, 'Cervantes…'.

[36] *El amante liberal* also shares some of the characteristics of these four, though Leonisa is, perhaps, rather less responsible for her own redemption than the other four heroines. The inclusion of *La fuerza de la sangre* in this group is proposed by Ife and Darby, 'Remorse'. See also Lappin.

[37] See Armas, Childers, Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*…and *Passing for Spain*…, and Garcés. The Mediterranean was—and still is—a huge political and religious divide that runs through Cervantes's work, and his experience of cultures in contact extends to a fascination with other kinds of internal boundaries. When Rinconete and Cortadillo enter the world of Monipodio's criminal gang they go through a looking-glass that Lewis Carroll would have been proud of.

Because Cervantes turned so much of his life into art it is sometimes difficult to determine which is which. But it seems clear that he uses the misfortunes of these four women in particular as test cases to examine various ways in which the truth of their circumstances comes to light. The crimes at the heart of these four novels are not solved by rational detection but by a series of events that seem designed to cause astonishment and to test the reader's credulity almost to breaking point. All four women are young, beautiful, virtuous, and of high social rank, and they all bring about their own rescue by displaying outstanding personal qualities in overwhelmingly hostile environments. They are all exceptional women, and their beauty and their virtue attract and inspire the four men who will restore them to their rightful place, geographically, politically, and/or socially.[38] In Leocadia's case, she is redeemed by the rapist himself, and the reader is asked to believe that he will subsequently fall in love with and marry her, thereby restoring the honour that he had so brutally taken from her many years before.

These four novels and the value systems on which they are based pose a number of difficult questions to any reader in search of a profitable example. No one could reasonably conclude that Cervantes is arguing that virtue is linked to high birth, youth, or physical beauty, or that he is suggesting that integrity and truth to self will inevitably be rewarded. The reader's own experience will tell her that, in these unlikely circumstances, social conditioning would overcome innate virtue, as the example of the pícaro appears to demonstrate. But Cervantes goes to great lengths to show that his heroes and heroines are by definition exceptional. Preciosa (*La gitanilla*) is the most strikingly beautiful, outstandingly gifted, witty, intelligent, fair-skinned, blonde-haired gypsy that Andrés or anyone else has ever seen. So why do so many readers cry 'foul' when (spoiler alert!) she turns out not to be a gypsy after all?

Stories of this type force us to ask why we find it so difficult to believe when a character is honest and trustworthy, says what he means, means what he says, and does what he says he will. Ricaredo (*La española inglesa*) is an exceptional, even extreme, case in point: he says he loves Isabel for who she is, not for her beauty; when she falls ill and loses her good looks he tells her he loves her even more; when he is forced to flee the country he promises they will be reunited in two years' time. And when the time comes he is true to his word. What is so astonishing about that? Well, it is astonishing, and intentionally so. Cervantes espoused the aesthetic of *admiratio* throughout his career, judging with good reason that readers of fiction expect their horizons to be stretched beyond the confines of everyday experience. In this case, the exceptional Ricaredo is the exception that proves the rule, and if the reader finds it difficult to believe that men do not always behave badly, she must clearly ask herself why.

In these more heroic novels, Cervantes provides striking, provocative, and often far-fetched working models of the kind of idealism to which the world pays lip-service but finds it hard to accept in practice. The exemplarity of each novel, and of the collection as a whole, lies in the way they provoke thought and invite judgment about serious issues

[38] Remember that it is Zoraida who singles out the captive to be her liberator in the Captive's Tale in *Don Quixote*, I.40.

of moral conduct which may appear escapist but are not nearly so distant from our experience as we may think.

A second feature that the *Novelas ejemplares* have in common is 'hidden mystery'. Towards the end of his prologue, Cervantes writes that since he has been bold enough to dedicate these novels to the Count of Lemos, they must contain some hidden mystery that elevates them to that level ('algún misterio tienen escondido que las levanta').[39] At the heart of this statement lies a pun on the word 'elevate', a reference to the moment when the priest elevates the host during the mass, but it is also a slightly self-mocking statement about the merit of the collection and its suitability to be dedicated to such a lofty patron.

The claim that the novels (plural) contain a hidden mystery (singular) is one of the most intriguing aspects of the prologue and the collection as a whole. There are at least three meanings to the word 'mystery' that Cervantes could have in mind. Firstly, as we have just seen, several of the novels have at their centre a concealed truth, and the writer's task is to reveal it as the novel unfolds.[40] In some cases, the nature of the crime and the perpetrator are known to the reader from the outset, and the intrigue lies in the way the hidden mystery is brought to light. In the case of Preciosa in *La gitanilla*, there are so many hints dropped in the first paragraph that any reader's suspicions should immediately be aroused. Perhaps only Costanza's origins in *La ilustre fregona* are completely shrouded in mystery, but her beauty and demeanour in context clearly mark her out as someone who is not who she appears to be.

The second meaning is a more sacramental variant of the first. The original *magnum mysterium* was referred to by St Paul in his first letter to the Corinthians: 'Behold I show you a mystery . . . the dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we shall be changed.' (I Cor 15:51). This is a mystery in the sense that it lies beyond the range of human understanding, but it is also, for a Christian, a profound truth. This relationship between something which is unknown (hidden from view) and something which demands to be made known (revealed) has its counterpart in the tension that exists in all narratives between concealment and revelation. The story-teller's job is to tell the audience what they need to know but *not* tell them—yet—what they desperately want to know.

The way this tension is maintained brings us to a third meaning of mystery, one that derives etymologically from the Latin word 'ministerium', meaning 'occupation, work, or labour'. This is the meaning that lies behind the English 'mystery plays', so-called because they were performed by members of the medieval guilds. The guilds were responsible for regulating the crafts and trades by training apprentices and issuing licences to freemen allowing them to make their living.

'Mystery' therefore has both a sacramental and a secular meaning, and Cervantes runs these two senses in parallel in very interesting ways. He understands mystery as both hidden truth and the mystery of skill, of craft. Cervantes's crime novels do not have a detective, a rational mind whose observational and deductive powers can defeat the evil of the criminal mind. The battle between good and evil in Cervantes's work is

[39] Cervantes, *Novelas ejemplares*, p. 20.

[40] Forcione, *Cervantes and the Mystery of Lawlessness*.

managed by the writer's consummate handling of plot. In Cervantes's mind, the revelation of hidden truths, the progression from evil to good, from chaos to order, is unstoppable. The writer's job is to order the events so as to ensure that truth is born into the light of day almost like a force of nature.

This process usually culminates in what classical theorists termed anagnorisis, a moment of recognition or discovery when different plot strands intersect to reveal a hidden fact or identity. Unsympathetic readers often associate this with over-reliance on coincidence. In his defence, Cervantes might argue that coincidences do happen. During the preparation of this chapter alone, two girls, one American and one French, were identified as identical twins, twenty-five years after they were separated, when a friend of one recognized the other on television; and an American man tracked down and was reunited with a twin sister he did not know he had until he saw her name on the back of a photograph. In May 2014, two American twin sisters were reunited seventy-eight years after they were separated in Aldershot UK; in October 2015, two orphaned sisters from South Korea, each adopted by a different American family, were reunited after they recognized each other working at the same hospital in Sarasota, Florida; in December 2015, an Argentine man was reunited with his mother thirty-eight years after being snatched from her in jail; and in February 2016, two Colombian sisters were reunited thirty years after they were separated by an avalanche.

The advent of genetics, DNA profiling, and social media have made such discoveries much more common, but the role of serendipity in these real-life cases is striking (recognition and family likeness—*la fuerza de la sangre*, the coincidence of birthdays, physical tokens such as the photograph). So too is the persistence of human desperation—in August 2016, a South African woman was convicted of snatching a baby nineteen years earlier from the Groote Schuur hospital in Cape Town. The truth came to light when the girl's younger sister noticed the family resemblance at her school.

The question is: how and why do these cases of anagnorisis come about? For a Christian such as Cervantes they are examples of divine providence, the working out of a pattern that is beyond the scope of human understanding. Secular societies do not have such beliefs to fall back on, which might explain why modern readers often resist the neat closure of the happy ending. But Cervantes is always extremely careful to prepare his revelations in advance. Like a good crime writer, he drops clues throughout and makes sure that when the moment of revelation comes, it is entirely consistent with what we have been told about the character from the outset. But there are also some instances of subversion: the ending of *La gitanilla*, for example, is only partly happy and far from neat.[41] Cervantes gives the appearance of struggling with the complexities and conventions of plot, like a tightrope walker who pretends to fall in order to draw attention to his skill.

For the most part, however, there is never any doubt about who is in control. The *Novelas ejemplares* are an anthology of writerly skills, showing different ways of starting and ending a story, different narrative techniques and points of view, different ways of

[41] Ife, 'Miguel and the Detectives…'. The denouement of *La señora Cornelia* shows another side of Cervantes's rather skittish treatment of the conventions of plot.

combining literary models, plot types, settings, and outcomes. At the heart of the collection is the writer's central challenge to himself as well as to the reader: to extend the boundaries of what is possible in fiction without stretching the reader's credulity to breaking point. The key lies in the balance of wonder (*admiratio*) and verisimilitude. Cervantes excites the reader's amazement by offering a carefully constructed chain of improbable events, none of which is ever quite beyond the bounds of possibility. The concatenation of events that delivers Ricaredo to his appointment with Isabel is a supreme example of this technique. Only when we look back do we see how far we have been led by the powerful logic behind the fiction.

This process is most clearly illustrated in the final two stories of the collection, *El casamiento engañoso* and *El coloquio de los perros*. They are linked thematically and formally because the second story is presented as having been written (or at least written down) by the protagonist of the first. Campuzano, the victim of the deceitful marriage, prepares the ground with a conventional tale of confidence trickery and then persuades his interlocutor, Peralta, to read an account of a conversation between two dogs he claims to have overheard while recovering in hospital from a dose of the pox. Campuzano admits many times that the story is incredible and, initially, Peralta refuses to believe it. But by the end of the story, which he reads silently to himself, he has to concede that, even though it was incredible, it was very entertaining and very well written.[42]

Wonder and verisimilitude are also the key to a second main feature of Cervantes's literary technique, the mixing of genres. None of the stories is entirely devoid of the imaginative freedom we associate with romance, and none—even those with plots which are most obviously reminiscent of romance—is entirely divorced from the contemporary world in which they were written. The obstacles faced by Cervantes's characters, and the sources of his biting satire, are drawn from the contemporary world of warfare, class and gender struggles, and religious, ethnic, and political conflict.[43]

Fiction rooted to this degree in real time and place was not common in European literature of Cervantes's time,[44] but it has a double benefit. Firstly, it ensures that the fiction, however far-fetched, is always anchored to the real world and is more persuasive as a result. The abduction and rape at the start of *La fuerza de la sangre* takes place on a street in Toledo that many readers would have known first hand, maybe after having a drink at the inn in which *La ilustre fregona* is largely set. The grotesque satire of Monipodio's gang of thieves and pickpockets is set in a house in Seville, with a patio like hundreds of others, furnished with a stool and a plant pot like hundreds of others, and every twist and turn of *La española inglesa* has its basis in the religious, political, and economic struggles of contemporary Europe and the wars on the high seas.

The second benefit of mixing genres lies in the potential it gives the writer to highlight the spiritual truth beneath the commonplace exterior. In this way the exemplarity and the wonderment are made to work together. In creating a character like Costanza, for

[42] Ife, *Reading and Fiction*…, pp. 59–63.
[43] See Johnson.
[44] Ife, 'The real and its effect…'.

example, a beacon of moral and spiritual probity in a world of decadence and corruption, Cervantes is doing what his younger contemporary Velázquez does in pictures like *The Drunkards* and *Vulcan's Forge*: bringing the mythical world into contact with the real. Like Velázquez, Cervantes illustrates the beauty and nobility that lies at the heart of the human condition, and the (occasional and sometimes improbable) triumph of good over evil. Costanza's integrity and steadfastness not only bring about her redemption, but also illuminate the lives of all those with whom she comes into contact, including the reader's own.

So, did our visitor to Robles's bookshop leave with seventy-one and a half *pliegos* of Cervantes under his arm and, if so, what did he get for his eight reales and fourteen maravedís?

If he did make the investment it would have proved very worthwhile, for the *Novelas ejemplares* are the greatest achievement of Spain's greatest writer at the height of his powers. They are the work of a consummate professional in all senses of the word. Unlike virtually every Spanish writer before him, Cervantes wrote to make money. That fact alone tells us a great deal about the kind of writer he was. To make ends meet he had to put his readers first, to respond to their changing tastes while retaining his integrity as a writer and innovator. He tried to give his readers something they knew and liked, spiced with something they had never come across before.

Our book-buyer will have taken home with him what was in effect a travelling library, a comprehensive overview of the most fashionable types of European fiction, all transformed in a way that would surprise and delight the most sophisticated audience. The standard features of high romance are never far away: star-crossed lovers, journeys, ordeals, reconciliations between long-lost relatives, murder, rape, piracy, and transvestite disguise. These were the stuff of popular fiction and, in particular, the theatre, to which many of the *Novelas ejemplares* bear a close resemblance. Cervantes also does his best to respond to the growing popularity of the picaresque, giving him the opportunity to display his wide knowledge and experience of contemporary Spain, Italy, and the Muslim world, and the low-life settings that obviously fascinated the mainly professional and upper-class readership for which he wrote. And there is even some humanist satire and a couple of talking dogs.[45]

All of this was intended to be entertaining; we should not overlook the significance of the word 'entretenimiento' in the longer title that was eventually dropped before publication in 1613. Cervantes stresses in his prologue the recreational role of literature, comparing his work to a game of billiards, and suggesting that excessive attention to work, and even to serious matters like religion, is not healthy. One of the censors of the first edition, Fr. Juan Bautista, points out that both Aristotle and St Thomas Aquinas considered harmless fun to be a virtue.[46]

But it had to be harmless. In the *Novelas ejemplares* Cervantes was offering his readership a new, more respectable and worthwhile form of literature which, in spite of the associations of the word 'novela', would not shock or cause offence. Indeed, he backed up

[45] See Forcione, *Cervantes and the Humanist Vision*.

[46] See Thompson.

his claim by saying that he would rather cut off the hand with which he wrote them than have anyone come to harm from reading them. This could be another typically double-edged remark by Cervantes. In one sense it is no idle promise, coming from a man who has lost his other hand in battle, but since it is unclear how a man with only one hand could cut it off, it may also be a rather empty threat. By calling these novels 'exemplary', and by using a similar oxymoron in several of their titles, Cervantes was being deliberately provocative, challenging received opinions about the *novela* by suggesting that it was capable of greater seriousness and sophistication than had previously been thought.

As we have seen, the collection is exemplary in another sense: a showcase for Cervantes's growing sense of his value as a writer. Much of the variety we find in the novels in terms of genre, plot, characters, and setting is mirrored in the many different ways in which Cervantes chooses to tell the story. No two novels start or end in the same way. *La gitanilla* begins with a series of generalizations about gypsies being thieves before going on to wrong-foot the reader with a story that reinforces the very prejudice that we expect the opening statement to challenge. *El coloquio de los perros* is introduced by an entire *novela* that destroys the credibility of the character who claims to have overheard the two dogs talking. *El amante liberal* begins in the first person, *in medias res*, without a shred of context to enable us to get our bearings. *Rinconete y Cortadillo* starts with an omniscient narrator who writes in both third person singular and first person plural before handing over to two scruffy-looking protagonists who address each other in an archaic and mocking register. *La española inglesa* starts on the high seas, and *El licenciado Vidriera* begins under a tree on the banks of the river Tormes. The first four paragraphs of *El celoso extremeño* summarize a man's entire life and career in a comprehensive overview that pivots on a single moment of decision that drives the whole of the rest of the novel.

The claims that Cervantes makes for the originality—and the mystery—of his collection are far from exaggerated. He always took proper pride in his achievements, even if he occasionally spoiled the effect by showing his exasperation at the success of other writers whom he regarded as less gifted and less serious than he was. In the scrutiny of Don Quixote's library in I.6, Cervantes consigns a large part of European literature to the bonfire before going on to replace it with something much more original, both amusing and serious, and profoundly skilful. In the opening chapters of Part II he goes one better. This time there is only one book worth mentioning—his own first part—which he then proceeds to improve on in a sequel that outdoes even the earlier achievement. So confident was Cervantes in his ability as a writer that in the *Novelas ejemplares* he offered his readers another comprehensive overview of contemporary fiction, once again re-worked and re-presented in new and exciting ways. There was nothing like them in previous European fiction, and he knew it.

We are unlikely ever to know how serious Cervantes was about the hidden mystery that he claims lies at the heart of the collection. Is it like the Figure in the Carpet or the Enigma in the Variations, or simply a question of whodunnit? Cervantes hardly ever tells us everything, and certainly never tells us everything we want to know. The novels are full of worldly wisdom, but he very rarely allows himself to be drawn on the

significance or the legitimacy of what he writes. This might be why he delegates so much to the protagonists themselves, so that many voices can be heard.[47] A great deal of the impact of the *Novelas ejemplares* derives from this dynamic approach to narrative, of which *El coloquio de los perros* is, perhaps, the most extreme example. In what purports to be a transcript of a conversation between two dogs, Campuzano points out that he has avoided the use of 'said Cipión' and 'replied Berganza' to save time and space; but by presenting the novel in the form of a playbook, Cervantes excludes anything that could get between the reader and the spoken word. The readiness of Cervantes's characters to tell their own stories in their own words undoubtedly derives from his experience as a (not very successful) dramatist; but he might also have absorbed something of the oral culture of street entertainment while he was captive in Algiers. The choice of an Arabic avatar in *Don Quixote* I.9 and the appearance of two oral story-tellers in Book III of *Persiles y Sigismunda* makes one wonder how much of Cervantes's work is attributable to a unique fusion of the two cultures north and south of the Mediterranean.

The *Novelas ejemplares* are a tour de force of story-telling by one of the world's greatest novelists: original, subtle, imaginative, entertaining, and amusing, to be read for pleasure as well as profit. In many ways, they are like a gallery hang. All the pictures are by the same artist, yet they differ in technique and subject matter, medium, and use of colour. Each is its own piece, in its own frame. But hanging them together sets up resonances in the viewer's imagination and creates linkages and contrasts that constantly provoke new thoughts and fresh perspectives. They are examples rather than exemplary, working models of human nature and human behaviour. But ultimately their 'hidden mystery' lies in the eye of the beholder, in the mind of the reader.

Works Cited

Armas, Frederick A. de. *Don Quixote Among the Saracens. A Clash of Civilizations & Literary Genres* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011).

Boyd, Stephen. 'Cervantes's Exemplary Prologue'. In *A Companion to Cervantes's* Novelas ejemplares, edited by Stephen Boyd (Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2005), pp. 47–68.

Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de. *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, edited by Francisco Rico, 2 vols. (Barcelona: Galaxia Gutenberg/Círculo de Lectores, 2004).

Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de. *Don Quixote*, translated by John Rutherford (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2000).

Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de. *Novelas ejemplares*, edited by Jorge García López (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 2013).

Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de. *The Complete Exemplary Novels*, edited by Barry Ife and Jonathan Thacker (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2013).

Childers, William. *Transnational Cervantes* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006).

[47] See Ife, 'From Stage to Page…'.

Clement, Richard W. 'Francisco de Robles, Cervantes and the Spanish Book Trade', *Mediterranean Studies* 11 (2002), pp. 115–30.
Close, Anthony. *Cervantes and the Comic Mind of his Age* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).
Cruickshank, D.W. ' "Literature" and the Book Trade in Golden-Age Spain'. *Modern Language Review* 73 (1978): pp. 799–824.
Dunn, Peter N. 'Las *Novelas ejemplares*'. In *Suma Cervantina*, edited by J.B. Avalle-Arce and E.C. Riley (London: Tamesis, 1973), pp. 81–118.
Egginton, William. *The Man Who Invented Fiction. How Cervantes Ushered in the Modern World* (London: Bloomsbury, 2016).
El Saffar, Ruth S. *Beyond Fiction. The Recovery of the Feminine in the Novels of Cervantes* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984).
El Saffar, Ruth S. *Novel to Romance. A Study of Cervantes's* Novelas ejemplares (Baltimore & London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974).
Forcione, Alban K. *Cervantes and the Humanist Vision: A Study of Four Exemplary Novels* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982).
Forcione, Alban K. *Cervantes and the Mystery of Lawlessness: A Study of* El casamiento engañoso *y* El coloquio de los perros (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984).
Fuchs, Barbara. *Exotic Nation. Maurophilia and the Construction of Early Modern Spain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009).
Fuchs, Barbara. *Passing for Spain. Cervantes and the Fictions of Identity* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2003).
Fuchs, Barbara. *Romance* (New York and London: Routledge, 2004).
Garcés, María Antonia. *Cervantes in Algiers. A Captive's Tale* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2002).
García López, Jorge. *Cervantes. La figura en el tapiz* (Barcelona: Pasado & Presente, 2015).
González de Amezúa y Mayo, Agustín. *Cervantes creador de la novela corta española*, 2 vols. (Madrid: CSIC, 1956–8).
González Echevarría, Roberto. *Love and the Law in Cervantes* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2005).
Ife, B.W. 'From Stage to Page: *Don Quixote* as Performance'. In *The Art of Cervantes in* Don Quixote: *Critical Essays*, edited by Stephen Boyd, Trudi Darby, and Terence O'Reilly (Oxford: Legenda, 2019), pp. 93–118.
Ife, B.W. 'General Introduction'. In *Cervantes. Exemplary Novels*, edited by B.W. Ife (Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1992), pp. iv–xiv. New edition: *Cervantes. The Complete Exemplary Novels*, edited by Barry Ife and Jonathan Thacker (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2013), pp. [vii]–xxiii.
Ife, B.W. 'Miguel and the Detectives: Crimes and their Detection in the *Novelas ejemplares*'. *Journal of Hispanic Research* 2 (1993–4): pp. 355–68.
Ife, B.W. *Reading and Fiction in Golden-Age Spain. A Platonist Critique and some Picaresque Replies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).
Ife, B.W. 'The real and its effect in the Spanish picaresque'. *New Comparison* 11 (1991): pp. 3–12.
Ife, B.W. and Trudi L. Darby. 'Remorse, Retribution and Redemption in *La fuerza de la sangre*: Spanish and English Perspectives'. In *A Companion to Cervantes's* Novelas ejemplares, edited by Stephen Boyd (Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2005), pp. 172–90.
Johnson, Carroll B. *Cervantes and the Material World* (Urbana & Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2000).

Lappin, Anthony. 'Exemplary Rape: The Central Problem of *La fuerza de la sangre*'. In *A Companion to Cervantes's* Novelas ejemplares, edited by Stephen Boyd (Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2005), pp. 148–71.

Laspéras, Jean-Michel. 'La novela corta: hacia una definición'. In *La invención de la novela*, edited by Jean Canavaggio (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 1999), pp. 307–17.

Rico, Francisco. 'Sobre la cronología de las novelas de Cervantes'. In *'Por discreto y por amigo'. Mélanges offerts à Jean Canavaggio*, edited by Ch. Couderc and B. Pellistrandi (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2005), pp. 159–65.

Riley, E.C. 'Cervantes: A Question of Genre'. In *Medieval and Renaissance Studies on Spain and Portugal in Honour of P.E. Russell*, edited by F.W. Hodcroft (Oxford: Society for the Study of Medieval Languages and Literature, 1981), pp. 69–85.

Riley, E.C. *Cervantes's Theory of the Novel* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1962).

Stagg, Geoffrey. '*Don Quixote* and the *Entremés de los romances*: A Retrospective'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 22, no. 2 (2002): pp. 129–50.

Stagg, Geoffrey. 'Revision in *Don Quixote* Part I'. In *Studies in Honour of I. González Llubera*, edited by Frank Pierce (Oxford: Dolphin, 1959), pp. 347–66.

Thompson, Colin. '*Eutrapelia* and Exemplarity in the *Novelas ejemplares*'. In *A Companion to Cervantes's* Novelas ejemplares, edited by Stephen Boyd (Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2005), pp. 261–82.

Wilson, Diana de Armas. *Allegories of Love. Cervantes's* Persiles y Sigismunda (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1991).

CHAPTER 12

LOS TRABAJOS DE PERSILES Y SIGISMUNDA

historia setentrional (1617)

MICHAEL ARMSTRONG-ROCHE
Wesleyan University

Introduction

Days before his death on 22 April 1616, Cervantes wrote the famously wry dedication for *Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda: Historia setentrional*. Published the following year by Cervantes's widow Catalina de Salazar y Palacios, *Persiles* was the triumphant capstone to a remarkable run of works written, revised, or concluded in the wake of the first part of *Don Quixote*. Cervantes would leave his inventive stamp on every major genre of literary entertainment then fashionable: myriad verse forms (his ballads and burlesque sonnets were celebrated), drama, pastoral and chivalric novels, the novella, the Menippean satirical dream, and the Heliodoran adventure novel. He toyed with still others (the *morisca*, the picaresque, and the sentimental novel) as interpolated tale, incident, or passing characterization. One mark of his inventiveness was the astonishing freedom with which he handled these generic worlds. He experimented to the end with new ways to integrate patterns and effects, to honour and to send up. The last four years of his life, which saw a rapid succession of publications, suggest a veteran writer (sixty-six in 1613) used to taking his time but now acutely aware it was running out. Proud of the 1605 *Quixote*'s wild popularity, Cervantes was also anxious to shape his literary legacy so that it would *not* be swallowed up by the run-away success of that burlesque about the mad knight and his proverb-spouting sidekick—a bone of contention especially palpable in the *Viaje del Parnaso* (1614) and the prologue to his eight plays with their interludes printed in 1615.

Cervantes certainly regarded *Persiles* as the jewel in his crown, touting it five times between 1613 and 1615 before it found its way into print. He even predicts, in the dedication to his patron the Count of Lemos for the second part of *Don Quixote* (1615), that *Persiles* will be the best or worst 'libro . . . de entretenimiento' ['book . . . of entertainment'][1] yet written in the Spanish language. And then he takes back the equivocation, because—as he tells it—his friends assured him it was as good as could be hoped. His tongue-in-cheek confidence was immediately seconded by his readers. It went through six printings in its first year, a success matching that of the first part of the *Quixote*. By 1629, ten editions had appeared, compared to nine editions of the first part of *Don* Quixote between 1605 and 1615. Seven more followed in the eighteenth century when Cervantes's first biographer, Gregorio Mayans, wrote in 1737 that *Persiles* surpassed *Don Quixote* in its invention and sublime style. It met with a comparable success abroad, seeing two translations into French in 1618, another into English in 1619 (followed soon by Fletcher and Massinger's stage adaptation, *The Custom of the Country*), and a third into Italian in 1626. Having fallen out of favour in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, *Persiles* has undergone a remarkable revival in the past fifty years—in large measure because modern epic (*Faust*, *Ulysses*, and *One Hundred Years of Solitude*), modernism, genre fiction, the adventure novel, and magical realism have vastly expanded scholarly appreciation for the evolution of literary taste beyond nineteenth-century realism[2].

Cervantes provided a clue to his high hopes for this novel and its genesis in the prologue to the *Novelas ejemplares* (1613): 'se atreve a competir con Heliodoro, si ya por atrevido no sale con las manos en la cabeza'[3] ['It dares to compete with Heliodorus, if it does not come out with its hands on its head for its daring']. Heliodorus's late Hellenistic novel, the *Aethiopica*, had enjoyed a sixteenth-century revival with translations into the European vernaculars (from 1547 into French, 1554 and 1587 into Spanish, 1554 into German, 1559 into Italian, and 1569 into English) and imitations almost immediately thereafter. Far from merely riding the coattails of *Don Quixote*'s phenomenal success, *Persiles* came out at the high-water mark of the vogue for Greek novels in Spain, which ran from the 1550s through the early 1630s.[4] Across Europe, imitations of Heliodorus proliferated well into the seventeenth century and were read fervently until the end of the following century: Mary Wroth's *Urania* (1621), Gomberville's *Plexandre* (1632–7), Madeleine de Scudéry's *Artamène ou le Grand Cyrus* (1649–53), Anton Ulrich's *Aramena* (1669–73), and Aphra Behn's *Oroonoko* (1688), to cite a few. Thomas Pavel reminds us, in

[1] All translations of *Persiles* are mine. I have consulted the Weller and Colahan translation throughout for guidance.

[2] For the international scope and proliferation of approaches, see the collections edited by Colahan, Weller and McGaha, Sánchez, Andrès, Villar Lecumberri, Maestro, Alcalá Galán, Cortijo Ocaña, and Layna.

[3] Cervantes, *Novelas ejemplares*, p. 81.

[4] Besides the *Aethiopica*, there was marked interest in Achilles Tatius's *Leucippe and Clitophon*. For the Greek novel's early Spanish reception (translations, adaptations, imitations), see González Rovira, pp. 20–63, 249–52, 329–35.

a history of the novel sensitive both to continuities and innovations from Antiquity to the present, that key features of Heliodorus's art went on inspiring writers and readers into the modern period: the sublimely chaste and resistant heroine re-emerging in Richardson's *Pamela* or the delightfully improbable series of coincidences in Dickens' *Oliver Twist*.

In the *Aethiopica*'s Renaissance reception there was a Heliodorus for every taste.[5] Cervantes explored its possibilities in early works, as in the Algerian-captivity play *El trato de Argel* and the Silerio and Timbrio thread of his pastoral novel *La Galatea*. Long-standing acquaintance with the *Aethiopica*, possibly through the partial translation of 1554, is suggested by his lifelong interest in its defining features: the travel motif; the thematic core of a pure love that must overcome diverse contretemps (mistaken identity, imminent or false death, shipwreck, separation, recognition scenes) until consummated in matrimony; and a narrative structure defined by a long, often interrupted arc that plunges us into the thick of things before doubling back on itself. *Persiles* would embrace the whole catalogue of Heliodoran devices: young, chaste, beautiful lovers passing themselves off as siblings; far-flung settings and polyglot worlds; threatening barbarians; pirates; storms; abduction and captivity; delayed identification (by pseudonym or unnamed voice), dissembling, and disguise; premonitions and prophecies; and reunion, marriage, and political succession—all seasoned by an *in medias res* beginning, hair-raising suspense, and not a little of Cervantes's own nudge-and-wink irreverence made familiar by *Don Quixote*'s narrative hijinks.

By the late sixteenth century, humanists across Europe looked on the *Aethiopica* as the acme of long prose fictions.[6] It was admired for striking the right balance in a tale of love and adventure between marvel and verisimilitude; for leavening unity of plot with episodic variety; for astonishing maze-like narrative virtuosity and exquisite attention to suspense; and for moral exemplarity, decorum, encyclopaedic erudition, and eloquence. It was sometimes held up as a more palatable alternative to the rampant marvels (dragons, magic, and enchanted castles), ramifying episodes, indecorousness, and (often illicit) love stories of the chivalric books.

One authoritative strain of humanist literary precept (represented by Amyot, Tasso, and El Pinciano) gradually concluded it might fill a void in Aristotle's *Poetics*[7]. The Philosopher had no example of a prose narrative comparable to the great Homeric and Virgilian verse epics. Heliodorus's revival provided one for a period, especially in Spain, that saw the heady proliferation of new kinds of prose entertainment. They tumbled one upon the next in great generic waves from the international vogue for the Spanish sentimental or epistolary novel and *Celestina* cycles launched in the late fifteenth century through the chivalric, picaresque, pastoral, and Greek novel cycles over the course of the sixteenth century; and from Antonio de Guevara's wry pseudo-histories (among the

[5] On some of the meanings attached to Heliodorus, see Boruchoff.

[6] For Heliodorus's sixteenth-century reception as a paradigm for long prose fictions, see Schevill and Forcione.

[7] For what Cervantes could have learned from El Pinciano, see especially Atkinson and Forcione.

great sixteenth-century European bestsellers) to the taste for Moorish, Italianate, and *cortesana* novellas up to and beyond *Persiles*'s publication. By the end of Cervantes's life, an imitation of the *Aethiopica*, understood in neo-Aristotelian terms as a prose epic that embodied 'poetry's' ('literature's') status as 'queen of the sciences', was the supreme mark of literary achievement. In Cervantes's hands it was also an occasion to prove that a literature of entertainment was by no means inimical to the highest intellectual and aesthetic ambition.

Persiles is a tour de force of these received ideas about Heliodorus, but it also subtly ironizes them. Readers can never be sure when and whether it takes them seriously. Indeed to judge by Cervantes's practice, the audacity and the tongue-in-cheek equivocation may well be the most reliable features of his preliminary announcements. *Persiles* leaves no generic or ideological crown on its head. The Heliodoran and epic lineages, though undeniable, are anything but pure. Nowhere is Cervantes's genius for ventriloquizing a parade of genres, styles, and points of view more virtuosically displayed. Crossing idealized Greek novel and learned epic with the picaresque novel; pastoral, chivalric, and Italian *romanzo* with the *cortesana* and *morisca* novel; the sentimental epistolary novel with palace comedy; theatrical *entremés* and captivity plays with Petrarchan and religious lyric; the novella with allegory; and (anticipating a development of the Spanish Heliodoran novel in the 1620s)[8] the mirror of princes with farce, *Persiles* refuses to stand generically still. It delights in shifting among narrative, lyrical, epistolary, aphoristic, homiletic, catechistic, and theatrical modes. Its stylistic registers range no less freely, from the Ciceronian sublime (the swelling periodic waves of the opening chapters miming the storm-tossed seas of the maritime settings) to the burlesque ridiculous (the narrator's sometimes obstreperous intrusions, Bartolomé's riotous letter in Rome).

Ideologically, *Persiles* is no less daring. For a novel (and genre) often consigned to the dustbin of romance never-never land, it finds many ways to insist on the here and now of European life. It departs from Heliodorus's archaizing tendency by explicit reference to near-contemporary events such as the death of Charles V (1558) and the expulsion of the moriscos (1609). Despite (or because of) the occasional made-up geography and the use of neo-Platonic and Augustinian tropes (lovers seeking their lost halves, love's flame as a destructive fire of the body or a guiding light for the soul, desiring souls seeking rest in God, and Rome city of God as well as of cupidity), *Persiles* registers a remarkable range of pressing contemporary phenomena: intensified global mobility, racial mixing, linguistic and cultural alienation, debates over the meaning of barbarism, maritime commerce, piracy, the traffic in humans, messianic imperialism, dynastic politics, court intrigue, the duties of sovereigns, judicial corruption, religious reform, conversion, increasing Crown and Church regulation of violence (e.g. duelling) and marriage, competition between aristocratic and bourgeois values (e.g. the bases of honour), recurring tensions within family structures (challenges to primogeniture, paternal authority, received gender roles, the competing claims of arranged marriage and marriage choice),

[8] For the overtly political turn of such novels in the 1620s, see González Rovira, pp. 249–52 and 311–27.

the increasing professionalization of entertainment (the commercial stage, the book trade), and new forms of humanistic and scientific rationalism (including vigorous contemporary Spanish debates about fraudulent histories). We are more likely to understand the hold in this period of a genre that can now seem hopelessly archaic and idealizing if we recognize, with Cervantes and his readers, how well it lent itself to exploring the hotly contested conflicts of its day.

Tonally, *Persiles* is a vast experiment in tragicomedy, a narrative reply to the prodigiously creative testing of the boundaries of tragic and comic modes that was taking place on the Spanish stage. The novel even signals its agonistic response to the theatrical innovations of Cervantes's rival Lope de Vega in Book III. The heroes arrive in Badajoz, and soon the Spanish playwright of a famous company of players is taken with Sigismunda's 'talle' ['figure'] and 'brío'[9] ['spirit']. Wanting to make her his leading lady, he puzzles over whether their story should be called a tragedy, comedy, or tragicomedy. Exquisitely modulating the many possible shadings on that sliding scale, *Persiles* thus keeps its readers guessing about its tonal direction much as we are kept guessing about the heroes' identities or even their definitive itinerary (by way of England, France, or Spain?) to Rome. Cervantes thereby competes not only with Heliodorus but also with Lope de Vega and the playwrights who followed him.

Overview of the Plot(s)

Persiles[10] is about prince Persiles and princess Sigismunda, from the Arctic island kingdoms of Tile (in English, Thule, glossed also as Iceland in Book IV) and Frislanda (Friesland in English) near the North Pole. The two young, chaste, bewitchingly (and sometimes fatally) beautiful lovers make their way south from these northern European homelands by island-hopping to Lisbon and then overland to Rome in a journey that will last two years. The historical references, though not consistent (and sometimes anachronistic), tend to place the main action in the years 1557 to 1559 (or, alternately, around 1606).[11]

Persiles is next in line to the succession of Tile, Sigismunda crown princess of the neighbouring (and even more northerly) island of Frislanda. The princess had been entrusted to Tile's royal family for safekeeping from wars threatened by certain enemies of Frislanda's queen Eusebia. She had also been sent to ensure Persiles's eldest brother, Tile's crown prince Maximino, would marry her. Instead, while Maximino is off fighting wars of his own, Persiles falls madly, near-fatally, in love with Sigismunda. Indeed he does so with such abandon that his mother Eustoquia, fearing for his life and preferring

[9] Cervantes, *Los trabajos de*…, pp. 442–3.
[10] For a blow-by-blow description of the novel's plot, see Mancing.
[11] For a detailed overview of *Persiles*'s internal chronology, see Allen.

his 'gracias' ['graces'] to Maximino's 'aspereza'[12] ['coarseness'], sends the two packing for Rome on the pretext of a pilgrimage to receive further instruction in the Catholic faith. Maximino in the meantime is dazzled by Sigismunda's portrait and asks she be kept for his wife.

The pilgrimage (in part an alibi for a chaste elopement) would enable them to buy time, to find a way to marry and yet somehow honour the first-born Maximino's right to Sigismunda's hand. Alienated from their titles and privileges, they travel as siblings under the cover of aliases (Periandro and Auristela) to disguise their love and keep one step ahead of Maximino.[13] Strictly observing the heroine's ironclad vow of chastity (a handy excuse for importunate suitors as well as vital to Sigismunda's sense of herself), their wanderings take them from a barbarian isle near Tile by sea to various made-up islands (Golandia, Policarpo's, the isle of Hermits) in northern Atlantic waters (Books I and II). They then journey by land from Lisbon (where they trade their animal skins for pilgrims' habits in order to draw less attention) through Spain, France, and Italy (Book III) to their quest's conclusion in Rome (Book IV).

They meet with multiple actual or made-up ordeals along the way, the would-be Herculean *trabajos*, or labours, of the title. These include captivity by corsairs, separation, ships grounded on frozen seas, leviathans, designs on virtue and lives, and their own crippling fits of jealousy. And they cross paths with many characters whose vexed destinies, trials, and stories offer a cracked mirror for their own. The commonplace tropes of the pilgrimages of love, life, and religion[14] have often obscured the novel's equally marked interest in politics, what we might call its political pilgrimage—the crises of successive island kingdoms (the barbarian isle in Book I, Policarpo's isle in Book II, and Tile in Book IV), the ideal commonwealth and false utopia of Policarpo's rule, pervasive court intrigue (at Clodio and Rosamunda's English court, Leopoldio's Danean court, Policarpo's isle, Renato's French court, and Rome's papal court), and the education of princes.[15]

The story about religious pilgrims is presented as an alibi for the love story (notably for the hero, Persiles). In turn, the pilgrimage of love prepares the protagonists for Tile's political succession and the dynastic union of the two kingdoms in the final pages of the novel—when, following the fortuitous death of Persiles's amorous and political rival,

[12] Cervantes, *Los trabajos de* . . . , p. 702.

[13] On the characters' names, see Armstrong-Roche, *Cervantes's Epic Novel*, pp. 88–90 and 102–3; and both articles by Colahan. To avoid confusion, I refer to the heroes by their titular names in the general discussion and by their aliases as they crop up in the detailed account of the narrative.

[14] Vilanova offers the fullest early discussion of these tropes. Although he classifies *Persiles*'s protagonists as Counter-Reformation heroes, his criterion is not primarily religious but literary: the vogue for fictions about pilgrims in the broad period sense (which could include lovers, travellers for pleasure, and even conquerors) following the Council of Trent (1545–63).

[15] On *Persiles*'s political themes, see Armstrong-Roche, *Cervantes's Epic Novel*, pp. 53–74, 80–97, 124–5, 160–6, and especially 205–303.

the first-born Maximino, they are finally free to marry. Maximino, just before dying of an illness ['mutación'] contracted hot on the heroes' trail in the disease-infested marshes of central Italy, magnanimously joins the badly wounded Persiles in matrimony to the matchlessly beautiful Sigismunda. Sigismunda, nevertheless, remains hopelessly torn between marriage and the convent to the end.

And yet we get none of this *straight*. Readers are plunged into the middle of the journey in Book I and only gradually catch up to the present by the narrative midpoint at the end of Book II. Identities are routinely disguised and the full backstory about the protagonists' origins and the cause of their voyage not fully revealed until the final pages of Book IV in Rome. Role reversals are the norm. In the meantime, the apparently heroic tale of exemplarity is hedged around at every turn by ironizing doubts (explicit or situational) about who is who, which if any voice (including the narrator's) can be reliably believed, whether virtue is always a blessing, and whether there are truths in fictions or even in lies. How the novel is told by its unabashedly self-fashioning characters or the unnamed (and subtly biased) narrator is as much what the experience of reading *Persiles* is about as any other work by Cervantes. The narrator prides himself on his historian's chops, so he dutifully records carpings about the heroes, but his narrative reflexes are those of a poet's (in Cervantes's neo-Aristotelian sense of fiction-writer) and his sympathies lie ultimately with his decorum-defying protagonists.

The novel is no less interested in the adventure of story-telling than in high-seas corsairs, talking wolves, and flying carpets: that is, in exploring how to hook an audience (the heroes themselves often serving as stand-ins for *Persiles*'s readers); how to persuade it to believe improbable truths and revealing lies; how far to push its patience and credulity and negotiate the irreducible variety of tastes; whether the pertinent truth of a story (or history) is literal or metaphorical; how to translate the narrative into other genres and arts (sonnets, songs, and a Marian hymn in octaves; history painting and portraiture; theatre; and a collection of aphorisms); how to make an entertainment out of considerations of craft; and what the relationship between profane and sacred idolatry of an image or between possession of a portrait and the person portrayed might be. *Persiles* delights in the play of nested mediations, in filters and reconstructions that depend on both the spoken and written word and that prompt recurring debate about the pertinence, truth, or plausibility of the narrative.[16] No surprise then that it presents itself as a story written by an anonymous historian, the *autor*, which comes to us translated, edited, and glossed by an equally anonymous narrator who is consistently neither omniscient, nor reliable, nor always even decorous.

[16] I borrow these characterizations of *Don Quixote* from Redondo because they apply as well to *Persiles*.

The Familiar made Strange: A Lucianic *Persiles*

Despite a long-standing habit of pitting *Don Quixote* against *Persiles*[17], all of Cervantes's late works share family resemblances: (1) the persistent fascination with the soldier-writer and -courtier (or arms and letters) theme, which was a personal and not merely rhetorical matter for him;[18] (2) the probing examination of the ambiguities of heroism; (3) the mirroring of characters and plot lines, often featuring heroines who imitate, revise, contradict, and sometimes upstage the heroes; (4) the sardonic testing of precursors;[19] and (5) the interplay of literary codes and contemporary life, including such late sixteenth-century intellectual fashions as scepticism and neo-Stoicism. And then there is perhaps the glory of the Cervantes *de senectute*: that intimate, ubiquitous, and slippery narrative voice, which alternately feigns omniscience and undercuts it.[20]

Following the spectacular commercial success of Mateo Alemán's picaresque *Guzmán de Alfarache*,[21] there was no straightforward way back to idealizing modes. Neither the chivalric, nor the pastoral, nor the Greek example could be taken up without considerable hedging.[22] Cervantes apparently was not won over by the picaresque solution, save as an 'exemplary novella' or an episodic tale.[23] For his longer works of prose fiction he sought a middle ground, with its own forking paths; hence the parodic solution in *Don Quixote* and the subtly ironized one in *Persiles*.[24] They complement each

[17] After World War II scholars began to pit a sceptical or Erasmist *Don Quixote* against a more conformist and even militantly Counter-Reformation *Persiles*. Influenced by the idea of a spirit of the age impervious to irony and *Don Quixote*'s burlesque tone, this turn went hand-in-hand with a tendency to classify *Don Quixote* as a novel and *Persiles* as a romance. The pilgrimage to Rome was read as a parable of the history of humanity (Casalduero), as an allegory of the pilgrimage of life (Vilanova), as a narrative translation of the Christianized Chain of Being linking heaven and hell with its ladder of moral perfectibility (Avalle-Arce), and as a romance of the Christian cycle of sin, fall, and redemption (Forcione, 1972). The ironizing readings outlined in note 24 have since mapped how *Persiles* tests these idealizing tropes against the actions and characterizations actually met with on the road to Rome.

[18] Castro, pp. 213–19; for the *Quixote*, Ruiz Pérez, pp. 209–32; for *Persiles,* Armstrong-Roche, *Cervantes's Epic Novel*, pp. 167–204, and Cervantes, *Los trabajos de* . . . , pp. 161–2, 199, 213–14, 310, 408–9, 518–19, 535, 601–4, 615, 630–1, 701–3.

[19] Cervantes described himself so in the 1614 *Viaje del Parnaso*: '"Yo, socarrón; yo, poetón ya viejo"' ['"I, the sardonic one; I, the big old poet"'] (Cervantes, *Viaje del Parnaso*, p. 1344, v. 409).

[20] For full discussions of narrative voice in the *Quixote*, see Frenk, pp. 19–54; for *Persiles*, see Forcione, Williamsen, López Navía.

[21] On *Persiles* and *Guzmán*, see Cavillac, pp. 233–51.

[22] The sceptical turn in Cervantes's mature work might owe something to the late sixteenth-century revival of Menippean satire, Stoic philosophy, and classical scepticism. On sceptical currents in Renaissance Spain, *Don Quijote*, and *Persiles*, see Ihrie.

[23] García López, pp. 32–6.

[24] *Persiles*'s ironies have only gradually been recognized by contrast to *Don Quijote*'s: see Forcione, pp. 169–301 (a send-up of neo-Aristotelian precept); Zimic (parody); Gaylord (the quest for an ideal order compromised); Williamsen (carnivalesque inversion and meta-fiction); Molho (rationalism); Lozano-Renieblas, *Cervantes y el mundo* . . . and *Cervantes y los retos* . . . (pervasive doubts); Castillo and Spadaccini

other even as tragicomic experiments: *Don Quixote*, a burlesque 'history' that ends tragically (with the defeat and death of the hero); and *Persiles*, an anonymous 'history' sealed by the happy ending par excellence (marriage) but haunted until the last page by actual or threatened tragedy.

Persiles is no less irreverent than *Don Quixote* although it is more devious about it. The comparison may help us take the measure of *Persiles*'s originality as another facet of the same creative program.[25] Nothing is more revealing, for example, than to recognize in Persiles the 'caballero cortesano' ['courtier'] Don Quixote takes to be his foil, filtered through Heliodorus and ironized in counterpoint with epic:[26] to be sure, more trickster than tricked.[27] Female protagonism and the centrality of love are conventional in the Greek novel. The heroes tend to be more consorts than genuine protagonists.[28] By contrast to Heliodorus, Cervantes recovers male protagonism without relegating the female. He lends epic attributes to Persiles (a long retrospective narrative, a premonitory dream, his own kingdom, explicit references, and the heroic reminiscence of the title) that Heliodorus denies his hero Theagenes. At the same time, *Persiles* does not subordinate love as typically happens in epic. As if to confirm the Virgilian subtext, the narrator resorts to a comparison between the queen of Carthage and the abandoned princess Sinforosa 'como si fuera otra engañada y nueva Dido'[29] ['as if she were another deceived and new Dido']. And yet as if to rewrite Virgil in a conjugal key, Sigismunda and Persiles *together* stand in here for Aeneas as he sails away from Dido.

Both Don Quixote and Persiles are reader-heroes, paradoxical hybrids of arms and letters, and transgressors of their social status who reinvent themselves through their mastery of language.[30] Both are protagonists of a translated, edited, and glossed 'history', that is a tale mediated by a narrative voice who offers no guarantees of certainty. We are not allowed to forget that in each case we are reading *one* version among other possible ones of the stories they record.

(anti-Utopianism); Pelorson (satire); Fuchs (anti-essential identities); Blanco, 2004 (epic aspiration, novelistic execution); Armstrong-Roche, 'Europa como bárbaro…' and *Cervantes's Epic Novel* (paradox); Nerlich (political and religious allegory critical of official pieties); and Childers (picaresque realism).

[25] Castro's 1925 reading of all of Cervantes's work informed by its shared intellectual history remains fundamental. For other approaches to the continuities among Cervantes's late works, see the special issue edited by García Berrio and Lozano-Renieblas.

[26] Cervantes's cross-fertilization of the Greek novel with epic ironizes both (each providing what the other lacks) without degenerating into burlesque deflation. For examples of this complex generic dialogue, see Armstrong-Roche, *Cervantes's Epic Novel*, pp. 8–18, 31–2, 36–8, 68–74, 88–90, 112–14, 125–6, 130–1, 140–5, 167–209, 248, 264–72.

[27] I mean a trickster figure along the lines of a Basilio (*Don Quixote*) or an Isabela Castrucha (*Persiles*) rather than of the picaresque rogue Ginés de Pasamonte or (more ambiguously still) the false captives of *Persiles*: Persiles wields his cunning provisionally against the social impediment to a mutually consenting love rather than as a permanent commitment to fraud. Scholars unsympathetic to Persiles and Sigismunda's dissembling often downplay the real dangers to them on their trek.

[28] Cruz Casado, pp. 63–5.

[29] Cervantes, *Los trabajos de…*, p. 394.

[30] On the paradoxographic character of *Persiles*, see Armstrong-Roche, *Cervantes's Epic Novel*, pp. 18–25.

The differences are equally telling. If Don Quixote is the mad hero with lucid intervals, Persiles, as we shall see, is the hero of his 'gusto' ['preference, pleasure, or taste'] inclined to put norms to the test—in his love for Sigismunda no less than in how he chooses to spin his tale. The chivalric knight is the paladin of arms who fashions himself in imitation of his books; Persiles, the hero of love and letters who rivals his warrior and first-born brother Maximino.[31] More protean[32] and less monomaniacal than Don Quixote, Persiles succeeds in imposing his narrative—with the decisive collaboration of Sigismunda[33] and his mother Eustoquia,[34] Maximino's providential death, and the narrator's complicity.[35] No doubt the chasm between who he is and what he wishes to be is less yawning. But his victory is owed in no small measure to his knowing how to listen.[36] If Persiles is a mythomaniacal hero, he is of a kind infinitely more open to the word of other characters—to begin with Sigismunda's, whose explicit consent he never delegates (unlike Arnaldo) to others.[37] One might even recognize in his triumph over his brother a renewed novelistic expression of the Renaissance rise of the 'lettered' ['letrado'] courtier and his displacement of the warrior function of the nobility proposed as a subtext for *Don Quixote*.[38] As a political hero he is certainly more in tune with the historical

[31] Cervantes, *Los trabajos de*…, pp. 701–4. El Saffar broke new ground for *Persiles* on feminist, psychoanalytical, and alchemical grounds: she argued that, unlike *Don Quijote*, *Persiles* overcomes René Girard's pattern of violent mimetic desire and reconciles opposites (dream and reality, fiction and truth) through the hero's 'recovery of the feminine'. Wilson attributes *Persiles*'s favourable view of women and human love to the Renaissance embrace of Neoplatonic androgyny (an idealized image of human perfection that reconciles opposites), notably through the Hispano-Jewish Leone Ebreo's influential dialogues on love.

[32] Moreover, Persiles knows it, comparing himself to an all-encompassing rhetorical figure: '[S]oy hecho como esto que se llama lugar, que es donde todas las cosas caben' ['I take after what we call a (common) place, which is where all things fit']. Cervantes, *Los trabajos de*…, p. 363. The protagonist's physical and moral elusiveness (androgyny in some moments, brawny athletic prowess in others, dissembling throughout) has divided scholars, who cannot agree whether he is a hero or a parody of one.

[33] On Sigismunda's crucial political, religious, and amorous protagonism, see Armstrong-Roche, *Cervantes's Epic Novel*, pp. 103–10, 205–10, 245–9, 275–80. For a less favourable view of her complexity, see Sacchetti.

[34] Cervantes might be playfully evoking divine intervention in the destiny of epic heroes, notably in Aeneas's case by his mother Venus. The fact is recalled when the northern protagonists arrive in Rome (Cervantes, *Los trabajos de*…, p. 647).

[35] The narrator rates Persiles higher than Arnaldo (his most serious rival) as a suitor (Cervantes, *Los trabajos de*…, pp. 144, 182–3, 249–51, 300, 423, 429–30). With respect to Persiles's more frequently suspect narrative gifts, the narrator likes to think of himself as a good historian and dutifully records the reproaches (for irrelevance or implausibility) as well as the praise (for sheer pleasure) but tends to reconcile them in the name of everyone's (including the doubters') pleasure (Cervantes, *Los trabajos de*…, pp. 351–2, 356, 363, 371–2, 378, 383, 415, 419–20).

[36] Lukens-Olson presents Persiles as a hero of persuasion. I agree but would invert the terms: to the extent he is persuasive it is because he knows how to listen to and learn, even to invent self-interestedly, from other characters.

[37] For key examples of this difference between Periandro and Arnaldo, see Cervantes, *Los trabajos de*…, pp. 228–9, 237, 286, 288–90, 299–301, 423, 429–30, 576–7, 603, 627–30, 637–43, 687, 690–7, 702, and 712.

[38] See Rico and Forradellas.

moment of publication (1617), dominated by the uneasy peace with France, England, and the Dutch Republic that has been called Phillip III's *Pax Hispanica*.[39]

Reading it alongside the *Viaje del Parnaso* (1614) is no less suggestive. It is striking that Cervantes and his Nordic hero should share a taste for the Spanish Renaissance soldier-poet Garcilaso de la Vega. The poet's lionization in Cervantes's Menippean dream is matched by the intense (and reiterated) identification of Persiles with him, the aesthetic of the interpolated poems,[40] and even the opening salvo of a hendecasyllabic[41] line—a sign in the *Viaje* of Garcilaso's metrical innovations with respect to the traditional octosyllable.[42] We will see how Persiles's devotion to Garcilaso, and the oblique use he makes of the poet's famous sonnet X in his tale, lends him a distinct advantage over his rival, the Danish prince Arnaldo. *Persiles* thus transposes a lyrical paragon to a novelistic one, crossing Garcilaso's amorous subject with the living example of the paradigmatic soldier-poet. If we also bear in mind that Cervantes's great contemporary, the poet Luis de Góngora, is perhaps the decisive hero of the *Viaje del Parnaso*,[43] and remember the similarities of theme and protagonist (with *Las soledades*) and even of style,[44] *Persiles* can come across as a narrative intervention in the battle for good poetry waged between the *Viaje*'s swans and crows.[45]

The will to innovate is evident in *Persiles* from its *incipit*. It is striking that Cervantes should set himself apart from Heliodorus, Lope (*El peregrino en su patria)*, and even Góngora (*Las soledades*) in something so defining of the *Aethiopica* as the use of the hypotyposis to kick things off:[46] the bravura visual description of an enigmatic scene, in this tradition with a shipwreck. Instead he elects to emphasize, in the first place, the oral over the visual. He displaces what Manuel Baumbach has called Heliodorus's properly visual 'ecphrastic riddle'[47] to Persiles's epic narration in Book II.[48] In the beginning was the word, but the word in *Persiles* is a plural voice:

> Voces daba el bárbaro Corsicurvo
> a la estrecha boca de una profunda
> mazmorra, antes sepultura que prisión

[39] See García García. The *Pax Hispanica*'s ideological lodestar would be Tacitism: a tempered Machiavellian *Realpolitik*, neo-Stoic exemplarity, and epigrammatic style widely attributed in this period to the Roman historian Tacitus. In Cervantes's circle, the humanist Pedro de Valencia stands out as the voice of this new political turn in Spain. See Gómez Canseco, pp. 146–53.

[40] See Montero. [41] See Ferrer-Chivite.

[42] 'Tan mezclados están, que no hay quien pueda / discernir cuál es malo o cuál es bueno, / cuál es garcilasista o timoneda' ['They are so confused, no one could possibly make out which is bad and which good, which Garcilasista and which Timoneda']. Cervantes, *Viaje del Parnaso*, pp. 1328–9, vv. 292–4.

[43] Cervantes, *Viaje del Parnaso*, pp. 1243–4, vv. 49–72; p. 1327, vv. 256–61; p. 1330, vv. 322–30.

[44] The wit, elevation, and expressive sonority of *Persiles*'s prose are as finely worked at times as the mannerist verse of Góngora. See Ly.

[45] Cervantes, *Viaje del Parnaso*, p. 1327, vv. 241–3.

[46] For another reading of *Persiles*'s opening, see Blanco, pp. 30–6.

[47] Baumbach, 'An Egyptian Priest at Delphi…', section 1.

[48] The echo of Heliodorus's *incipit* is unmistakeable at the beginning of Persiles's tale and, to a lesser extent, when he narrates the attack of the marauders on the fishers' isle (Cervantes, *Los trabajos de…*, pp. 340–3 and 357–60).

> de muchos cuerpos vivos que en ella estaban
> sepultados, y, aunque su terrible y espantoso
> estruendo cerca y lejos se escuchaba,
> de nadie eran entendidas articuladamente
> las razones que pronunciaba sino de la
> miserable Cloelia, a quien sus desventuras
> en aquella profundidad tenían encerrada.[49]
>
> [The Barbarian Corsicurvo shouted into the narrow
> mouth of the deep dungeon, more a tomb than a prison
> for the many living bodies buried there, and, although
> the terrifying and awful din could be heard near and far,
> not a soul could make out the sense of his words but
> for the miserable Cloelia, whose misfortunes had
> condemned her to those dismal depths.]

Readers are tuned into *Persiles*'s equivocating style from that opening word. *Voces* means shouts in the idiom *dar voces* but on its own also stood for voices and words. The barbarian and Christian themes germinate in those 'voices': an archetypal attribute by which the insider was distinguished from the outsider, the 'civilized' from the babbling, broken- or fork-tongued barbarian. 'Voces' too announces not so much a challenge to as a boldly suggestive play on a Gospel promise: 'In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us', as the first chapter of the *Book of John* proclaims in a text often read at Easter celebrations.

Only the singular is made plural. In Cervantes's novelistic beginning are words, voices, and shouts: the confusion of voices[50] that will narrate, sing, recite, converse, disagree, praise, reproach, accuse, laugh, cry, and shout in what follows, like the cries that Corsicurvo emits at the narrow mouth of the dungeon where the hero and the novel appear to be born. *Persiles*'s world of words does often turn out to be a Babel in need of translation and negotiation, between peoples and languages, between private *gusto* and public *ley*, between the rival *gustos* of characters, and finally—as Sigismunda's doubts in Rome show—even between competing *gustos* within individual characters. The novel thus becomes a figure for the incarnation of its themes: the word made flesh in the sense of the word enacted, so that its poetics and its ethics model one another.

At the same time, as if in ingenious emulation of Cervantes's admired Góngora, the voices of the barbarian Corsicurvo break at the beginning with the tense silence that the poet had sustained until the end of his mythological fable (about Polyphemus) for the 'horrenda' ['horrible'] voice of the 'fiero' ['savage'] one-eyed giant—in those 'estancias polifemas' ['polyphemic stanzas'] held up as the measure of good poetry in Cervantes's *Viaje*.[51]

[49] Cervantes, *Los trabajos de*…, pp. 127–8.

[50] On the centrality of voice(s) in *Persiles*, see Egido, 'Las voces…'.

[51] Cervantes, *Viaje del Parnaso*, p. 1330, v. 323. For another reading of *Persiles*'s opening sentence in relation to Góngora, see Velázquez, pp. 216–19.

The desire to marry the elevated with the popular and verse with prose[52] is evident from that initial hendecasyllable. It appears to tip its hat to the elite, neo-Aristotelian, reception of Heliodorus as a prose epic[53]—much as the opening of *Don Quixote* with the cadence of a ballad seems to announce its popular credentials. Nevertheless, *Persiles* revels, no less than the *Quixote*, in the confusion of registers, languages, and genres. The hendecasyllable embraces, at once, the cries of the barbarian Corsicurvo and his *razones* understood by Cloelia.[54] The meter points to two conventionally antagonistic elite genres (the heroic and the lyric), whose experimental crossing *Persiles* essays in a manner no less innovative than Góngora in his contemporary *Las soledade*s.

And if Cervantes dares to compete with Heliodorus by opening his Greek novel to the epic and the lyric, he does so as well by opening it to orality, popular genres, and comic registers[55]. The poet José Valdivieso, a fellow warrior in the ranks of the *Viaje*'s swans and the admired friend of Cervantes (as of Lope and Góngora)[56] who signed *Persiles*'s ecclesiastical license ['Aprobación'], put it this way: 'de cuantos nos dejó escritos, ninguno es más ingenioso, más culto ni más entretenido'[57] ['of those he left among his writings, none is more ingenious, more learned, nor more entertaining']. It may serve as a miniature poetics for its permanent challenge to readers, calling on us to respond at once to its wit, its learning, and its high spirits.

The sardonic wit of *Persiles* is especially conspicuous in its playful confusion of the marvellous with the familiar. It tends to erase the boundary between the known and the unknown. It also shows how qualities we often celebrate in Cervantes and literary modernity—moral ambiguity, irony, and defamiliarization—might owe more than we acknowledge to the Renaissance reception of Lucian in Spain.[58] Indeed, although Cervantes anoints *Persiles* as a 'libro de entretenimiento' ['book of entertainment'], in the great Lucianic tradition of *serio ludere* art his practice reminds us that moral complexity can be a pleasure as well as a lesson. If it teaches and delights, it does so in a stubbornly idiosyncratic way, often discovering problems in virtues and virtues in moral falls.

A key strategy for transforming moral conflict into entertainment is the paradoxical play made possible by the Lucianesque *faux naïf* perspective on the known world. It relies on the intuition that strange things happen in reality. The *faux naïf*—or inversion of perspective personified—is possible in *Persiles* thanks to the presence of northern (barbarian and Nordic) protagonists in southern (Catholic) lands.[59] It is *Persiles*'s most

[52] For the dynamic interplay between prose and verse in Spanish Golden Age literary genres, see Egido, 'Las fronteras…'.

[53] Forcione, pp. 49–87. [54] Velázquez, pp. 207–14.

[55] On orality, see Moner; on popular genres, Lozano Renieblas, *Cervantes y los retos*…; and on humour, Williamsen and Carilla.

[56] For Valdivieso's ties to these apparently sworn enemies, see Gómez Canseco, pp. 75–90, 138–9.

[57] Cervantes, *Los trabajos de*…, p. 112.

[58] For a more detailed account of the neolucianic aspects of *Persiles,* including key coincidences with twentieth-century magical realism, see Armstrong-Roche, 'La mirada lucianesca…'.

[59] Pelorson suggests that the point of view of Nordic outsiders enables an 'inversion satirique' ['satirical inversion'] scarcely possible with Heliodorus's geographic choices (p. 27). He explains it as an

striking innovation with respect to Heliodorus's *Aethiopica*, its avowed model, and Lope de Vega's *El peregrino en su patria*, its nearest rival.[60]

Cervantes's use of at once exotic (for early readers) and heroic (if far from perfect) protagonists enables a paradoxical perspective on the world of his early readers. It highlights what is strange, marvellous, and surprising about that *supposedly* familiar world. Yet if *Persiles* invites its earliest readers to look at themselves with alien eyes, it also corrects satire's tendency to assume moral clarity. By translating satirical dialogue into narrative and disseminating the *faux naïf* perspective among multiple competing narrative voices, successively displaced and sometimes questioned, *Persiles* softens the hard edge of moral certainty. In its stead we get a playfully unsettling—at once entertaining and edifying—indeterminacy. It is a fundamental source of the most delicious ironies that run through the novel and articulates quite varied moments and effects.

If Lope de Vega shows up Heliodorus by recognizing that the 'patria' ['the homeland'] of his novel's title also lends itself to 'peregrinas' ['strange', 'foreign', or 'pilgrim'] adventures, Cervantes in turn shows up Lope by highlighting the strangeness *of* ('*lo* peregrino *de*') the *patria*. The narrator never tires, in effect, of reminding us of the strange, surprising, and marvellous prodigies not only of the novel's northern lands but also of its southern ones: the 'peregrina, tan peregrina' ['the truly odd pilgrim'] near Talavera, Spain[61] and the 'maravillas' ['marvels'] of her tale of Spain's Marian devotions; 'el nuevo y estraño caso' ['the new and strange case'] of Perpignan; 'la estraña historia' ['the strange story'] of Count Domicio in France; 'la maravilla estraña' ['the strange marvel'] and the 'maravilloso silencio' ['the marvellous silence'] of Ruperta's episode in Provence; and 'las maravillas' ['the marvels']) of the inn a day's journey from Rome. If, as Isabel Lozano-Renieblas has suggested, the protagonism of northern characters and the journey through a familiar world (for early readers) are an innovation with respect to Heliodorus, no less innovative is the inverted perspective that highlights the strangeness of that (putatively) familiar world.[62] The response is authorized precisely by the viewpoint of outsider protagonists.

Beyond rhetoric, *Persiles* playfully tracks a novelistic south as prone as its north to homicidal revenge, forced marriage, the sacrifice of freedom, abduction and captivity, the temptation of suicide, overwhelming jealousy and grief, judicial corruption, poisonings, sorcery, judiciary astrology, fulfilled prophecies and premonitions, and even the marvel of characters who (appear to) fly, as in the case of Claricia in France. The northern (barbarian) motif of the extracted, pulverized, or pierced heart is repeated with

anticipation of Enlightenment relativism. By pointing to the Lucianesque *faux naïf* prototype, exemplified by his dialogue *Anacharsis* (widely imitated in sixteenth-century Spain), I situate Cervantes's use of the inverted perspective device in a well-documented historical tradition.

[60] For a detailed explanation of this contrast with Heliodorus and Lope, see Armstrong-Roche, 'La mirada lucianesca…'.

[61] When more than one textual citation of *Persiles* figures in the same paragraph, I gather all references in the first footnote. Cervantes, *Los trabajos de…*, pp. 484, 488, 566, 582, 586, 593, 630.

[62] Lozano-Renieblas, *Cervantes y el mundo…*, pp. 190–2.

multiple variations all the way to Rome.[63] From the vantage of Persiles and Sigismunda, Rome is their north, their *finis terrae*, and their *Ultima Thule*, a city in equal measure of marvels, blessings, and menaces. These geographic choices make it possible for *Persiles*'s Rome to take the place of the marvellous periphery in Heliodorus's *Aethiopica*, the Ethiopian capital of Meroe. It also makes it possible for the novel to structure itself, as we shall see, around the reversibility of the road to Rome.

The opening chapter describes the ravishingly beautiful hero, Periandro, as he is hauled out of a dungeon. He is to be sacrificed according to the law honoured by a barbarian community on another isle. As they sail, a barbarian captor nocks and draws an arrow, aiming it menacingly at the bound youth's chest. Overcome however by the hero's beauty, the barbarian is unable to kill him. Lending an ironic cast to the novel's neo-Platonizing conflation of beauty with virtue, that same beauty—along with the heroine's and Antonio *el mozo*'s—will nevertheless unleash the deadliest passions at the most Catholic courts of Policarpo's Isle in Book II and Rome in Book IV. Back in Chapter 1, a sudden storm sinks the ship and the hero is rescued by another vessel.

The apparently generous captain of that ship will turn out to be his chief rival (besides his brother) for Auristela, Prince Arnaldo of Denmark. This Christian prince (ostensibly Protestant, although he makes no bones about Auristela's Catholicism) will have no compunction about selling another innocent woman, Taurisa (Auristela's maidservant), to the barbarians. She is to find out what she can about Auristela, taken from Arnaldo by corsairs in an earlier raid and possibly sold to the barbarians. The reason for Arnaldo's (tacit) religious tolerance, as well as his slide into human trafficking, may well lie in his nature. Auristela effectively *is* his religion. He makes this fact plain enough by wooing her with one of many variations wrung in this novel on Augustine's renowned trope for a restlessly desiring soul finding peace only in God (*Confessions* I.1).[64] Often taken for an allegorical key of the whole novel, what is less frequently noted is how routinely characters (and ultimately possibly even the narrator) pervert Augustine's sense by reorienting it toward profane love. Arnaldo thinks he has found peace (and God) in Auristela.

The barbarians are said to be governed by a prophetic law, a test of elective monarchy handed down by an ancient sage. It predicts a braveheart will prove himself to lead the

[63] Cervantes, Los trabajos de…, pp. 258 (one of Taurisa's Christian suitors runs a sword through his rival's heart), 270–1 (Periandro's arrow splits a dove's heart during Policarpo's ceremonial games), 352 (Antonio threatens to kill Cenotia with a dagger), 355 (Cenotia's warnings about Auristela are said to pierce Policarpo's heart like sharp nails), 456 (Feliciana's father draws a sword when he discovers she has borne a child out of wedlock), 501 (Periandro evokes the blade that Ortel would use to slit his wife and her lover's throat in a public execution in Madrid), 517–18 (the peace-making count is fatally wounded by a bullet through his back and chest in Antonio's hometown), 575 (Antonio the barbarian rescues Félix by killing her French abductor Rubertino with an arrow through his chest), 592 (Ruperta savours taking revenge on her husband's murderer by sinking a dagger in his son Croriano's chest), 608 (Antonio imagines the only cure for Bartolomé's dangerous love for Luisa is to shoot an arrow through his chest), 638 (Arnaldo nearly kills Nemurs with a sword thrust through his chest in Rome), 709 (in Rome Pirro runs a sword from Periandro's right shoulder through his left).

[64] Cervantes, *Los trabajos de*…, pp. 229, 293, 429, 622, 639, 690, 713.

barbarians by showing no disgust at eating the pulverized heart of a sacrificed man. He will then marry the most beautiful woman bought or abducted for that purpose and sire a son destined to lead the barbarians in world conquest—plausibly a burlesque parody of European foundation myths and ideas of a God-given mission to conquer and evangelize the world, as Diana de Armas Wilson has proposed. Periandro offers to take Taurisa's place, and his disguise convinces everyone (says the narrator) that he is the most beautiful woman in the world. *Persiles* here turns the *Aethiopica* on its head: when Heliodorus's Hellenized hero and heroine finally marry and are crowned sovereigns of Ethiopia, the moment is marked by the suppression of the Ethiopian custom of human sacrifice. Cervantes instead opens rather than closes his novel with a sacrificial ritual whose successive local variations are never altogether put behind them. Indeed, we learn that the northern barbarian isle is reconstituting itself in Book IV, just as we are discovering that Rome itself is no New Jerusalem.

This reversal of Heliodorus becomes one of *Persiles*'s major sources of irony. Even as the heroes put more distance between themselves and the barbarian isle, they find that variations on key features of its characters, customs, and prophetic laws (including the sacrificial motif of the man's knife-extracted heart and the abduction of a beautiful woman) dog them for good and for ill through the Catholic lands all the way to Rome. Book IV most resembles Book II, Rome mirroring Policarpo's Isle inasmuch as they are both major Catholic courts, ostensible republics of virtue, and places where Periandro and Auristela recover their protagonism in 'real time'. Putatively a redeeming of the barbarians' isle (Book I) and the false utopia of Policarpo's isle (Book II)—kingdoms destroyed in conflagrations as a result of their rulers' unbridled passions—Rome is the scene both of the protagonists' apotheosis and the perilous re-enactment of those same northern island kingdoms.

The party is received by the barbarians led by a captive translator, the beautiful maid Transila. Although from an island near Britain and Ireland, she addresses them in Polish. Polish serves here as a rough-and-ready northern lingua franca in place of the language of the barbarians. It exemplifies the novel's overt polyglossia, a feature that may well have been inspired by Heliodorus.[65] The Norwegian-speaking heroes prove adept at crossing many linguistic borders: Periandro is an avid reader of Garcilaso in Spanish, both heroes pass for Spaniards once they cross into France in Book III, and in Rome Periandro speaks German to the pope's Swiss guards. This pervasive code-switching, one more sign of the hero's Odyssean resourcefulness, turns out to be a structuring device for the novel itself. In Book II we learn that *Persiles* itself is the edited translation of a history, although unlike *Don Quixote* (said to be translated from Arabic) we are never told what the source language is.

There is no word yet of Auristela, because as we will soon learn she too has disguised herself—only as a man. Transila, the most beautiful woman on the island (for the nonce) and therefore marked to be the barbarian queen, is forthwith eclipsed by the beauty of the cross-dressed Periandro. S/he bewitches the barbarian governor into paying gener-

[65] On polyglossia in the *Aethiopica* and *Persiles*, see Brioso Sánchez and Brioso Santos.

ously with gold and pearls for him/her. The governor's rival, Bradamiro (described as both brave and an arrogant scofflaw), is smitten at once by the sight of Periandro and decides to flout his people's prophetic laws and keep the (apparent) woman for himself. The novel, which revels like this at every turn in disguise, deception, and misreading, dances continually on the knife's edge of situational irony.

The upshot is that a man arrives with the guard (the elderly Cloelia) of the dungeon where Periandro had been held captive. Periandro now recognizes Cloelia, who serves Auristela but does not yet see through the princess's disguise. The governor immediately orders the sacrifice of the man in order to test the prophetic law. This too will turn out to be a (tragic or comic?) misreading: the man is the cross-dressed Auristela. And Cloelia, in a fit over Auristela's despairing silence, tries to save her by revealing the violation of the barbarians' prophecy. Before Periandro's disguise is discovered, however, Bradamiro claims the woman (actually Periandro) for himself and insists on freeing the man (actually Auristela) since that is the wish of the woman (Periandro) he loves. This confused, at once noble and selfish, act—a service to Bradamiro's presumed lady that is a violation of his people's law, as well as a comically mistaken reading of the heroes—outrages the barbarian governor. He nocks an arrow and kills Bradamiro by shooting him through the mouth and piercing his tongue.

Bradamiro's death in Book I provokes a general melee between the governor's and Bradamiro's factions, the barbarians turn on each other, the isle is set on fire, and its captives (including the novel's heroes) make their escape. A young barbarian approaches Periandro through the inky blackness and, speaking mysteriously in Spanish, urges him to follow him to his father and mother's cave. Described as a human angel, he offers them the charity and compassion of his barbarian mother Ricla and sister Costanza. We learn that the fifty-year old Spanish castaway Antonio and his thirty-year old wife have, for fifteen years, lived there in a kind of double exile (Antonio from Spain, Ricla from her own barbarian community) with their son Antonio (also known as the barbarian) and a daughter named Constanza.

In ways large and small we can detect the will to rewrite epic. Much as *Persiles* early on illustrates Cervantes's stated desire to compete with Heliodorus by reversing the order and significance of the motif of human sacrifice, it now also establishes its epic credentials and desire to compete with *The Odyssey.* Cervantes throws down the gantlet by felling Bradamiro with an arrow through the tongue, a northern barbarian upstart's fate to match that of the Greek Antinous—the first of Penelope's arrogant suitors struck down by Odysseus with an arrow said to pierce his chin and throat in the closing banquet scene (*Odyssey* XXII). It also anticipates the mistake that will lead, in a fortuitous act that is also a kind of poetic justice, to the death of the English court parasite, slanderer, and occasional truth-teller Clodio at Policarpo's court (Book II). Clodio too will die by an arrow through the tongue, shot by Antonio the barbarian, though meant for Cenotia.

Persiles's challenge to *The Aeneid* is no less conspicuous from the beginning. Behind Antonio *el bárbaro*'s rescue is the long shadow of Aeneas's spectacular plunge into the flames of Troy (*Aeneid* II), from which he saved his father Anchises. The image of Aeneas's escape from the burning city, bearing his aged father on his shoulders, was so

memorable it became an iconographic staple for painters through the ages. *Persiles* doubles the effect as the heroes escape the burning northern isle. The elderly Cloelia and the tender Auristela are unable to keep up, so the strapping barbarian Antonio and Periandro step into Aeneas's shoes and sling Cloelia and Auristela across their shoulders.

Cervantes proves fond of variations on this iconic tableau in *Persiles*. Earlier, Periandro, dressed bewitchingly as a girl, is hoisted by the barbarians on their shoulders as soon as he sets foot on their isle. When the pilgrim party later lands on the island of Golandia, Periandro will wade ashore with Auristela on his and the two Antonios' shoulders. Further on still, Taurisa is borne ashore by her two Christian duellers, echoing the very moment when Periandro had first seen Transila brought on barbarian shoulders to meet Arnaldo's ship. The motif—like the theme of barbarism itself—penetrates into France when Antonio the younger raises Félix Flora on his shoulders 'como a otra nueva Europa'[66] ['like a new Europa']. Antonio stands in for Zeus, but 'the barbarian' (henceforth called 'the courteous one') twice rescues rather than rapes the maiden, first from the noble French land-bound corsair Rubertino and then from river rapids that threaten to drown her. Characteristically, Cervantes cannot resist inverting the allusion, one more example of his playfully irreverent way with the literary tradition in this novel.

Although we are barely five chapters into the first book of what is often described as the 'northern' half of the novel, we are immediately spirited to Spain and into the past as Antonio and Ricla tell their story—a pattern of geographic, chronological, and narrative displacement that recurs as characters trade responsibility for the story through the 'northern' Books I and II. There are corresponding geographic symmetries in the second, southern half, notably the Polish Ortel's and the Scottish Ruperta's tales of fatal love and revenge. The novel's prevailing tragicomic note is also sounded in these opening pages, as contrary (happy and sad) responses are recorded to the present chaos and to the retrospective tales told by Catholic exiles in the north; and as the happy escape from the barbarian isle is shadowed by the death of Auristela's faithful and life-giving servant, Cloelia.

Even the most tragic tale in the novel, Manuel de Sosa and Leonora Pereira's, is subjected to this tonally vacillating treatment. In Book I, Auristela observes that Manuel's death spared him the need to explain how he got to the barbarian isle in the first place. What might be read as a (naive, wry, or even deflationary) joke about Heliodoran conventions from the least likeliest of characters (the novel's standard-bearer of Christian piety) is nevertheless also an invitation to notice that Manuel survives the barbarian isle only to die of the memory of his cruelly public repudiation in Lisbon—Antonio's putative exemplar of a Catholic metropolis as we shall see. In Book III, the protagonists visit Manuel's tomb in Lisbon and read his epitaph. The Portuguese, topically cast as fatally lovelorn, are also renowned, says the narrator, for their witty epitaphs—and Manuel's

[66] Cervantes, *Los trabajos de*…, p. 582.

own brother promises this one will please them 'por discreto y por gracioso'[67] ['for its discernment and its humour']. In that spirit, Manuel's epitaph suggests he would still be alive if he were not Portuguese. And yet the counterpoint between Leonora and Manuel's *bivio* (convent or marriage?), resolved tragically in Book I, and Auristela and Periandro's, resolved comedically in Book IV, effectively magnifies what is at stake for the heroes in Rome. The cautionary parallel and the tragic shadow are designed to keep readers on edge up to the closing moments. But even the happy ending is overshadowed by Auristela's crippling doubts about the choice through the conclusion.

It is a perfect example of *Persiles*'s generic and tonal elusiveness. The tragedy and comedy are never pure or categorical, the novel insistently finding the one in the other. Characters and the narrator will now and again let slip the Olympian detachment of Heliodorus and tumble into Ariosto's (or the *Don Quixote* narrator's) unsettlingly impertinent and high-spirited voice. The effect of the novel's constant play on tragicomic registers, its pleasure in wrong-footing readers, is to keep them (inside and outside the narrative) guessing about whether to laugh or cry. For some readers, the deflationary moments are liable to be indecorous and trivializing and even deny the tragedy; for others, they only deepen the pathos while raising a smile. Characters within the novel's world are no less divided in their reactions to the same events. The narrator repeatedly registers swings, often on the same page, between 'desgracias' or 'desdichas' ['misfortunes'] and 'dichas' ['good fortune'][68] and the laughter and tears both kinds of events call forth—an uncertainty reflected in the polarizing extremes of scholarly judgment, prone to circle tirelessly between high (allegorical) didacticism and 'mere' entertainment.[69]

A novel so ostensibly concerned with exemplarity could, nevertheless, not be more aware of its limits. Ricla's conversion of the Spaniard Antonio to the virtues of his own religion never altogether overcomes his youthful propensity to 'cólera' ['ire']. This becomes evident in a crisis involving their son Antonio *el bárbaro*. Antonio is twice importuned sexually by older women (Rosamunda and Cenotia) and mirrors the put-upon heroine Auristela in their aggressively defended chastity and near-deaths owing to spells or poison (both are compared to Daphne hounded by Apollo). Antonio mistakenly kills the inveterate gossip Clodio with an arrow through the tongue meant for the desperately smitten Cenotia. Dismayed, the elder Antonio advises him that the perils of unwanted seduction are better headed off by turning tail rather than by recourse to arms ['los peligros semejantes no se remedian con las armas ni con esperar los encuentros, sino con huir de ellos'][70]—advice effectively followed by Periandro in Rome when he slips out after Hipólita's assault.

[67] Cervantes, *Los trabajos de*…, p. 436.

[68] Cervantes, *Los trabajos de*…, pp. 140, 144, 158, 184, 189, 192, 202, 205–6, 239, 282, 351, 363, 367, 398, 436.

[69] The competing tendencies of *Persiles* scholarship can be traced in three representative overviews: idealizing and didactic, in Avalle-Arce's; historicizing, in Gaylord's, 'Cervantes other…', pp. 17–25; and ludic, in Lozano-Renieblas, 'Estudio'.

[70] Cervantes, *Los trabajos de*…, p. 336.

The counterpoint between Antonio and Ricla is a neat little illustration of Cervantes's taste for paradox. The 'human angel' Antonio *el bárbaro* who had earlier rescued the heroes on the barbarian isle is now described as hot-tempered, impulsive, and dangerously prone to violence. His epithet becomes a trap for unsuspecting readers inclined to ascribe this evidence of barbarism to his mother. For in his touchiness, short temper, and violence the son takes after his Spanish *hidalgo* father Antonio before he had met Ricla: the Antonio who washed up in the north after a fight with another nobleman over modes of address and who had been tossed from a ship for brawling. In contrast, Antonio's barbarian mother is represented from the first as 'mansa como una cordera' ['meek as a lamb'], an image that links her with Auristela as well as with Christ.[71] The younger Antonio tellingly decides that henceforth he will try not to appear barbarian 'por riguroso, ni lascivo, [sino] por manso' ['for cruelty or lust [but] for meekness'], in other words by imitating his barbarian mother rather than his Spanish father. In Antonio *el bárbaro*'s heroic rescue of the strangers we can see to what extent he is his mother's son, and in his impetuous and murderous rejection of Cenotia's advances on Policarpo's Island in Book II, his Spanish father's—tacitly reversing ordinary expectations.

Characteristically, there is another moral twist to this tale. When the spurned Cenotia avenges herself by poisoning the younger Antonio, she stirs the father's youthful 'cólera' ('ire') anew. The elder Antonio threatens 'con cólera española y discurso ciego'[72] ['with Spanish ire and blind reasoning'] to kill Cenotia unless she restores his son's health. The father's topically *hidalgo* response, if an understandable one under the circumstances, casts an ironic light on the advice he gives his son following the incident: his account of 'la ley . . . católica' ['the Catholic . . . law'] that 'enseña que no estamos obligados a castigar a los que nos ofenden, sino a aconsejarlos la enmienda de sus delitos' ['teaches we are not obliged to punish those who offend us, but rather to counsel them to mend their ways']. As Antonio returns from his northern quest full of wise counsel and a renewed appreciation for the ethical dimension of Catholicism, there is no hint of magical transformations to accompany his reintegration into society. Indeed, soon after his homecoming to Quintanar de la Orden, a deadly fight will cost an innocent man's life as he tries to make peace between villagers and quartered soldiers. Moreover, Antonio's advice anticipates Periandro's to the vengeful Pole Ortel Banedre in Spain, which (though followed) fails to head off his ultimately tragic destiny in Rome.

On the barbarians' isle, Cervantes thus boldly prepares the ground for the religious and ethnic inversions to follow by engaging in a sequence of literary ones: in lieu of an ancient, sun-kissed Mediterranean city, the dark, cold, barren wastes of a northern European island; in lieu of a foreign invasion, a civil war; and in lieu of the Trojan hero-founder of imperial Rome dutifully rescuing his father, the cross-dressed epic hero and heroine led by a Spanish-barbarian mestizo who materializes out of the inky blackness to come to the aid of strangers. Just as Cervantes recasts the *Aeneid* by making the amorous digression the epic adventure of the titular heroes, and Dido (Cervantes's

[71] Cervantes, *Los trabajos de . . .*, pp. 152, 175, 336.

[72] Cervantes, *Los trabajos de . . .*, pp. 352, 354.

Sigismunda) therefore co-protagonist rather than dangerous distraction, so too Cervantes recasts the *Odyssey* by imagining a would-be conjugal relation (Persiles and Sigismunda's) and an actual one (Antonio and Ricla's) as an itinerant adventure rather than a parenthesis. There is no abandonment of a Penelope or Calypso as Persiles and Sigismunda find their way to Rome and as Antonio and Ricla make their way back to Spain together. If the novel reimagines the Trojan Aeneas's imperial quest to found Rome and Odysseus's return to Ithaca, so too the same revisionary spirit makes itself known time and again as a reassertion—sometimes through epic allusion and always alert to the paradoxes—of a Christian empire of the spirit.

The perspective of northern outsiders shapes not only *Persiles*'s rhetoric but also its narrative design and characterization. The inversion of perspective built into *Persiles*'s geographic choices helps to explain an eccentricity that has sometimes baffled readers: the mature Cervantes's characteristic weakness for embedding and estranging a series of novella-like tales through the northern perspective of its protagonists. One of the more perverse and generative idiosyncrasies of this 'historia setentrional' ['northern story (or history)'], the novel's subtitle, is that more than half features 'historias meridionales' or southern stories (virtually all of Books III and IV, and substantial retrospective chunks of Books I and II): stories heard in the northern first half and then directly witnessed by the heroes in the southern second half.

Cervantes takes even more pleasure than Heliodorus or Lope in the adventure of telling, listening to, and commenting on stories, whether remembered or lived directly. He often casts his protagonists as theatricalized spectators, the most conspicuous case being Ruperta's in Book III. Heliodorus sometimes delegates to secondary characters (notably Gnemon and Calasiris) but ensures their tales are closely related to the main action. As in all of his late fiction, Cervantes tests the limits of variety in *Persiles* by incorporating no less than fourteen secondary characters who tell their own stories.[73]

Although the generic framework established initially is that of characteristic Heliodoran adventures set in the north (with their marine landscapes, island pitstops, sudden squalls, mistaken identity, false deaths, recognition scenes, shipwreck, corsairs, abductions, and captivity), already by Chapter 4 of Book I these yield to the adventure of the strange, novel, and marvellous stories about the past, whose conflicts originate in the (apparently) familiar world of Spain, Italy, Portugal, and France. They feature barbarities effectively rooted in national *topoi* such as the rural Spanish *hidalgo*'s honour-sensitive punctiliousness (Antonio); Italian lust, guile, and mendacity (Rutilio); Portuguese fatal lovesickness (Manuel); and French noble disputatiousness (Renato). They are cautionary variations on the protagonists' own tale resulting from realized, threatened, imposed, denied, or rumoured erotic love (natural, illicit, misdirected, or chaste), in tension with a norm (duty or honour) or with competing loyalties (parental, filial, and fraternal love; friendship; monastic vocation; charity; and political obligation). Tales

[73] For a detailed account of the secondary stories in *Persiles*, see Múnoz Sánchez, pp. 22–35, 218–43. This fascinating aspect of the novel led Jean Babelon to call it an itinerant *Decameron* (Cervantes, *Los trabajos de*…, p. 38).

about what prompted the northern exodus of Catholic characters, they invariably give the *topoi* a humanizing (because surprising) twist.

They also reveal how Cervantes's Heliodoran gambit staked its appeal to readers on exploring intensely debated vital choices while refusing easy solutions: for example, between arranged and clandestine matrimony, between matrimony and monasticism, and between decorum or honour and freedom or even life.[74] If Antonio teaches Ricla a lesson in Catholic doctrine, even as they embody an ideal Christian marriage outside of the Church's institutional orbit, the barbarian Ricla teaches the Spaniard a lesson in Christian charity. Rutilio's tall-tale about a Roman sorceress who bears him to Norway on a flying carpet and is transformed into a she-wolf expresses a truth about his own sexual adventurism as well as Livy's account of Rome's foundation story. Leonor makes use of clandestine matrimony—proscribed by Trent—with Christ in order to escape a match (with Manuel) imposed against her will by her father. At the same time, her (and especially Manuel's) decorous silence might well be the chief cause of their tragic end. Renato and Eusebia appear to embrace the ascetic and bucolic life in their isle of Hermits exile from the French court for crimes they never committed. However, as soon as they are pardoned through a chance death-bed confession they waste no time in returning to the court that had unjustly exiled them in the first place.

Even when the Heliodoran pattern of adventure reasserts itself (as in the interstices of Clodio and Rosamunda's and Transila and Mauricio's stories, about exiles from the English court and an island near Hibernia, or in Periandro's epic and perhaps largely made-up retrospective narrative at Policarpo's court), we are plunged back into the southern world through Renato's tale of woe at the French court in Book II. The counterpoint never lets up: even on Policarpo's isle, the Granadan *morisca* Cenotia reminds us of that other only apparently remote world.

In effect, the apparent way of perfection that leads the northern heroes to Rome reveals itself to be—time and again—*reversible*. There is no more compelling example of that playful reversibility than Feliciana's story.[75] At the narrative midpoint between the barbarian isle and Rome (just where Lope de Vega ties up his Greek novel), Extremadura threatens to recapitulate the fratricidal war among barbarians that devastates the northern isle in Book I. In the north, it is Bradamiro's at once courageous and arrogant disregard for the barbarians' 'leyes del vaticinio'[76] ['laws of the prophecy'] that pits his supporters against those of the barbarian captain, which in turn leads to the island's destruction by fire. The corresponding trigger in Extremadura is Feliciana and Rosanio's clandestine marriage. Feliciana is murderously pursued by her father and brothers for choosing her own husband without paternal blessing and for bearing his child in secret.

What is extraordinary is how Cervantes has the barbarian isle erupt in Extremadura—not least because it belies the suspicion of negligence that has sometimes haunted his

[74] See Armstrong-Roche, *Cervantes's Epic Novel*, pp. 129–66 (for Antonio and Ricla), pp. 77–83 (for Rutilio), pp. 210–24 (for Manuel and Leonora) and pp. 224–30 (for Renato and Eusebia, especially the political dimension of the duel).

[75] For a more detailed analysis of Feliciana's tale, see Armstrong-Roche, 'La mirada lucianesca…'.

[76] Cervantes, *Los trabajos de*…, p. 150.

writing. The echoes can be heard in: (1) the rhetoric of the marvellous (the northern 'estraña novedad'[77] ['strange novelty'] answered by the Extremaduran 'estraño suceso' or 'estraño acontecimiento' ['strange event' or 'strange occurence']); (2) the shared mise-en-scène (the dark and menacing night; the goat and sheep skins to adorn both Antonio and Ricla's northern cave and the Extremaduran oxherd's holm oak; the use of daggers as weapons); and (3) the shared motifs of miraculous rescue and embodied or human angels.

More strikingly, both conflicts are described morally in identical terms: as a fratricidal dispute driven by 'la cólera' ['ire'] and 'la venganza' ['revenge'], which set parents against children and siblings against each other.[78] The rhetorical estrangement of the familiar everywhere seen in *Persiles* is particularly suited to frame an episode about the nobility turned against itself.

A key instance of this moral irony is the corresponding play on the geography of vice and virtue. Antonio the Spaniard throws down the rhetorical gauntlet upon sailing into Lisbon harbour, announcing one of the novel's more charged religious themes: the complex relation between charity and ceremony. He declares to his barbarian wife Ricla:

> Agora sabrás, bárbara mía, del modo que has de servir a Dios… agora verás los ricos templos en que es adorado; verás juntamente las católicas ceremonias con que se sirve y notarás cómo la caridad cristiana está en su punto… Aquí… la cortesía no deja que se le llegue la arrogancia.[79]
>
> [Now, my barbarian, you will learn just how you must serve God… now you will see the rich shrines in which he is worshipped; you will also see the Catholic ceremonies by which he is served and how Christian charity is brought to perfection… Here… courtesy does not tolerate arrogance.]

This idealized vision of Antonio's (who apparently forgets the tragic story of Manuel and Leonora set in the same city, as well as Ricla's own exemplarity)[80] is almost immediately called into question in relation to the novel's Spain by Feliciana herself. Fleeing her father and brothers, Feliciana seeks charity and courtesy precisely in the northerners: '"así, me hallo como me veo, merced a vuestra caridad y cortesía"'[81] ['"And so, I find myself like this thanks to your charity and courtesy"']. Rosanio too ironically echoes Antonio as he crosses paths with the Nordic and barbarian heroes and urgently appeals for help. On the run and desperate to safeguard the infant, Rosanio wonders: If there is charity and courtesy in foreign lands, there must be compassionate souls everywhere.[82] The question implicitly raised by the episode is where the ideals of charity and courtesy voiced by Antonio and Rosanio are to be found in the lands of the Virgin of Guadalupe.

[77] Cervantes, *Los trabajos de*…, pp. 156 and 449, 156 and 447–8, 159 and 450, 156 and 476, 156 and 467 (and 471), 158 and 474.
[78] Cervantes, *Los trabajos de*…, pp. 156 and 474 (and 476).
[79] Cervantes, *Los trabajos de*…, p. 432.
[80] Cervantes, *Los trabajos de*…, pp. 158, 184, 195–206, 436–7.
[81] Cervantes, *Los trabajos de*…, p. 456.
[82] Cervantes, *Los trabajos de*…, p. 448.

The answer to that question is often the novel's north. The penetration of the barbarian isle in southern lands takes place not only for the worse but also for the better. If the 'cólera' ['ire'], 'venganza' ['revenge'], 'arrogancia' ['arrogance'], 'menosprecio de la ley' ['disregard for the law'], and fratricidal war of the barbarian isle break out routinely in the novel's Catholic world, its northern black-sheep heroes (the barbarians Ricla, Antonio the son, and Constanza and the Nordic princes Periandro and Auristela) figure among the novel's chief avatars of charity and courtesy. We are shown not so much utopian places as egregious characters. Notwithstanding their (more comic than tragic) faults, the Nordic heroes are no less exceptional in their war-ravaged homelands than Ricla is on her barbaric isle.

The barbarian Ricla, who, together with her daughter Constanza, might well be the only major character free of obvious moral flaws, replays her salvific Book I role in Book III. She does so by being insistently associated with charity and compassion (along with her gifts as a treasurer) first toward the Spanish castaway Antonio; then toward the Nordic princes on the barbarian isle; and now toward the *tierra firme* castaways Feliciana, Rosanio, and the abandoned child in Extremadura. Rosanio entrusts the newborn child and a gold chain for safekeeping to her because, the narrator recognizes, she is a 'mujer compasiva' ['compassionate woman'].[83] The Extremaduran oxherd manifestly takes up where Ricla leaves off: 'Ricla … se llegó al pastor caritativo, diciéndole: "No pongáis, buen señor, término a vuestra caridad y usalda con esta criatura que tengo en los brazos, antes que perezca de hambre" ' ['Ricla … approached the oxherd, saying: "Do not, good sir, put an end to your charity and use it with the infant I bear in my arms, before it perishes of hunger' "]. The oxherd had already anticipated her, offering to take Feliciana in: ' "Nuestra diligencia … mostrará que tenemos caridad" ' [' "Our diligence … will prove we are charitable" '].

Ricla mirrors Feliciana in more than one register: in the way each takes charge of telling her own story, in the elegant circumlocutions they use to affirm their sexual initiations, and in marrying without ceremony. This sympathy between Ricla and Feliciana coincides with a notable structural change in the second (southern) half of the novel. Book III marks the ascendancy of Auristela's over Periandro's lead and more broadly of female over male protagonism in the secondary stories of Feliciana, Luisa, Ambrosia, Rafala, Ruperta, Isabela, and Hipólita.

The upshot is that Extremadura's unholy family finds sanctuary among foreign pilgrims and local oxherds, who do not care that Feliciana and Rosanio are officially unmarried and the baby unbaptized. If the road to *Roma* (Rome) is morally reversible, no surprise then that now and again (as on the barbarian isle and in the Feliciana episode) the journey's end should be novelistically embodied in the exercise of *Amor* (love).

Periandro had already shown himself the mirror of courtesy that Antonio associates with Lisbon, as captain of the corsair ship that searches for Auristela. His magnanimity toward Sulpicia following a failed attempt at rape and theft by her servants earns him

[83] Cervantes, *Los trabajos de* …, pp. 448, 450, 451 and 463.

this judgment: ' "Este mancebo es un sujeto donde tiene su asiento la suma cortesía" '[84] [' "This youth is a person in whom the utmost courtesy has its home" ']. Even if Periandro invents the story (we have no other witnesses), Feliciana wastes no time in confirming the judgment, 'aficionada' ['fond'] as the narrator says she is of 'la cortesía de Periandro' ['Periandro's courtesy']. She, Rosanio, and the baby thus find charity and courtesy where, according to Antonio, we might least expect it. In a pastoral Extremadura that recalls at once the savagery and the bucolic idealism of the novel's barbarian north, the bucolic ideal is located in the northern heroes and the Extremaduran oxherds, and the savagery in the local nobility.

This ironic pattern (regarding the Christian virtue of the novel's noble characters) is enacted as well by the Spanish *hidalgo* Antonio before he meets the barbarian Ricla; by Taurisa's Christian 'caballero' ['gentlemen'] suitors; by the French lords Libsomiro and Renato; and by the Danish prince Arnaldo and the French Duke Nemurs in Rome. All are faithful practitioners of what the narrator sardonically calls 'la intricada se[c]ta del duelo'[85] ['the twisted sect of the duel'], as if it were a heresy. And indeed the novel makes a point—on the Isla Nevada [the Snowy Isle]—of indirectly reminding readers that the Church had repeatedly condemned duels. The sailors are said, like good Catholics, to deny the dead suitors a Christian burial.[86] In Book III, the French lord Rubertino—a kind of corsair on land and avatar of the northern barbarian Bradamiro—is so wedded to his 'gusto' that he tries to abduct Félix Flora before he is struck down by Antonio *el bárbaro*'s arrow.

The suggestion of a transfer of virtues from the novel's barbarian and Nordic north to its Catholic south may well account for the relatively comedic, festive, and forgiving tone of Book III. As we have seen, it could be explained by the *presence* of these heroic northern witnesses just as well as by the increasing proximity of the novel's Rome: by their loving aura in the second, *present*-oriented half of the novel in contrast to the harsher *past* (tending to tragic) stories told in the first half about the south.[87] It also illustrates how the novel's governing *peregrinatio vitae* trope, life as an exile on Earth, operates in *Persiles* not only on a metaphysical, existential, or amorous plane, but also on a social or political one. Estrangement from the community of origin is a recurring theme. The northerners' pilgrimage to Rome is answered in the reverse direction by the northern exodus of the Spaniard Antonio, the Portuguese Manuel, the Italian Rutilio, and the Frenchman Renato, among others—and for reasons similar to Feliciana's.

The text thereby raises doubts continually about the sense of the road to Rome, whether it is a step forward or a retreat, a step toward light, liberation, and love or a return to actions, landscapes, and characters seen already for better and for worse in the north. It thus relativizes Auristela's (as she herself eventually recognizes, dashed) hopes for the safety of 'tierra firme' ['dry land'] and 'España pacífica' ['peaceful Spain'], as well

[84] Cervantes, *Los trabajos de*…, pp. 402, 461.
[85] Cervantes, *Los trabajos de*…, p. 513.
[86] Cervantes, *Los trabajos de*…, p. 260.
[87] On typology (ironized) as a possible inspiration for *Persiles*'s narrative structure, see Armstrong-Roche, *Cervantes's Epic Novel*, pp. 280–90.

as the promised land idealized by the barbarian family upon entry to Lisbon.[88] Grace in *Persiles* tends to be less the prerogative of places, institutions, or communities than of quasi-miraculous exceptions to the rule.

The northern origin of the protagonists, their simultaneous condition as outsiders and Catholics, is a key source for the ironizing effect of the neolucianesque *faux naïf*. Tasso famously recommended northern Europe—today's Scandinavia—as one of the three most apt locations with the East and West Indies (Asia and America) to situate marvels without straining plausibility.[89] We have already seen that *Persiles* turns this neo-Aristotelian kind of thinking on its head, delighting also in the marvels of Europe's Catholic heartland. We might still want to know why Cervantes would choose northern Europe over the East or West Indies. One possibility is the play it offered on so-called neogothicism. This historiographic and political tradition provides an important clue to understanding the protagonism of northern characters. It might even make sense of a detail that has disconcerted more than a few readers: why the northern heroes are perceived (and happily pass themselves off) as Spaniards once they cross into France and Italy from Spain in Book III.[90]

We should recall that Persiles's tutor Serafido describes the northern prince's homeland as an island at the most remote limit of Norway, held to be the last on earth near the North Pole. The name of Persiles's isle, says Serafido, is Tile ' "a quien Virgilio llamó Tule en aquellos versos que dicen, en el libro I *Geórg*: *. . . ac tua nautae / numina sola colant: tibi serviat ultima Thule*" ' [' "whom Virgil called Thule in those verses that read in Book I of the *Georgics*: *. . . and may the seafarers / revere only your numina: and far Thule serve you*' "].[91] Whatever else they do, the *Georgics* mark the limits of empire. As James Romm has written: '[Thule's] far-westerly location held a strong historical significance for the Romans, a people who portrayed their own arrival on the stage of history as a migration from a collapsing East to an unspoiled Italian "Hesperia" '.[92]

Thule's fame as a hoary commonplace for the blessed and unspoiled edge of the Roman world makes it all the more interesting that Cervantes would embed the reference in Virgil's lines—as if he were inviting us to compare the two. In the *Georgics* the Roman poet naturally takes the view of his patron and ruler, Caesar Augustus, who looks out from Rome on his world as far as Thule. Cervantes's novel takes the view of farthest Thule (the text's Tile) by way of prince Persiles. He looks back at Rome and rather than serve (as in Virgil), conquers the city on the Tiber by his guile, courtesy, and steadfastness.

Tile's Caesar in *Persiles* is Periandro's older brother, Maximino. Serafido, echoing their mother Queen Eustoquia, describes Maximino as coarse, loathsome, and caught up in

[88] Cervantes, *Los trabajos de* . . . , pp. 431–3, 457, 459.

[89] Forcione, p. 38 n. 55.

[90] Cervantes, *Los trabajos de* . . . , pp. 567, 585, 663, 669. Fuchs reads this more broadly (with other examples of dissembling) as the expression of a fluid conception of identity, informed by *converso* experience, that disavows the primacy of origin she associates with purity of blood and Counter-Reformation strictures. Fuchs, pp. 91–106, especially pp. 104–5.

[91] Cervantes, *Los trabajos de* . . . , pp. 698–9. My translation of the Latin original is in italics.

[92] Romm, p. 158.

continual warfare with his enemies.[93] Maximino in this light would appear to stand in for conventional epic hero priorities, although at the end he will show political responsibility and even compassion. But the novel's sympathies lie with and the main action is about his upstart brother and— by the novel's end—successor, Persiles.

The gesture of poetic renewal, linked to the displacement of epic arms, can be traced even in the most unexpected episodes. We might recall the visit to the Roman museum of a papal monsignor.[94] The poet-pilgrim explains it to Periandro: the most extraordinary museum in the world because it gathers portraits ['tablas'] of future poets. He points out two, of the Italian Torquato Tasso and the Spaniard Francisco López de Zárate. Let us set aside the banal, quasi-tautological praise the monsignor directs to Zárate's *Cruz y Constantino* [*The Cross and Constantine*]: 'poema verdaderamente heroico y religioso, y digno del nombre de poema' ['a truly heroic and religious poem, well worth calling a poem']. What is so striking is the marked yet tacit *contrast* in matter with Cervantes's 'prose epic', as the neo-Aristotelian El Pinciano called its model the *Aethiopica*. Tasso and Zárate sing of crusades and wars: *Gerusalemme liberata* [*Jerusalem Liberated*] in the First Crusade; the 'invención de la cruz, con las guerras del emperador Constantino' ['discovery of the cross, with the wars of the emperor Constantine'] in *Cruz y Constantino*.

If the monsignor's paragons were Cervantes's, we might expect *Persiles* to celebrate the wars of King Maximino and relegate the love theme, the habitual gesture of epic. Instead, we get the reverse: assuming we take El Pinciano's 'prose epic' designation for the *Aethiopica* as a creative opportunity for Cervantes and remember there is no equivalent for Maximino's role in Heliodorus, we will be prepared to recognize how Cervantes has heightened the epic presence in *Persiles* only to make more explicit the novel's repudiation of the priority of arms.[95] Cervantes's 'prose epic', sooner an anti-epic in this light, sings the victory of the second-born lover over the elder warrior brother. The self-described sardonic ['socarrón'] Cervantes might be intuited behind Persiles's triumph. Its world turned upside down assumes the ascendancy of second-borns over first-borns, mothers over fathers, marriage choice over arranged marriage, and guile over force.[96] It's a lyrically inflected heroism that, as such, puts courtesy before coarseness and love before arms.

Serafido, however, also offers a different, historical gloss on Tile, declaring that 'agora' ['now'] (that is, more or less between 1557 and 1559 or 1606) Tile is 'vulgarmente' ['commonly'] called Islanda [sic] or Iceland.[97] On these novelistic dates the historical Iceland (with the rest of Norway) was under Danish rule. Denmark had, by 1537, established Lutheranism. Nevertheless, although the narrator alleges that in the northern kingdoms 'la verdadera fe católica no está en el punto tan perfecto como se requiere'[98] ['the true

[93] Cervantes, *Los trabajos de*…, pp. 702–3. [94] Cervantes, *Los trabajos de*…, pp. 664–5.

[95] See p. 265 for more evidence of the way Cervantes heightens the epic presence in his Greek novel.

[96] Frye, pp. 65–75, reminds us that both guile (*froda*) and force (*forza*) are key attributes of the epic hero.

[97] Cervantes, *Los trabajos de*…, p. 706. [98] Cervantes, *Los trabajos de*…, p. 651.

Catholic faith is not quite at the peak of perfection called for'], they appear nevertheless to defer to the religious authority of Rome. The journey to Rome arranged by Persiles's mother is not presented as a transgression of a state religion other than Catholicism. Rather it is described as an end run around the decorum Persiles owes his older brother and heir to the kingdom, Maximino—who had already requested that Sigismunda be his bride.

Thus the northern homelands of the protagonists retain their at-once quasi-legendary *and* quasi-historical valences: (1) in Persiles's case, the classical Thule (Tile in the text) prevails but coexists with the historical Iceland (Islanda in the text); (2) in Sigismunda's case, the island kingdom of Friesland (Frislanda in the text) still appeared as an island in maps of 1617, but its existence as an independent kingdom was an invention. One advantage of this dual condition is that Cervantes could more overtly signal his rewriting of Virgil. The inversion of perspective with respect to the *Georgics*—like the implicit play on *Amor* and *Roma* and the reversal of Virgil's epic priorities (putting Periandro's love before Maximino's wars)—is figured geographically by Thule's moral displacement of Rome.[99] Another advantage is that by subordinating the historical Iceland to the legendary Thule, the great physical and spiritual distances traversed could play out plausibly in a novelistic space whose dominant official religion is Catholicism. Third, by not letting Tile swallow up Islanda altogether, Cervantes could nevertheless feature Nordic heroes whose language is Norwegian and yet not sacrifice verisimilitude. This, in turn, allows the novel to exploit one of its more delicious, and paradoxical, subtexts—Swedish as well as Spanish neogothicism—once more confounding extremes and bridging the distance between the novel's north and south.

The two most renowned sixteenth-century authorities on the history, natural marvels, and customs of the northern European lands were the Swedish and Catholic brothers exiled in Rome, Johannes and Olaus Magnus. Olaus Magnus's *Historia de Gentibus Septentrionalibus* [*History of the Northern Peoples*], published in Rome in 1555, is widely acknowledged to be one of Cervantes's likely primary sources on the novel's north.[100] However, the Magnus brothers' importance as authorities on the landscapes, customs, and political history of the northern lands may well have obscured the irony of their authorial position. They were also the leading advocates of the Gothicist revival.[101] They devoted their lives to restoring Sweden to Catholicism and to celebrating the Gothic conquest and purification of (historical and current) Roman corruption, now spiritual. They therefore imagined themselves as incarnations at once of the Roman restoration of Sweden and the Gothic renewal of Rome. For that reason they refer to themselves at every turn sooner as Goths than as Swedes.

[99] For the novel's inversion of the *translatio imperii* and the pattern of New World conquest, see Armstrong-Roche, *Cervantes's Epic Novel*, pp. 65–74.

[100] See Lozano-Renieblas, *Cervantes y el mundo del 'Persiles'*, pp. 24–31.

[101] See Foote and Fisher, pp. xxix–xxxviii and lx–lxiv.

Olaus Magnus scholars Peter Fisher and Peter Foote observe:

> Olaus has high esteem for Spartans and Romans, but still greater reverence for the tough, honest, clean-living Goths, his countrymen's ancestors, whose achievements had been described and lauded in his brother's *Historia de omnibus Gothorum Sueonumque regibus* (History of the Gothic and Swedish Kings). They were not the barbarian vandals pictured by the Italian humanists, but a race of men who embraced justice and piety and liberated the Mediterranean lands from corrupt, oppressive rulers. A counter-movement soon sprang up among German humanists, encouraged by the Reformation and wide-spread anti-Italian sentiment. Turning to the authentic early sources, they sought to rehabilitate the Goths and claimed them as their noble and heroic ancestors. Their ideas were stimulated by the rediscovery of Tacitus's *Germania*, first published in Venice in 1470, in which the author had deliberately depicted the German tribes as uncorrupted [sic] and manly, implicitly comparing them with his effete Roman contemporaries.[102]

In this light we can see why Cervantes might have taken a special interest in what the Magnus brothers embodied politically and not merely in the stray facts (marvellous oddities such as sea serpents, maiden pirates, or the use of skis) they purveyed about northern lands.[103]

Christian virtue in *Persiles*'s Rome is indeed best exemplified by the northern heroes ('Goths', the Magnus brothers would say), although from lands where the true Catholic faith is said (by the narrator) to be less than perfect. In the course of her big reveal Auristela teaches a lesson in repentance, a virtue preached by the Vatican's penitentiaries that more than once is said to elude her Roman rival Hipólita.[104] Auristela finally summons the courage to embrace it as she makes the decisive (and for Periandro, life-and-death) choice between marriage and the convent. The revelatory step is compared, strikingly, to the effect of waking from a bad dream. Auristela is divided, poignantly, to the end about the choice. But in lending herself to it, she nobly makes possible a happy rather than tragic ending for Periandro. Auristela's not altogether resolved grappling with her contrary impulses in Rome brings home how much of the drama of the second, southern half of the novel is defined by the vitality and inner struggles of a large cast of morally complex, powerful, and often theatrically self-fashioning female characters such as Feliciana, Luisa, Ambrosia, Rafala, Ruperta, Isabela, and Hipólita.

The protagonists undertake a journey to a city that holds out the promise of instruction in the faith and delivers a display of official justice marred by homicidal assaults and rampant corruption. The degrading pull of that earthly Rome is so powerful even *they*

[102] Foote and Fisher, pp. lx–lxi.

[103] Since both Iceland and Norway were under Danish rule in this period, Persiles's triumph over the Danish prince Arnaldo makes him an upstart twice-over. While the Magnus brothers celebrated a pan-Gothic revival, they were also keen to note their native Sweden's recent liberation from what they regarded as Danish tyranny.

[104] For the novel's subtle exploration of the central theological issue of repentance in Auristela's and Hipólita's crises in Rome, see Cervantes, *Los trabajos de*…, pp. 657, 667, 676, 693–6, 710.

get caught up in it, as when they rescue their homicidal servant Bartolomé and his lover Luisa. Auristela is poisoned by order of her rival Hipólita, Periandro nearly killed by his rival the ruffian Pirro. Pirro echoes the northern barbarians' sacrificial law by running a sword through the prince's shoulder. A major symbolic act of the book is to show humanity on the margins and barbarity in the heartlands of Christianity, especially in Rome. This decentring vision of Catholic Europe makes Cervantes heir to a perception shared not only by Lucian but also more immediately by Antonio de Guevara, Bartolomé de las Casas, and Michel de Montaigne (who had read Guevara).

As we saw, Tacitus had long since established the primitivist picture of (putatively exemplary) Germanic barbarians meant to chastise degenerate Rome for straying from its founding virtues. In Spain, the spirit of Tacitus was famously revived in the sixteenth century by Antonio de Guevara in the *Relox de príncipes* (1529), a princely mirror in the form of a mildly mocking pseudo-history of the emperor Marcus Aurelius. Readers will recall the extraordinary parable of the 'Villano del Danubio' ['The Danubian Peasant'], in which the poor German peasant of the title upbraids the Roman senate for failing to uphold its own self-professed classical virtues and for allowing tyranny, expropriation, and exploitation to sully its name. Not a few scholars have recognized the thinly veiled allegory for the imperial Spain whose monarchy trumpeted its exclusive inheritance of the Roman mantle.

However, as is well-known, the Goths and the Gothic carried highly charged political meanings in Spain.[105] Cervantes's tragedy *La Numancia* reminds us that the Spanish royal houses had long promoted their ancestral connection with the Visigoths, a link sustained by legend and chronicle. The Spanish Gothic past and the widely known topos of the 'último godo' ['last Goth'] had acquired the status of a foundational myth by the sixteenth century. The 'último godo' refers to Rodrigo, the last Visigothic king to rule Spain and cause—in the popular imagination represented by ballad tradition—of Christian Spain's 'loss' to the Islamic invasion of 711. One of the purposes of the Gothic myth was to bracket the Islamic presence in Spain and affirm the continuity of Christianity before and after the Muslim invasion—a drive that would eventually extend to the (baptized) moriscos, whose expulsion in 1609 is proleptically anticipated in *Persiles*'s Book III.[106] Phillip II even gave his heir—born in 1578— a second name after the Visigothic martyr-saint Hermenegildo.[107] Cervantes scholars have studied the theme largely in relation to the Rodrigo and Zoraida episode in *Don Quixote*.[108] However, it was a subject of literary reflection for Cervantes from *Numancia* to *Persiles*, where he offers his most far-reaching (and entertaining) response to its political manipulation.

The encounter between the northern protagonists (or Goths, according to the Magnus brothers) and the Visigothic legacy of Toledo is a paradigmatic moment of that Lucianic gaze, between naive and sardonic, that structures *Persiles*. In Book III the

[105] See Fernández Albaladejo and Márquez Villanueva.
[106] See Gerli, 'Xadraque Xarife's Profecy'.
[107] Márquez Villanueva, p. 426.
[108] See Gerli, 'Rewriting Myth . . .'.

princes approach Toledo and Madrid but conspicuously fail to visit no less than the seats respectively of the primate of the Spanish Church and the court of the ruling Spanish Habsburg dynasty. The decision is all the more striking insofar as they do visit other cities such as Lisbon, Badajoz, Barcelona, Perpignan, Milan, Lucca, and Rome. The narrator alleges Antonio the Spaniard's urgent desire to return home after many years of exile on the barbarian isle, Toledo's too numerous to be rushed 'grandezas' ['monuments'], and their fear of 'algún estorbo' ['some impediment'] in Madrid.[109] Toledo is carefully admired from a distance, as if by a narrative ten-foot pole, and Madrid is dismissed with only a casual joke. If the novel takes part in the dispute over the rival claims of the former royal residence (Toledo) and the new one (Madrid), neither comes off well.

Periandro allows himself a comment on Toledo that calls to mind the critical response to political mythmaking earlier exemplified by Antonio de Guevara. Seized by a traveller's fit of awestruck praise in view of the great rocky crag of Toledo (his 'peñascosa pesadumbre'),[110] he calls the city 'gloria de España y luz de sus ciudades, en cuyo seno han estado guardadas por infinitos siglos las reliquias de los valientes godos para volver a resucitar su muerta gloria, y a ser claro espejo y depósito de católicas ceremonias!' ['"glory of Spain and light of its cities, in whose bosom the relics of the brave Goths have been stored for endless centuries awaiting the day when their dead glory will be revived and will serve as a clear mirror and storehouse of Catholic ceremonies"']. For the hero, the former imperial capital is apparently a kind of giant monstrance for the *relics* of the Goths, a place where *ceremonies* are celebrated. His comment suggests that the legacy of the Goths so prized by the Habsburgs was moribund ('su muerta gloria') and pending revival, we cannot be sure whether affirming or denying a dynastic propaganda that insisted the Habsburgs represented the definitive Gothic restoration in Spain.

We saw already that Antonio promised Ricla the occasion to witness in Lisbon 'las católicas ceremonias con que se sirve [Dios] y…cómo la caridad cristiana está en su punto' ['"the Catholic ceremonies by which [God] is served and…how Christian charity is brought to perfection"'].[111] By contrast Periandro's speech—which looks like praise of Toledo—refers to ceremonies but omits charity. No surprise that, following the tragic episode of Manuel and Leonora in Lisbon, Periandro should have given up hope of finding charity in places where ceremony reigns. What merits underlining is that, much as Toledo is called an 'espejo y depósito de católicas ceremonias', the northern pilgrims distinguish themselves as we have seen precisely as 'espejos y depósitos' of Catholic charity.[112]

However, since Cervantes invariably gives with one hand and takes away with the other, Toledo is also indirectly celebrated for midwifing an alternative to its own dead glory of Gothic relics and ceremonies: the religion of lyric poetry and the ideal of

[109] Cervantes, *Los trabajos de*…, pp. 509–10.
[110] Cervantes, *Los trabajos de*…, p. 505.
[111] Cervantes, *Los trabajos de*…, p. 432.
[112] For a Pauline reading of this tendency, understood in relation to Catholic reform currents in sixteenth-century Spain, see Armstrong-Roche, *Cervantes's Epic Novel*, pp. 111–66; and for its political aspect, contrasted with the morisco expulsion and the purity of blood statutes, pp. 250–64 and 293–303.

courtesy embodied by Garcilaso de la Vega.[113] A native of Toledo, Garcilaso de la Vega serves as an alter ego for both the novel's hero and Cervantes, known for his oft-remarked 'cult of Garcilaso':[114] as the ideal soldier-poet and courtier, the classicizing innovator, and the prince of Spanish verse open to the best of native, classical, and Italian traditions. Maximino and Periandro appear to divide between themselves the arms and letters bound up with the figure of the soldier-poet. Periandro's identification with Garcilaso is constant. He cites him three times over the course of the novel from his fortuitous reunion with Auristela on the barbaric isle.[115] The narrator confirms Periandro is a devoted reader of Garcilaso ('visto, leído, mirado y admirado' ['seen, read, examined, and admired']) and of 'los antiguos poetas' ['the classical poets'] in Latin. The latter is a widespread taste, he tells us, among the most distinguished denizens of the north.[116] As soon as Periandro lays eyes on Garcilaso's Tagus river, he presents himself as a poor pilgrim who has come to revere its legendary golden sands.

The fullest evocation of Garcilaso appears as the pilgrims approach Toledo. The sight moves Periandro to recall the poet's *Egloga I*. Even in homage, Periandro is the paragon of poetic emulation. He rewrites his model declaring a beginning rather than an end: '"No diremos: 'Aquí dio fin a su cantar Salicio', sino: 'Aquí dio principio a su cantar Salicio'"[117] ['"We will not say: 'Here Salicio brought an end to his song, rather: 'Here Salicio gave a beginning to his song'"]. Responding to Garcilaso's city- and river-scape in order better to celebrate him, Periandro directly identifies the poet with Salicio (Garcilaso's pastoral mask) and both implicitly (through their power to move nature) with Orpheus.

The narrator pointedly draws attention to the fact that Periandro knows Garcilaso better than Antonio the Spaniard (although he too is from Toledo) because he is a reader: 'Esto dijo Periandro, que lo dijera mejor Antonio el padre, si tan bien como él lo supiera, porque las lecciones de los libros muchas veces hacen más cierta esperiencia de las cosas que no la tienen los mismos que las han visto'[118] ['This is what Periandro said, although Antonio the father would have said it better, if he knew it as well, because the reading of books often makes for a surer experience of things unavailable even to those who have merely seen them']. The narrator's immediate gloss makes a point of explaining that reading is a vital experience: 'el que lee con atención repara una y muchas veces en lo que va leyendo, y el que mira sin ella no repara en nada y, con esto, excede la lección a la vista' ['those who read attentively linger time and again on what they are reading, and those who look without reading notice nothing and, for that reason, reading surpasses looking']. Unlike Periandro the reader, Antonio does not know the work of the Spanish Renaissance poet par excellence any more than he understood the virtues (among others, charity) rather than the doctrine of his religion before he met Ricla on the barbarian isle in the north.

[113] '[El] jamás alabado como se debe poeta' ['The never sufficiently praised poet']. Cervantes, *Los trabajos de*…, p. 504.
[114] See Canavaggio.
[115] Cervantes, *Los trabajos de*…, pp. 153, 385, 504.
[116] Cervantes, *Los trabajos de*…, pp. 503–4.
[117] Cervantes, *Los trabajos de*…, p. 504.
[118] Cervantes, *Los trabajos de*…, p. 505.

The contrast here is with the *hidalgo* Spaniard Antonio, but in the tale that Periandro spins at Policarpo's court (Book II) we are shown how the devotion to Garcilaso also distinguishes him from his rival, the Danish Prince Arnaldo. At Princess Sinforosa's request, Periandro explains how he landed on the isle. Among his exploits, he includes (without warning) a dream. It features Chastity disguised as Auristela when she was captive, and he was desperately searching for her, although she now finds herself in the audience. In the course of this alleged vision he claims he had wanted to say to her '¡Oh ricas prendas, por mi bien halladas!'[119] ['Oh, rich tokens to my good fortune found!']. But he was so moved by what he saw, he snapped out of the dream and the lovely vision vanished.

Periandro draws on Garcilaso to lend a voice, in masked form, to his concealed love for Auristela. In passing he mocks the love secret, Arnaldo, and Mauricio. He makes strategic use of his 'dream' thanks to the garbled first line of Garcilaso's Sonnet X, the renowned allusion to an absent beloved ('Oh dulces prendas por mi mal halladas' ['Oh sweet tokens to my misfortune found']). Lexicalized to the point of cliché in 1617, it was perfectly recognizable in its straightforward sense to any reader of the poet. At the same time it paraphrases Dido's last words, as all of Garcilaso's commentators in the period noted, when she looks on the departed Aeneas's belongings and prepares to take her life.

This is no small feat. Periandro manages to declare his love openly to his supposed sister without disclosing the true nature (for now, necessarily a secret) of their relation—save for readers of Garcilaso. The inversion (Garcilaso's 'mal' ['misfortune'] transformed into Periandro's 'bien' ['good fortune']) is not arbitrary. Periandro rewrites Garcilaso's lament for the absent Petrarchan lady as well as Virgil's for the hero's abandonment. In doing so, he breaks a lance for the happy ending, a presence (Auristela) with a voice of her own. Like all happy endings, it will come at a price. The scapegoat will be the providential death of their chief obstacle, Periandro's brother Maximino, in Rome.

As if to ensure we do not miss the artful deception, the reactions are swift. Mauricio, the often captious, pedantic, and preening rationalist astrologer, explains the confusion caused by Periandro, suggesting it could all be a lie.[120] And yet precisely what Periandro has succeeded in expressing is the *truth* of his relation to Auristela, the truth that most interests Arnaldo. Arnaldo's response, in turn, gives us the measure of his shortcomings as a rival. The narrator says he scrutinized Periandro's expression closely as he told his story but could not settle once and for all the suspicion that Clodio the slanderer had insinuated into his heart, namely that Auristela and Periandro were not really siblings. And yet if Arnaldo were a reader of dreams (and especially now, of Garcilaso) he would have the answer to his doubts about Periandro and Auristela. Instead, he asks Periandro to get back to explaining how he landed on Policarpo's isle, only 'sin repetir sueños' ['skip the dreams'].[121] He asks him, that is, to get to the point that had prompted the hero's long, retrospective narrative in the first place, missing the very point that most interests Arnaldo.

[119] Cervantes, *Los trabajos de*…, p. 385.
[120] Cervantes, *Los trabajos de*…, p. 386.
[121] Cervantes, *Los trabajos de*…, p. 386.

That ability to read texts and minds would, we later learn, spare Arnaldo the long, arduous, and apparently fruitless voyage to Rome. Periandro's dream (and perhaps lie) thus associates poetry with the oracular force of a higher truth. As the narrator earlier explained it, attentive reading cultivates in us a capacity to grasp experience beyond the enthrallment to appearances—a tendency represented by Arnaldo (despite his devotion to both heroes) from the beginning. Even in Rome he fights Nemurs in a duel over Auristela's portrait,[122] although the princess confirms her interest in neither. Periandro's brother, and rival, Maximino only knows her through a portrait. Periandro, by contrast, appears not to confuse possession of the portrait with possession of Auristela: he twice declares that her portrait belongs to her.

Periandro's explanations for his apparent carelessness offer a key to his self-fashioning as a hero. He neither denies nor withdraws his dream, understood as a heroic feat. First, he affirms 'todos mis bienes son soñados'[123] ['all my blessings are dreamed']. And then he invokes his 'gusto' ['pleasure or preference']: 'El gusto de lo que soñé…me hizo no advertir de cuán poco fruto son las digresiones en cualquiera narración, cuando ha de ser sucinta y no dilatada' ['The pleasure in my dream…kept me from noticing how fruitless digressions are in any tale, when it must be succinct and not drawn out']. In doing so, he intimates a secret complicity with a goddess (Sensualidad [Sensuality]) who in the same dream would appear otherwise just to threaten him: 'costarte ha generoso mancebo el ser mi enemigo, si no la vida, a lo menos el gusto' ['it will cost you, noble youth, to be my enemy; if not your life, then at least your pleasure']. Through the shared keyword of 'gusto' ['pleasure or preference'], the episode invites us to recognize the analogous challenge—to negotiate decorum and pleasure—in the amorous (Periandro's love for Auristela) and in the poetic (verisimilitude and coherence in the telling of his tale). Mauricio and Arnaldo thereby become surrogates for readers tested by the narrative: in particular their willingness and ability to recognize pertinence where there is an apparent digression and truth (in this case, an amorous one) where there is an apparent lie. Although scholars have been more inclined to believe Cervantes sympathizes with Periandro's critics (Mauricio and Arnaldo), the episode reminds us that in his late works all mockers are liable to be mocked—Periandro here openly by Mauricio and Arnaldo, Mauricio and Arnaldo covertly by Periandro.

No surprise then that Periandro will later have this particularly artful display of guile (he at once keeps and breaks the lover's obligatory seal of silence) included among the heroes' labours in the painting commissioned in Lisbon (Book III)—tellingly, a decision unquestioned by the narrator.[124] Periandro and Auristela thus recast the epic ethos by turning it toward lyric and by lending the erotic (associated with dream and poetry) a heroic dimension through conjugal love.[125] Garcilaso's soldier-poet ideal, with its

[122] Cervantes, *Los trabajos de*…, pp. 637–44. On Auristela's portraits, see Gaylord, 'Ending and Meaning…', Alcalá Galán, pp. 97–106 and López Alemany.

[123] Cervantes, *Los trabajos de*…, pp. 386 (for Periandro's justifications) and 384 (for Sensualidad's warning).

[124] Cervantes, *Los trabajos de*…, pp. 437–9.

[125] On the heroic portrayal of conjugal love, the sixteenth-century revaluation of matrimony, and this episode as a lyrically inspired ironization of epic, see Armstrong-Roche, *Cervantes's Epic Novel*, pp. 97–110, 141–8, 167–204, and 230–49.

courtly fusion of Mars and Venus, is thus mischievously assimilated to an epic ideal: albeit, that of the wily Odysseus sooner than the brave Achilles or the pious Aeneas.

The identification of Garcilaso with Periandro instead of the Spaniard Antonio underscores the apparent absence in the novel's south of another key virtue: courtesy. We saw it was voiced by Rosanio (alongside charity) soon after the northern pilgrims first cross into Spain. Garcilaso, who died fighting under Charles V's banners, was associated with the courtly ideal, among other reasons, because he encouraged the celebrated translation (1534) of Baldassare Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano* (*The Book of the Courtier*) by his friend the Catalan poet Juan Boscán. Castiglione was the papal *nuncio* at the imperial court (Toledo) while he revised his courtesy manual for publication. Many times he (through Federico, Gaspare, Calmeta, Bernardo, and Magnifico) holds up the Spanish as examples for their wit, dress, calm dignity, casual mastery of chess, courage, and prudence.

By contrast, in *Persiles* the passing reference to Madrid makes the point about courtesy particularly bluntly. The so-called old pilgrim woman ('antigua peregrina') has this to say about the royal court, a place where noble youths devote themselves to the game of love: 'andaban en la corte ciertos pequeños que tenían fama de ser hijos de grandes que, aunque pájaros noveles, se abatían al señuelo de cualquiera mujer hermosa, de cualquiera calidad que fuese: que el amor antojadizo no busca calidades, sino hermosura'[126] ['at court were certain young men reputed to be the sons of grandees, and though mere fledglings they are drawn to the decoy of any beautiful woman, of whatever quality, for wilful love does not seek qualities, only beauty']. The court is reduced to a joke about 'pequeños' (young or little men) with the reputation of 'grandes' [great or older men, with a quibble on grandees] when they are merely titled. It is a particularly interesting joke since the behaviour that appears to prevail at court recalls the adoration of beauty we saw on the barbarians' isle—only in a comedic key. It is in effect a court sans courtesy. The young noblemen are portrayed as fledgling birds of prey, chasing after anything beautiful like so many comic Bradamiros, Policarpos, and Nemurs in the making (and on the make): a jocular, frivolous reincarnation of the barbarian isle, distinguished by its idolatry of appearances with its parody of courtly love tropes. No wonder the northern pilgrims will skip this destination. They have been there before.

The paradoxical force of that brief but symbolically charged encounter in Toledo stands out if we remember the neogothicism of the Magnus brothers. It is as if these apparently alien and primitive northern heroes, like the Swedish brothers in Rome, had returned to reclaim their legacy. As a result, we meet with a kind of prophecy of their resurrection in Periandro's speech ('para volver a resucitar su muerta gloria' ['to revive their dead glory']). For all of their faults and cunning, *Persiles*'s heroes do effectively revive that dead glory of the 'Goths' over the course of the novel. Periandro, the Gothic (as the Magnus brothers might insist) prince of Tile, gazes into the mirror of the relics and ceremonies of the Visigoths. In so doing, he opens a novelistic chasm between the dead glories of Toledo and the living glory of the protagonists.

[126] Cervantes, *Los trabajos de*…, p. 510.

We need not doubt the sincerity of Periandro's praise of Toledo to recognize that, in the context of the whole novel, it can begin to sound like a mock encomium. The practice of charity and courtesy (like the appreciation of Garcilaso and of reading), apparently dead in Toledo and Madrid, have been reborn in our heroes from the northern barbaric isle and Tile.[127] It is one of the more powerful ironies in *Persiles* that the alibi for this journey should be their need to *receive* lessons in the faith.

One measure of Cervantes's relation to *Persiles*'s seriocomic challenges is provided by the self-portrait of the renowned prologue. In that opening salvo Cervantes imagines his own sardonic approach to Madrid and Toledo.[128] *Persiles*'s playful commitment to a refined ironization of foundational myths, which spares nothing, is announced there already in order to target the author himself. Cervantes spins an amusing, poignant yarn days before his death. We learn of his encounter with a bumbling student admirer, just as he is about to enter Madrid by the bridge of Toledo. As if to ensure we do not miss the point, the student asks whether Cervantes and his two friends are seeking preferment since the Archbishop of Toledo (Cervantes's patron don Bernardo de Sandoval) and the king were both at court (Madrid). Cervantes's valedictory persona is in part Christological (like Christ's entry into Jerusalem days before the Crucifixion), as Elias Rivers observed.[129] It is also evocative of Silenus, tutor of the god of laughter whom Don Quixote remembers riding 'muy a su placer caballero' ['at his very chivalric pleasure'] into the city of 100 gates.[130]

Becoming one with his quixotic and Nordic heroes, Cervantes turns the occasion into a celebration of the comic possibilities of literature, life, and even his own imminent death. The student *aficionado* falls all over himself in praise of Cervantes, whom he calls 'el regocijo de las musas' ['the delight of the muses'].[131] Cervantes dismisses the praise as nonsense (a 'baratija' or cheap bauble), insisting he is not the delight of the muses but simply Cervantes. Having burst the bubble of the student's inflated praise, Cervantes presents us with an image of his ideal relation with this, perhaps with every, reader: he asks him to climb back on his ass and to give him—in place of hyperbole—conversation. We have no trouble recognizing the authorial persona of *Don Quixote* in such moments. If *Don Quixote*'s burlesque ironies take aim mainly at the hero's personal myths and *Persiles*'s fine-spun ones at more than one collective myth, the two come together in the moment when Cervantes mocks his own fame. In the wake of Lucian (and Epicurus), Erasmus, Guevara (and Silenus), Cervantes bids farewell to his merry friends ['adiós, regocijados amigos'] by incarnating his own novelistic proposal to readers: an entertainment that invites them to look at themselves through others' eyes; to recognize how marvellous, surprising, and strange the world they *think* they know is; and to laugh at their *own* barbarities.

[127] Michael Nerlich explains *Persiles*'s neogothicism by reference to the Visigothic era and Protestantism rather than to well-documented cross-currents within sixteenth-century Spanish Catholicism. I summarize the contrasts in our views in Armstrong-Roche, *Cervantes's Epic Novel*, pp. 356–8 n. 7.

[128] Cervantes, *Los trabajos de*…, pp. 118–23.

[129] Rivers, p. 171.

[130] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, I, p. 166.

[131] Cervantes, *Los trabajos de*…, p. 121.

Works Cited

Alcalá Galán, Mercedes. *Escritura desatada: poéticas de la representación en Cervantes* (Alcalá de Henares: CEC, 2009).

Alcalá Galán, Mercedes, Antonio Cortijo Ocaña, and Francisco Layna (eds). '*Si ya por atrevido no sale con las manos en la cabeza*': *el legado poético del "Persiles" cuatrocientos años después*. *eHumanista/Cervantes* 5, Special Issue (2016 [2017]).

Allen, Kenneth P. 'Aspects of Time in *Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda*'. *Revista Hispánica Moderna* 36, no. 3 (1970–1): pp. 77–107.

Andrès, Christian (ed.). *Autour de 'Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda: Historia septentrional' de Miguel de Cervantes. Etudes sur un roman expérimental du Siècle d'Or* (Paris: Indigo, 2003).

Armstrong-Roche, Michael. *Cervantes's Epic Novel*: *Empire, Religion, and the Dream Life of Heroes in 'Persiles'* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009).

Armstrong-Roche, Michael. 'Europa como bárbaro Nuevo Mundo en la novela épica de Cervantes'. In *Actas del V Congreso Internacional de la Asociación de Cervantistas*, vol. 2, edited by Alicia Villar Lecumberri (Palma de Mallorca: Asociación de Cervantistas, 2004), pp. 1123–38.

Armstrong-Roche, Michael. 'La mirada lucianesca en el *Persiles*'. *Revista de Occidente* 439 (2017): pp. 77–98.

Atkinson, William C. 'The Enigma of the *Persiles*'. *Bulletin of Spanish Studies* 24, no. 96 (1947: October): pp. 242–53.

Avalle-Arce, Juan Bautista. '*Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda, historia setentrional*'. In *Suma Cervantina*, edited by Juan Bautista Avalle-Arce and E.C. Riley (London: Tamesis Books, 1973), pp. 199–212.

Baumbach, Manuel. 'An Egyptian Priest at Delphi: Calasiris as *theios anēr* in Heliodorus' *Aethiopica*'. In *Practitioners of the Divine: Greek Priests and Religious Figures from Homer to Heliodorus*, edited by Beate Dignas and Kai Trampedach (Washington, Hellenic Studies Series 30, 2008). Consulted at http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:hul.ebook:CHS_DignasB_and_TrampedachK_eds.Practitioners_of_the_Divine.2008.

Blanco, Mercedes. '*Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda:* entretenimiento y verdad poética'. *Criticón* 91 (2004): pp. 5–39.

Boruchoff, David A. 'Competir con Heliodoro: Cervantes y la crítica ante una leyenda'. In *U.S.A. Cervantes: 39 cervantistas en Estados Unidos*, edited by Georgina Dopico Black and Francisco Layna Ranz (Madrid: Ediciones Polifemo, 2009), pp. 177–210.

Brioso Sánchez, Máximo, and Héctor Brioso Santos. 'Sobre la problemática relación en Heliodoro y el *Persiles y Sigismunda* de Cervantes: el motivo de la comunicación lingüística'. *Criticón* 86 (2002): pp. 73–96.

Canavaggio, Jean. *Cervantes, entre vida y creación* (Alcalá de Henares: CEC, 2000.

Carilla, Emilio. 'El humor en el *Persiles*'. *Filología*. 13 (1968–9): pp. 111–19.

Casalduero, Joaquín. *Sentido y forma de 'Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda*' (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, 1947).

Castillo, David, and Nicholas Spadaccini. 'El antiutopismo en *Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda*: Cervantes y el cervantismo actual'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 20, no. 1, (2000): pp. 115–31.

Castro, Américo. *El pensamiento de Cervantes* (Barcelona: Crítica, 1987 [1925]).

Cavillac, Michel. *'Guzmán de Alfarache' y la novela moderna* (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2010).

Cervantes, Miguel de. *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, directed by Francisco Rico (Barcelona: Crítica, 1998).
Cervantes, Miguel de. *Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda*, edited by Carlos Romero Muñoz (Madrid: Cátedra, 2004).
Cervantes, Miguel de. *Novelas ejemplares*, edited by Jorge García López (Barcelona: Crítica, 2010).
Cervantes, Miguel de. *The Trials of Persiles and Sigismunda: A Northern Story*, translated by Celia Richmond Weller and Clark A. Colahan (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 1989).
Cervantes, Miguel de. *Viaje del Parnaso*, en *Obra completa* III, edited by Florencio Sevilla Arroyo and Antonio Rey Hazas (Alcalá de Henares: CEC, 1995).
Childers, William. *Transnational Cervantes* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006).
Colahan, Clark. 'Auristela y Cenotia, personalidades horacianas en el *Persiles*'. *Anales Cervantinos* 44 (2012): pp. 173–86.
Colahan, Clark. 'Cariclea y Sigismunda: narrativas bizantinas, deidades clásicas'. In *Actas del VII Congreso Internacional de la Asociación de Cervantistas*, edited by Christoph Strosetzki (Alcalá de Henares: Asociación de Cervantistas, 2011), pp. 227–37.
Colahan, Clark, Celia Weller, and Michael McGaha (eds.). *A Symposium on 'Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda'*. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 10, no. 1 (1990).
Cruz Casado, Antonio. 'Periandro/Persiles: Las raíces clásicas del personaje y la aportación de Cervantes'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America*, 15, no. 1 (1995): pp. 60–9.
Egido, Aurora. 'Las fronteras de la poesía en prosa'. In *Fronteras de la poesía en el Barroco* (Barcelona: Crítica, 1990), pp. 85–114.
Egido, Aurora. 'Las voces del *Persiles*'. In *¿Bon compaño, jura di!? El encuentro de moros, judíos y cristianos en la obra cervantina*, edited by Caroline Schmauser and Monika Walter (Madrid: Iberoamericana, 1998), pp. 107–34.
El Saffar, Ruth S. *Beyond Fiction: The Recovery of the Feminine in the Novels of Cervantes* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984).
Fernández Albaladejo, Pablo. 'Entre godos y montañeses: avatares de una primera identidad española'. *Cuadernos de Alzate: revista vasca de la cultura y las ideas* 33 (2005): pp. 19–53.
Ferrer-Chivite, Manuel. 'Aspectos de la oralidad en el *Persiles*'. In *Actas del IV Congreso Internacional de la Asociación de Cervantistas*, vol. 2, edited Antonio Bernat Vistarini (Palma de Mallorca: UIB, 1981), pp. 895–906.
Foote, Peter, and Peter Fisher. 'Introduction' to *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus (Romae 1555)* by Olaus Magnus (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1996), pp. XIII–LXXXIX.
Forcione, Alban. *Cervantes, Aristotle, and the 'Persiles'* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970).
Frenk, Margit. *Don Quijote ¿muere cuerdo? y otras cuestiones cervantinas* (México: FCE, 2015).
Frye, Northrop. *The Secular Scripture.* In *The Collected Edition of the Works of Northrop Frye*, vol. 18, edited by Joseph Adamson and Jean Wilson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006).
Fuchs, Barbara. *Passing for Spain: Cervantes and the Fictions of Identity* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003).
García Berrio, Antonio and Isabel Lozano-Renieblas (eds.). *Cervantes y el 'Persiles': final de obra y principio de gloria*. *Revista de Occidente* Special Issue 439 (2017).
García García, Bernardo (dir.). *Tiempo de paces (1606–2009): La Pax Hispánica y la Tregua de los Doce Años* (Madrid: Fundación Carlos de Amberes, 2009).

García López, Jorge. 'Prólogo'. *Novelas ejemplares* by Miguel de Cervantes (Barcelona: Crítica, 2010).

Gaylord, Mary. 'Cervantes's Other Fiction'. In *The Cambridge Companion to Cervantes*, edited by Anthony Cascardi (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 100–30.

Gaylord Randel, Mary. 'Ending and meaning in Cervantes's *Persiles y Sigismunda*'. *Romanic Review* 74 (1983): pp. 152–69.

Gerli, E. Michael. *Refiguring Authority: Reading, Writing, and Rewriting in Cervantes* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1995.

Gerli, E. Michael. 'Xadraque Xarife's Prophecy, Persiles III, 11: The Larger Setting and the Lasting Irony'. In '*Si ya por atrevido no sale con las manos en la cabeza': el legado poético del "Persiles" cuatrocientos años después*, *eHumanista/Cervantes* 5, Special Issue, edited by Mercedes Alcalá Galán, Antonio Cortijo Ocaña and Francisco Layna (2016 [2017]), pp. 265–83.

Gómez Canseco, Luis. *Don Bernardo de Sandoval y Rojas* (Huelva: Uhu.es Publicaciones, 2017).

González Rovira, Javier. *La novela bizantina de la Edad de Oro* (Madrid: Gredos, 1996).

Ihrie, Maureen. *Skepticism in Cervantes* (London: Tamesis Books, 1982).

López Alemany, Ignacio. '*Ut pictura non poesis*: *Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda* and the Construction of Memory'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 28, no. 1 (2008): pp. 103–18.

López Navía, Santiago. 'Pseudohistoricidad y pseudoautoría en el *Persiles*: límites y relevancia'. In *Actas del V Congreso Internacional de la Asociación de Cervantistas*, vol. 1, edited by Alicia Villar Lecumberri (Palma de Mallorca: Asociación de Cervantistas, 2004), pp. 458– 82.

Lozano-Renieblas, Isabel. *Cervantes y el mundo del 'Persiles'* (Alcalá de Henares: CEC, 1998).

Lozano-Renieblas, Isabel. *Cervantes y los retos del 'Persiles'* (Salamanca: SEMYR, 2014).

Lozano-Renieblas, Isabel. 'Estudio: La última novela de Miguel de Cervantes'. In Miguel de Cervantes, *Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda*, edited by Laura Fernández (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 2017), pp. 443–502.

Lukens-Olson, Carolyn. 'Heroics of Persuasion in *Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda*'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 21, no. 2 (2001): pp. 51–72.

Ly, Nadine. 'Pour une lecture poétique du *Persiles*'. *Bulletin Hispanique* 107, no. 1 (2005): pp. 71–108.

Maestro, Jesús G (ed.). *Anuario de Estudios Cervantinos, XI. El pensamiento literario del último Cervantes: del 'Parnaso' al 'Persiles'* (Vigo: Academia del Hispanismo, 2015).

Mancing, Howard. *The Cervantes Encyclopedia*, volume II (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2004), pp. 716–37.

Márquez Villanueva, Francisco. 'Trasfondos de "La profecía del Tajo": goticismo y profetismo'. In *Fray Luis de León: Historia, humanismo y letras*, edited by Víctor García de la Concha and Javier San José Lera (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad, 1996), pp. 423–40.

Molho, Maurice. 'Préface'. *Les travaux de Persille et Sigismonde: histoire septentrionale* by Miguel de Cervantes (Paris: Librairie José Corti, 1994), pp. 7–69.

Moner, Michel. 'Autour de la bouche: avatars et vicissitudes de l'oralité dans *Les travaux de Persiles et Sigismonde*'. *Les Langues Néo-Latines* 327 (2003): pp. 93–110.

Montero Reguera, José. 'Adiós, poesía, adiós'. *Revista de Occidente* 439 (2017): pp. 49–59.

Muñoz Sánchez, Juan Ramón. *'El mejor de los libros de entretenimiento': Reflexiones sobre Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda* (Alcalá de Henares: Universidad de Alcalá, 2018).

Nerlich, Michael. *El 'Persiles' descodificado, o la 'Divina Comedia' de Cervantes*, translated by Jesús Munárriz (Madrid: Libros Hiperión, 2005).

Pavel, Thomas G. *The Lives of the Novel: A History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013).

Pelorson, Jean-Marc. 'Le *Persiles* et *Les Ethiopiques*: esquisse d'une comparaison dynamique'. In *Autour de 'Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda: Historia septentrional' de Miguel de Cervantes. Etudes sur un roman expérimental du Siècle d'Or*, edited by Christian Andrès (Paris: Indigo, 2003), pp. 15–32.

Redondo, Augustin. 'Don Quijote y el libro'. *Cervantes en el Siglo XXI: Lectores y revisiones (1616–2016). Revista de Occidente* 427 (2016): pp. 68–88.

Rico, Francisco and Joaquín Forradellas. 'Chapter I'. In *Volumen complementario*, *Don Quijote de la Mancha* by Miguel de Cervantes (Barcelona: Crítica, 1998), pp. 16–18.

Rivers, Elías. 'Cervantes' art of the prologue'. In *Estudios literarios de hispanistas norteamericanos dedicados a Helmut Hatzfeld con motivo de su 80 aniversario*, edited by Joseph M. Sola-Solé, Alessandro Crisafulli, and Bruno Damiani (Barcelona: Hispam, 1974), pp. 167–71.

Romm, James. *The Edges of the Earth in Ancient Thought: Geography, Exploration, and Fiction* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992).

Ruiz Pérez, Pedro. *La distinción cervantina: poética e historia* (Alcalá de Henares: CEC, 2006).

Sacchetti, Maria Alberta. *Cervantes's 'Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda': A Study of Genre* (London: Támesis, 2001).

Sánchez, Jean-Pierre (ed.). *Lectures d'une oeuvre: 'Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda' de Cervantes* (Nantes: Editions du temps, 2003).

Schevill, Rudolph. 'Studies in Cervantes. *Persiles y Sigismunda*. II. The Question of Heliodorus'. *Modern Philology* 4 (1906–1907b): pp. 677–704.

Velázquez, Sonia. 'Of poets and barbarians: challenging linguistic hierarchies in Cervantes's *Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda*'. *Revista Hispánica Moderna* 67, no. 2 (2014): pp. 205–21.

Vilanova, Antonio. 'El peregrino andante en el *Persiles* de Cervantes'. *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras* (Barcelona) 22 (1949): pp. 97–159.

Villar Lecumberi, Alicia (ed.). *Actas del V Congreso Internacional de la Asociación de Cervantistas*, vol. 1 (Palma de Mallorca: Asociación de Cervantistas, 2004).

Williamsen, Amy. *Co(s)mic chaos: exploring 'Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda'* (Newark: Juan de la Cuesta, 1994).

Wilson, Diana de Armas. *Allegories of Love: Cervantes's 'Persiles and Sigismunda.'* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991).

Zimic, Stanislav. *Cuentos y episodios del 'Persiles': De la isla bárbara a una apoteosis del amor humano* (Vilagarcía de Arousa: Mirabel, 2005).

Zimic, Stanislav. 'El *Persiles* como crítica de la novela bizantina'. *Acta neophilologica* 3 (1970): pp. 49–64.

CHAPTER 13

CERVANTES AND MADNESS

RACHEL N. BAUER
Rhodes College

Scholars have studied madness in Cervantine literature from many angles over the past four hundred years. What follows here is a compendium of the topic to serve as a guide to future Cervantistas by synthesizing various sociohistorical approaches to understanding madness in sixteenth-century Spanish society, how Cervantes represented the many faces of madness within his works, and how this behaviour has been interpreted by critics from different fields and viewpoints.

Cervantes wrote a considerable amount throughout his lifetime. He experimented with different writing styles and did not recycle personality traits amongst his characters, including those considered mad: no two characters exhibit the same symptoms of insanity. In addition, unlike the stereotype of the madman that often figured in early-modern theatre, there is not one Cervantine character who is consistently mad throughout the entire literary work in which he or she[1] appears. These characters become mad, fluctuate in degrees of mental imbalance, may temporarily express manic rage, and usually regain sanity at some point in the text. Especially within his prose works, Cervantes allows his characters the freedom to evolve beyond their character types, and this includes for some of them transitioning through different degrees of insanity.[2] The embodiment of madness found in Cervantes's works is different from the stagnant stereotype of the madman found in theatre at that time. Examining the treatment of those considered mentally imbalanced by society along with medical texts and literature discussing insanity that were published during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and

[1] Although the majority of Cervantine characters considered mad are male, there are two female characters who fall into this realm: Isabela Castrucha in *Persiles y Sigismunda*, who feigns what the doctor describes as either madness or possession (III.20), and Camila, who allows herself to die in *El curioso impertinente* in *Don Quixote* (I.35).

[2] Forcione discusses how madness was linked to motion and change during Cervantes's time.

which might have been read by Cervantes, will highlight possible influences impacting how he understood madness and was able to fashion his irrational characters so completely that even now doctors feel compelled to diagnose them as if they were real people.[3]

Hospitals and Medical Texts

By Cervantes's time hospitals had been created in the centres of Valencia, Sevilla, Zaragoza, and Toledo to house and help those with mental disorders. The hospitals were created with the aid of the Catholic Church in the hopes of helping those in need.[4] According to Foucault, these hospitals were the first of their kind in Europe and he attributes this to the influence of Oriental and Arabic thought. The Brothers of Mercy had brought this teaching back to Spain and were familiar with the Arab world as they specialized in buying back captives.[5] Non-violent patients in the hospitals were encouraged to work or beg out in the community. There were often plays and other social activities, such as parades, put on so that the citizens could enjoy these individuals' antics as spectacle and so that those in the community who worried about fulfilling their Christian duties could do so through charity.[6] As Tropé points out, those who were of unsound mind were considered to be *pobres de Dios* (God's poor)[7] and therefore deserving of all rules of Christian charity.[8] The contradiction of viewing the mentally unsound as entertainment, but at the same time empathizing with them and carrying out charitable deeds to help them, is represented in Inquisitional records that sought to determine whether a person was in their right mind and therefore punishable for blasphemy, heresy, or for undermining Catholic authority, or whether the individual was mentally imbalanced and therefore unpunishable by the Inquisition.[9]

This irony of helping a madman while at the same time enjoying his unconventional behaviour surfaces in Cervantine literature, especially in *Don Quixote* and the exemplary novel *El licendiado Vidriera* [The Glass Licentiate]. In just about every social encounter along his journey, Don Quixote's antics are relished by other characters. The barber Maese Nicolás and the priest, as well as Sansón Carrasco, go to great lengths to have fun at Don Quixote's expense and at the same time work to return him home. In *El licendiado Vidriera*, after Tomás Rodaja goes mad, he has a continual entourage that both enjoys his observations and requires his counsel. These two protagonists are madmen

[3] See Johnson as well as Bailón-Blancas, a psychiatrist who diagnoses the types of disorders from which the characters Don Quixote, Anselmo, and Tomás Rodaja suffer. Psychopathologist Castilla del Pino analyses madness from a medical point of view. More recently, neurologists Palma and Palma offer their interpretation of maladies that appear in *Don Quixote* from a neurological perspective.

[4] See Tropé, 'Locura y sociedad' and 'Los tratamientos…'.

[5] Foucault, p. 117.

[6] See Tropé 'Inquisición y locura…' and *Locura y sociedad*…and López. Shuger also discusses how obligations of charity towards asylum patients were viewed in sixteenth-century Spain.

[7] Unless otherwise specified, all translations into English are mine.

[8] Tropé, 'Los tratamientos…', p. 30.

[9] See Shuger as well as Tropé's works mentioned in footnote 6.

who embody the social dynamic of the spectacle-charity case that still existed in Spain during Cervantes's lifetime but who have escaped the seventeenth century push to marginalize those individuals considered undesirable or unable to work, as described by Foucault.[10] Neither Don Quixote nor the Glass Licentiate is marginalized, but rather they interact and participate within their culture. This is in contrast, for example, with the mad graduate of cannon law whose experience in *La casa de locos* in Sevilla is recounted by the barber at the beginning of the second part of *Don Quixote*. This minor character, whose anecdotes are retold with relish, is not released from the hospital and is treated similarly to how the apocryphal Don Quixote is treated, which is discussed in further detail later on in this chapter.

Around the same time that the hospitals were being created, there was also renewed interest in understanding the causes of insanity from a medical perspective. Sixteenth-century Spain was an epicentre for publications in the medical field[11] and Cervantes might have had access to any number of them, either through his father, who was a barber-surgeon, or because of these publications' wide circulation and numerous reprints.[12] There were many medical treatises published during this time that examined mental health,[13] but the one that has been most analysed in connection with Cervantes's works is Juan Huarte de San Juan's *Examen de ingenios para las ciencias*.[14] Literary criticism from the first half of the twentieth century favoured a direct influence of Huarte on Cervantes,[15] where Cervantes fashioned his hero according to Huarte's coordinates for an individual of exceptional wit. Soufas has suggested that Cervantes, by favouring the doctrine of free will, was in fact parodying the biological determinism promoted by Huarte.[16] More recent research concerning potentially influential texts has expanded the field to include other medical publications of the time that dealt with mental illness.[17] Much has been written about the influence of Huarte in Cervantes, both in literary criticism and in the medical field, but less has been written about other potentially influential medical texts of the time period. In the future, a much larger study should be attempted, bridging what has been written in both the literary and medical fields on this subject and including a review of the confluence of medical texts examining madness in

[10] See especially Part I.

[11] Price as well as López-Muñoz and Álamo offer a general summary of many of the medical publications during this time period.

[12] See Eisenberg, 'La biblioteca…'.

[13] A few examples include Francisco de Villalobo's *El Sumario de la medicina* (1498), Juan Luis Vives's *De anima et vita* (1538) and *Vergel de sanidad* (1542), Luís de Lobrera de Avila's *Remedios de cuerpos humanos* (1542), Alfonso de Santa Cruz's *Diagnotio et cura affectuum melancholium* (1569), Francisco Núñez de Oria's *Aviso de sanidad* (1572), Agustín Farfán's *Tratado breve de medicina* (1579), Andrés Velázquez's *Libro de la melancholia* (1585), and Alonso de Freylas's *Conocimiento, curación y preservación de la peste* (1606).

[14] This title has been translated into English two different ways, *The Examination of Men's Wits* and *The Examination of Talents for the Professions*, but neither fully captures what Huarte meant by *ingenio*. The modern usage of *genius* is a closer approximation. This is discussed in further detail below.

[15] See Green, Iriarte, and Salillas.

[16] See Soufas, Chapter 1.

[17] See Heiple 'Renaissance Medical…' and Read.

sixteenth-century Spain and where they surface in Cervantine literature. Due to space limitations here, I will only highlight the more prominent examples.

First published in 1575, Huarte's treatise utilized theories on the four humours espoused by previous physicians such as Hippocrates, Galen, and Avicenna. Classical thought focused on the balance of the four humours (blood, choler, melancholy, and phlegm) within the body and how an excess or deficit of any one of these impacted the body. With regard to madness, if a body was too cold and dry, black bile was overproduced, and this caused melancholy. A body that was too hot and dry produced too much yellow bile, giving way to a choleric temperament and possible lunacy. Dryness, if excessive, was the key factor that led to both heightened intellect and to insanity. Where a body was generally too dry and cold, then the person suffered from extreme sadness and despair. If the body was consistently overly dry and hot, the person could experience bouts of violent insanity. Huarte also followed the observations on diet of al-Razi, Haly Abbas, and Hunayn,[18] the Persian physicians who systemized this medical thought by focusing on the causes that impacted the humours, known as the six non-naturals.[19] These doctrines had been continued in Juan de Aviñon's *Sevillana medicina* (1545), in Andrés Laguna's 1554 translation of Dioscorides's *Materia medica*, and in Pedro de Mercado's *Diálogos de philosophía natural y moral* (1558), to which Cervantes may have had access. However, Huarte is the first person to equate an individual's personality and level of aptitude to humoral (im)balance, by incorporating components of all of these theories to link the impact of internal and external influences on the body to a person's temperament, mental capacity, and actions as well as whether the individual was healthy or not.[20] Following traditional medical theories, Huarte believed it possible that by assessing an individual's character, the doctor could then determine a prevalence of choleric, melancholic, sanguine, or phlegmatic humour as well as an excess or deficit of heat, cold, dryness, or moisture. More importantly, Huarte put forth an early version of biological determinism by contemplating how human behaviour is determined by one's biological attributes.[21] Of particular significance, he discusses at length the formation of one's *ingenio*[22] and how, depending on the combination of physical factors as well as the ratio of the three mental faculties (memory, intellect, and imagination), an *ingenioso* is formed. Echoing the notion of a melancholy genius as put forth by Aristotle in *Problemata XXX*, Huarte believed an *ingenioso* to be someone of great talent and very beneficial to society, but he also cited Plato's observation that no great mind has ever

[18] See Heiple, 'Renaissance Medical…' for an excellent commentary on all of these treatises.

[19] The six non-naturals, or the causes of good health and illness, consisted of ambient air, food and drink, exercise and inactivity, sleep and wakefulness, excretion and repletion, and emotional disturbances.

[20] Huarte, Prosíguese el Segundo Proemio, p. 30.

[21] 'La prudencia y buena maña del ánima racional nace de la cólera; ser entero el hombre y constante proviene del humor melancólico; ser bobo y simple, de la sangre; de la flema, para ninguna cosa se aprovecha el ánima racional, más que para dormir' ['Prudence and good aptitude from the rational soul is born from choler; wholeness and constancy in man hails from melancholy; stupidity and simplicity, from blood; from phlegm, the rational soul receives nothing of benefit save sleeping'] (Capítulo VIII, p. 104).

[22] Huarte's use of this word can be translated into English as wit, talent, gift, ability, nature, or ingenuity, depending on the context in which it is used in *Examen*.

existed without a touch of madness.[23] The *ingenioso*, imbued with a sharp and delicate *ingenio*, can be prone to extremes such as overreacting, mental illness, and melancholy, due to excesses or deficits in humoral balance. Influence of this biological determinism can be seen throughout Cervantine literature, but especially in *Don Quixote*.

Much has been speculated about Cervantes's choice of the word *ingenioso* for his magnus opus *El ingenioso hidalgo don Quixote de la Mancha*. Rather than choose *loco* [mad], *tonto* [foolish], or *gracioso* [funny], the only adjective he used to describe his protagonist in the title of both the first and second part is ambiguously multi-layered. If the reader were someone familiar with Huarte's doctrine, the term would have gone beyond the general usage of the day[24] and indicated an expectation of a character of great wit but with bouts of instability or extreme behaviour. Cervantes's particular choice of adjective here is not accidental.

In I.1, the narrator describes the protagonist physically and mentions where he lives, what types of activities he does, and what he eats. Our hero resides in La Mancha, a very dry region of Spain known for its very hot summers and very cold winters. His diet consists of beef stew, *salpicón*,[25] *duelos y quebrantos*,[26] squab, and lentils. He is around fifty and has a weathered, dried-out look to him. He is an early riser and enjoys hunting. All of these factors were considered drying or heat-producing according to humoral medicine, and all aided in the production of yellow bile or choler. A predominance of yellow bile caused a person to be excitable, overly enthusiastic, and choleric or reactionary by nature. In extreme, however, too many yellow bile-producing factors could cause the yellow bile to become burned, or turn into black bile, which is the component of melancholy.

It is the books of chivalry that become the tipping point for a character who was already choleric by nature and custom. Our protagonist becomes so entranced with chivalric romances that he overexcites his imagination. Compared to books of knowledge, chivalric romances were criticized by scholars such as Erasmus and Juan Luis Vives for distracting the mind from true learning and for provoking foolish behaviour by causing the imagination to overreact.[27] Huarte also considered books of this genre to be works inspiring the imagination, which impacted the choleric humour: 'Estos [hombres] se pierden por leer en libros de caballerías, en Orlando, en Boscán, en *Diana* de Montemayor y otros así; porque todas éstas son obras de imaginativa…los [hombres] que tienen mucha imaginativa son coléricos, astutos, malinos, y cavilosos' ['These types of men lose themselves in reading books of chivalry, Orlando, Boscan, Montemayor's *Diana* and others like them; because all of these are works of the imagination…men that

[23] 'dijo Platón que por maravilla se halla hombre de muy subido ingenio que no pique algo en manía' ['Plato said that it is a rarity to find a man of great intellect who is safe from any caprice'] (Prosíguese el Segundo Proemio, p. 33).

[24] Covarrubias defines *ingenioso* as someone having subtle and fine *ingenio*, which was 'una fuerza natural de entendimiento investigadora' ['a natural, investigative force of intellect'] (p. 504v).

[25] Ground beef seasoned with onion, pepper, salt, and vinegar.

[26] Scrambled eggs mixed with chorizo sausage and bacon.

[27] Davis, pp. 13–16.

have a lot of imagination are choleric, astute, malevolent, and duplicitous'].[28] In addition to his choice of reading material, which he reads to excess, the protagonist of *Don Quixote* foregoes sleep, which was thought to moisten the brain and restore balance. Cervantes has intentionally set the stage for what happens next to the protagonist in I.1: 'él se enfrascó tanto en su lectura, que se le pasaban las noches leyendo de claro en claro, y los días de turbio en turbio; y así, del poco dormir y del mucho leer, se le secó el celebro, de manera que vino a perder el juicio' ['he became so absorbed in his books that he spent his nights from sunset to sunrise, and his days from dawn to dark, poring over them; and what with little sleep and much reading his brains got so dry that he lost his wits'].[29] It is the choice of reading material combined with the lack of sleep and excessive reading that tips Alonso Quixano over the edge.

Inspired by the books he has read, and with his imagination overstimulated, 'fue que le pareció convenible y necesario, así para el aumento de su honra como para el servicio de su república, hacerse caballero andante' ['he fancied it was right and requisite, as well for the support of his own honour as for the service of his country, that he should make a knight-errant of himself'].[30] This fits with Huarte's observation that the choleric individual adored honour and vainglory.[31] He believed that there were two types of melancholy: the first, lacking in imagination, made men slow and dull. Melancholy stemming from black bile, however, made individuals extremely wise. He related it to the variability of vinegar, sometimes causing heat and at other times cooling the body off, but noted it was always drying and therefore caused a sharpening of the mind.[32] Too much dryness and heat, as mentioned above, made a person reactionary and prone to outbursts. Too much dryness and cold caused sadness and deep despair. Huarte believed that these imbalances were common in *ingeniosos*. Notably, Don Quixote exhibits characteristics associated with both of these temperaments throughout the course of his adventures. Onlookers marvel repeatedly about this madman who is so knowledgeable, and they are continuously surprised that someone acting so unsoundly could provide such intelligent discourse. He is reactionary and predisposed to violent outbursts when he interprets an act as impertinent (as with the muleteer in I.4, the Biscayan squire in I.8, and Sancho on several occasions). He chooses to fast on several occasions, such as when he mentions to Sancho that 'Es honra de los caballeros andantes no comer en un mes' ['it is the glory of knights-errant to go without eating for a month'].[33] Although Don Quixote is following the model set by literary knights errant, the act of eating and drinking is one of the six non-naturals and essential to maintaining balance in the body and, therefore, temperament. As the mad graduate of cannon law from Osuna reaffirms in II.1, 'todas nuestras locuras proceden de tener los estómagos vacíos y los celebros llenos de aire' ['all this madness of ours comes of having the stomach empty and the brains full of

[28] Huarte, Capítulo X, p. 138. [29] Cervantes, *El ingenioso* . . . , I.1; *Don Quixote*, p. 41.

[30] Cervantes, *El ingenioso* . . . , I.1; *Don Quixote* p. 41.

[31] 'El colérico, según la [templanza] irascible, adora la honra [y] la vangloria' ['The choleric man, prone to irascible temperament, adores honour and vainglory'] (Prosíguese el segundo proemio, p. 29).

[32] Huarte, p. 163. [33] Cervantes, *El ingenioso* . . . , I.10; *Don Quixote*, p. 77.

wind'].[34] Likewise, Don Quixote's resistance to sleep, also in imitation of chivalric knights, engenders the cooling and drying of the body and further instability.

Heiple has observed that when Don Quixote suffers a bloodletting (such as when he loses half an ear battling the Biscayan squire), one of the prescribed cures for humoral imbalance, this alleviates his madness temporarily, and it is why he is able to deliver his eloquent discourse on the Golden Age. Likewise, it is after a long nap, where sleep restored moisture to his brain, that Don Quixote gives his eloquent speech on arms and letters.[35] But where Huarte's *ingeniosos* are successful, Don Quixote in the end suffers defeat. Heiple speculates that the knight-errant's ultimate defeat occurs in Barcelona because it is cooler and wetter; phlegmatic factors that contributed to his failure here.[36] Soufas, however, asserts that Don Quixote fails because Cervantes was parodying Huarte's vision of the exemplary *ingenioso*.[37] She believed Cervantes a proponent of the Catholic Church's doctrine of free will, which was something Huarte tangled with in his promotion of biological determinism. By fashioning Don Quixote according to the Huartian coordinates of an *ingenioso*, Cervantes parodies predestination.[38]

Returning to a home empty of his chivalric romances, Don Quixote is unable to sally out again due to the terms of his defeat at the hands of the Knight of the White Moon. The narrator tells us that, 'o ya fuese de la melancolía que le causaba el verse vencido, o ya por la disposición del cielo, que así lo ordenaba, se le arraigó una calentura que le tuvo seis días en la cama' ['whether it was of the dejection the thought of his defeat produced, or of heaven's will that so ordered it, a fever settled upon him and kept him in his bed for six days'].[39] When the fever breaks, Don Quixote is gone and Alonso Quixano has returned, cured of his madness. As Aurora Egido observes, what started out as a melancholy that yielded to choleric bouts has transitioned into the melancholy associated with old age.[40]

Cultural Visions of Madness: Erasmus, Bakhtin, and Foucault

Apart from understanding the humoral characteristics impacting madness and how it was understood by doctors, there is also its representation in literature to consider. In literary works from sixteenth and seventeenth century Spain, madness was a somewhat fluid term, interrelated with stupidity and foolishness, such as when used in theatre. In 1611, Covarrubias's dictionary *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española* defined a *loco* [madman] as someone who had lost his *juyzio* [judgement]; in other words, it was a negative attribute. With the Humanists, however, madness was also understood as a

[34] Cervantes, *El ingenioso . . .*, *Don Quixote*, p. 360. [35] Heiple, 'Renaissance Medical . . .,' p. 69.
[36] Heiple, 'Renaissance Medical . . .,' p. 67. [37] Soufas, pp. 31–3. [38] Soufas, p. 32.
[39] Cervantes, *El ingenioso . . .*, II.74; *Don Quixote*, p. 692. [40] Egido, p. 4.

Christian virtue. In 1509, Erasmus published his essay *The Praise of Folly*, which mocked worldly value systems such as politics, pedantry, and social hierarchy. *The Praise of Folly* was placed on the Inquisition's list of prohibited books in 1559, but judging by Hierónymo de Mondragón's very close imitation of it in his *Censura de la locura humana y excelencias della* [*Censure of Human Madness and the Excellence of It*] in 1598, the Erasmian essay was still in circulation in Spain during Cervantes's lifetime. Although there has been much debate over how much of an influence it had on Cervantes's works,[41] its reappraisal of madness and depiction of the fool should be considered when analysing characters who were considered *non compos mentis* in Cervantine literature.

The essay gives voice to Moria,[42] where she praises her universal reach as well as her many good friends, one of whom is Anoia.[43] The spirit of madness is strongly equated to being human. Linking it to foolishness, Erasmus writes that it 'brings a great delight not only to them that are possessed with it but to those also that behold it … [and] I scarce know anyone in all mankind that is wise at all hours, or has not some tang or other of madness'.[44] Not only are folly and madness, or being 'out of one's wits', interrelated according to Erasmus, but they are integral characteristics of what it means to be human and they are also representative of the comic element of life. Foucault points out that for Humanists such as Erasmus madness served as 'the comic punishment of knowledge and its ignorant presumption'.[45] Rather than celebrate only the rational aspects of the mind, society should embrace as a part of humanity the less serious or dignified facets as well. Erasmus satirizes social structures, in particular the pedants within the Catholic Church. He also revisits St. Paul's message in Corinthians where we should all strive to be fools for Christ and not pay heed to earthly entrapments or social conventions, since these went against Christ's vision of our mission on Earth.[46]

The holy fool lived to spread Christ's message, foregoing earthly comforts and social prestige. This archetype has been linked to Don Quixote, particularly by those who interpret his continual humiliations and betrayals as parallel to Christ's sufferings.[47] Similar to the holy fool, but with more emphasis on humour, Erasmus's Folly comes from a long literary tradition of wise fools, stemming from Democritus, Diogenes the

[41] See Bataillon, Castro, and Vilanova. Fajardo provides an excellent summary of key criticism relating to this topic up to 1985.

[42] Greek for foolishness or folly.

[43] Greek for mindlessness or incapacity to use one's mind, but often translated into English as madness.

[44] Erasmus, p. 53. [45] Foucault, p. 23.

[46] Erasmus quotes Paul liberally with regard to Christ's vision that it is those deemed foolish by society that are preferred by God because they are inured to social constraints and man-made value systems and instead are more concerned about living like Christ. Quoting 1 Corinthians 4:10, Folly reminds the reader that Paul states, 'We are fools for Christ's sake' (p. 112). In another example, Folly quotes Paul, ' "If anyone among ye," says he, "seem to be wise, let him be a fool that he may be wise" ' (p. 113, quoting 1 Corinthians 3:18).

[47] Unamuno understands Don Quixote to be a Spanish Christ. Ziolkowski explores the association of Don Quixote with the holy fool, especially how this understanding impacted future writers like Fields and Dostoyevsky. His conclusion is that Don Quixote should not be considered a holy fool because he sought eternal glory and fame, which were not part of Christ's mission (pp. 122–5).

Cynic, and Menippus. This figure of the laughing philosopher appears prominently in the genre of Menippean satire and is used as a device through which aspects of society can be safely critiqued. Folly states, 'the same thing which, if it came from a wise man's mouth might prove a capital crime, spoken by a fool is received with delight'.[48] Cervantes utilizes this type of device at times in *Don Quixote*. For example, Sancho Panza and Don Quixote dialogue about topics ranging from social mobility (I.7), just wages (I.7), and the acquisition of eternal fame (II.8). Because Sancho has been labelled by the narrator as simple-minded and foolish and Don Quixote is understood to be mad, what surfaces as a critique on society is tempered and not taken as seriously by the reader.

Where Cervantes more prominently utilizes the literary device of the wise fool is in the exemplary novel *El licenciado Vidriera*. The protagonist, Tomás Rodaja [Thomas Wedge], is a poor scholar who unwittingly eats a wedge of a love potion-laced quince[49] and this brings on an epileptic-like seizure and then a lengthy, nearly fatal illness, where his body dries out to the point of gauntness. As the narrator points out, Tomás recovers physically but develops one of the strangest forms of madness ever seen.[50] In a psycho-analytical interpretation, Garcés likens this to an unwanted sexual encounter and interprets Tomás's ensuing madness as a manner in which he can distance himself from any type of reoccurrence of this kind.[51] When Tomás recovers from his physical ailments, he believes he is made of glass.[52] He protests violently to being touched, fashions sack-like garments to wear as clothing, and refuses to wear shoes. He also changes his name to the Licenciado Vidriera [the Glass Licentiate] and he now takes to walking through the streets, where he is persecuted by street urchins and followed by people requesting his advice. He explains that his increase in intellect is because he is made of glass rather than flesh, something that is *sutil* [refined], delicate, and allows the soul to work more quickly and efficiently.[53]

The Glass Licentiate's extreme intelligence, brought on by severe illness, is similar to the description Huarte mentions in discussing both the illness of Democritus and of a nobleman's illiterate page who, after a similar ailment, became eloquent and witty.[54] Like the wise fools preceding him, the Glass Licentiate offers strident advice and biting commentary on both society as a whole and to those individuals he encounters during his walks. Characters marvel at his astute observations and seek him out for counsel. His language is satirical and laughter-inciting. After a while, a priest takes pity on him and cures him from his neurosis, at which point he changes his name once again, this time to Tomás Rueda [Thomas Wheel]. He no longer believes he is made of glass, but likewise he no longer spouts satiric commentary. He attempts to work as a licentiate at Court, but

[48] Erasmus, p. 49.

[49] Cervantes uses the spell-as-catalyst-to-madness in one other occasion, which is when Domicio dons a cursed robe and becomes violently aggressive in *Persiles y Sigismunda*, III.15.

[50] Cervantes, *Novelas ejemplares,* p. 312.

[51] Garcés, p. 229.

[52] There were several recorded cases during the Renaissance of people who believed they were made of glass, including King Charles IV of France.

[53] Cervantes, *Novelas ejemplares*, p. 313.

[54] Huarte, p. 92.

the people only want his witticisms and no one hires him. In the end he throws himself into war as an enlisted soldier and dies in battle.

In his farewell speech before enlisting, Tomás criticizes society for encouraging and supporting daring schemers and shameless delinquents while casting aside and starving out the virtuous and humble.[55] His bitterness and frustration at being considered less useful and underappreciated by society when sane in some ways echoes Don Antonio's reprimand when Sansón Carrasco has bested Don Quixote as the Knight of the White Moon and has forced him to retreat to his house: '¡Dios os perdone el agravio que habéis hecho a todo el mundo en querer volver cuerdo al más gracioso loco que hay en él!' ['May God forgive you the wrong you have done the whole world in trying to bring the most amusing madman in it back to his senses!'].[56] The spectacle of madness, as embodied by Don Quixote and the Glass Licentiate, is enjoyed and encouraged by most throughout the novel. Without it, these two protagonists lose their appeal. Their madnesses are reflective of those praised by Erasmus's Folly and encourage participation.

In *Don Quixote* and *El licenciado Vidriera*, there is a tolerance of insane behaviour as well as the invitation for others to partake in it. This encouragement and acceptance of madness is indicative of what Bakhtin refers to when discussing the carnivalesque in literature, and it frequently transpires in public domains because it is inclusive in nature. The Glass Licentiate walks the streets, inviting dialogue and interaction with everyone joining in on the discussion. In Part I, Don Quixote's friends the barber and the priest are all too eager to don foolish disguises in order to trick Don Quixote into helping the Princess Micomicona. In Part II, we are invited by the narrators to enjoy Sansón Carrasco, who dresses up twice as a knight-errant to challenge Don Quixote, and the duke and duchess and their attendants, who outdo themselves to the point of ridiculousness in their attempts to enjoy Don Quixote and Sancho's behaviour. These are examples of a carnivalesque understanding of madness, which was viewed as positive and universal, as espoused by Erasmus's Folly. Bakhtin observes, 'Medieval Latin humour found its final and complete expression at the highest level of the Renaissance in Erasmus's *In Praise of Folly*, one of the greatest creations of carnival laughter in world literature'.[57] This style of madness likewise surfaced in Cervantine comedy and allowed for an inversion of roles, if only temporarily, and the freedom for characters to grow beyond their character types.

From this point of reference, madness and its contagious laughter were considered to be a rejuvenating and all-inclusive element of the carnivalesque. In contrast, Avellaneda's 1614 continuation of *Don Quixote* showcases a top-down, demeaning humour that sought to maintain the status quo of its characters.[58] This counterfeit Don Quixote is derided, played the fool, and continuously humiliated. At the end of the novel, he is abandoned by Sancho for the Court, and his good friend Don Alvaro Tarfe leaves him in

[55] Cervantes, *Novelas ejemplares*, p. 338.

[56] Cervantes, *El ingenioso* . . . , II.65; *Don Quixote*, p. 661.

[57] Bakhtin, p. 14.

[58] See Iffland, *De fiestas* . . . for a more in-depth analysis of how Avellaneda's vision of Don Quixote and Sancho Panza differs from Cervantes's vision; see also Gilman.

Toledo's hospital for the insane, *La Casa del Nuncio*. In contrast to the more positive, integrating attitude towards Don Quixote in the original version, Avellaneda's novel sought to control and debase imbalanced and impertinent characters. The symptoms exhibited by the two Don Quixotes are also different. The original's intelligence balances out his delusional actions. The apocryphal Don Quixote never proffers intelligent discourse and the way he acts out his madness more clearly resembles Cardenio's madness in the Sierra Morena wilderness: both he and Cardenio are prone to unprovoked violent outbursts. Both also suffer what Palma and Palma have identified as absence seizures, where an individual stops abruptly and gazes fixedly off into space for a period of time.[59] But where Avellaneda's Don Quixote is punished for his violent acts, Cardenio is shown compassion by the shepherds, and his madness resolves itself without intervention as soon as he leaves the mountainside and returns to civilization.[60]

In Avellaneda's edition, Don Quixote is always mentally unstable and, although Don Alvaro at times pities him and ultimately decides it would be better for society as well as Don Quixote if he were placed in an insane asylum, the majority of characters the knight-errant encounters regard him as socially inferior and treat him likewise. In Cervantes's Part II, the duke and duchess embody this attitude of social hierarchy, but they go to such great lengths to make fools of Don Quixote and Sancho that they inadvertently become the spectacle of ridiculousness for the reader. When Sansón informs the duke that Don Quixote is heading home after his defeat in Barcelona, the duke plans to make Don Quixote and Sancho stop at his castle either willingly or by force and goes out of his way to prepare a spectacle in which Don Quixote and Sancho will unwittingly be used as buffoons. In contrast to the positive light in which Avellaneda casts his aristocratic jokesters, Cervantes exposes those in authority who encourage madness-as-sport.

Regarding all of the duke and duchess's preparations for Don Quixote and Sancho's return, Cide Hamete Bengeli remarks 'que tiene para sí ser tan locos los burladores como los burlados y que no estaban los duques dos dedos de aparecer tontos, pues tanto ahínco ponían en burlarse de dos tontos' ['that for his part he considers the concocters of the joke as crazy as the victims of it, and that the duke and duchess were not two fingers' breadth removed from being something like fools themselves when they took such pains to make game of a pair of fools'].[61] Rather than upholding this social hierarchy, as Avellaneda does, Cervantes calls attention to it and, via the narrators, guides the reader to a different conclusion than that offered by Avellaneda. As Iffland observes, 'Much of what occurs in the palace of the duke and duchess would seem to constitute a direct reply to the "courtly strategy" of Avellaneda, showing him that he—Cervantes—is also perfectly capable of inventing "adventures" of this type, and that he does it even better, that is, with greater ingenuity and sophistication'.[62] Cervantes's protagonists show more independence and are afforded more dignity than their apocryphal counterparts.

[59] Palma, p. 251. [60] For a psychoanalytical interpretation of Cardenio's madness, see Feal.
[61] Cervantes, *El ingenioso* . . . , II.70; *Don Quixote*, p. 679.
[62] Iffland, 'Do We Really . . . ', p. 79.

Although Avellaneda's novel serves as only one author's perception of the relationship between a mentally imbalanced character and his society, this example highlights the complexity that exists in Cervantine literature regarding the relationships between those considered unsound of mind and the other characters with whom they interact. Cervantes draws attention to his character's ability to transcend the madman typecast by the way in which other characters react when Don Quixote acts different than what is expected. Almost all of the characters Don Quixote encounters on his journey consider him mad, but when he speaks with eloquence, composure, and intelligence, that is to say, when he acts in a manner that defies their preconceived notion of a madman, they act amazed. Through the reactions of his characters, Cervantes challenges the *loco* stereotype, such as when other characters are filled with wonder when regarding Don Quixote's madness (e.g. the barber and priest in I.26, the canon in I.49, the goatherd in I.52, the labourers transporting the saintly images in II.58), and when Don Diego de Miranda's son opines, 'No le sacarán del borrador de su locura cuantos médicos y buenos escribanos tiene el mundo: él es un entreverado loco, lleno de lúcidos intervalos' ['All the doctors and clever scribes in the world will not make sense of the scrawl of his madness; he is a madman full of streaks, full of lucid intervals'].[63] His madness is also rousing and provocative, inspiring characters such as Sancho, the barber and priest, Sansón Carrasco, the duke and duchess, and Altisidora to participate in it. Cervantes weaves carnivalesque elements into the storyline by enabling his characters to surpass traditional character types and by incorporating group participation in many of the humorous events that occur.

Carnivalesque madness and folly surface within the majority of Cervantine texts, and especially in *Don Quixote*, but there are also examples of destructive madness that do not fit within the carnivalesque tradition and are indicative instead of the shift into the modern era. Foucault studied how the dynamic between a society and those labelled delusional or deranged transitioned from an inclusive coexistence during medieval France to a culture that marginalized and ultimately rejected these individuals as being non-productive members, and therefore useless, in an Enlightened and then Industrialized civilization. This sociohistorical analysis of madness has in turn been applied to medieval and early modern Spanish literature; although Shuger asserts that France was ahead of Spain in its push to separate the disturbed from the general public and that this tendency was not as prevalent in Spain until well into the seventeenth century.[64] In much of Cervantine literature, madness is frequently humanized and is allowed to disrupt social order. In his relatives' and friends' quest to capture Don Quixote and bring him home, for example, they do so because they are worried about him, but they do not describe him as dangerous nor consider the possibility of taking him to an insane asylum. The priest, the barber, Sansón Carrasco, and definitely the duke and duchess do enjoy the spectacle that Don Quixote's madness provides, but they are careful not to laugh in his face nor openly disrespect him. Nonetheless, there are

[63] Cervantes, *El ingenioso* . . . , II.18; *Don Quixote*, p. 439.
[64] See Shuger, Chapter 1 for further analysis of this topic.

other Cervantine characters whose madness is destructive rather than rejuvenating and therefore do not fit within the realm of the carnivalesque.

Cervantes's approach to Extreme Passions: Suicide and Jealousy

In the interpolated story *El curioso impertinente*, Anselmo suffers from a self-diagnosed obsession and explains to his best friend Lotario, 'Padezco ahora la enfermedad que suelen tener algunas mujeres, que se les antoja comer tierra, yeso, carbón y otras cosas peores, aun asquerosas para mirarse, cuanto más para comerse' ['I am now labouring under that infirmity which women sometimes suffer from, when the craving seizes them to eat clay, plaster, charcoal, and things even worse, disgusting to look at, much more to eat'].[65] He likens the strong yearning associated with this disorder, what would in present times be diagnosed as pica, as similar to his severe preoccupation with testing his wife Camila's loyalty. Anselmo begs his best friend Lotario to help him discover whether Camila really is as discreet and faithful as her reputation purports. But ultimately, it is Anselmo's obsession that drives Lotario and Camila into each other's arms and all three parties end up suffering from love melancholy that leads to an untimely end. Anselmo allows himself to die once he realizes what he has done and acknowledges that this entire situation has come about because 'un necio e impertinente deseo me quitó la vida' ['a foolish and ill-advised desire has robbed me of life'].[66] Camila, likewise, surrenders her will to live rather than continue living with a broken heart. Lotario, unable to come to terms with his love for Camila and his betrayal of Anselmo, enlists as a soldier and throws himself into battle, where he dies. Although all three methods of death were common and accepted within literature, all reflect a choice of death and destruction over life.

The theme of suicide also surfaces with Grisóstomo in *Don Quixote* I.14. In his poem 'La canción desesperada' ['The Song of Despair'], he lets Marcela know in no uncertain terms that he is choosing death over life because of his unrequited love for her. Avalle-Arce reviews whether Grisóstomo's death should be interpreted as suicide or whether it was simply due to love melancholy. He cites Covarrubias, who defined *desesperarse* as killing one's self out of spite, which constitutes a sin against the Holy Spirit.[67] 'La canción

[65] Cervantes, *El ingenioso* . . . . , I.33; *Don Quixote*, p. 229.

[66] Cervantes, *El ingenioso* . . . , I.35; *Don Quixote*, p. 250.

[67] 'desesperarse es matarse de qualquiera manera por despecho; pecado contra el Espiritu Santo. No se les da a los tales sepultura, queda su memoria infamada, y sus bienes confiscados: y lo peor de todo es que van a hazer compañia a Judas. Esto no se entiende de los que estando fuera de juyzio lo hizieron, como los locos o freneticos.' ['*desesperarse* is to kill oneself out of spite no matter which form it takes; a sin against the Holy Spirit. Suicides are not given a burial, their memory is defamed, and their goods confiscated: and worst of all they will keep Judas company. Those judged out of their minds, such as madmen or frenetics, are the exception to this.'], (Covarrubias, p. 309v, s.v. *desesperarse*).

desesperada', therefore, could be interpreted as a suicide note. In the sixth stanza of the poem, Grisóstomo states that, due to Marcela's disdain, he will make use of a noose and end his pain, understanding that in doing so he foregoes proper treatment from the Catholic Church.[68] But Cervantes is ambiguous here. It is true that Grisóstomo is not buried in hallowed ground, which has been interpreted as proof of suicide,[69] but this is because he wishes to be buried in the spot in the woods where he first laid eyes on Marcela. Since Catholic doctrine believes that suicide eternally damns the person's soul, it stands to reason that, as Covarrubias concludes in his definition of *desesperarse*, no one in their right mind would choose to commit suicide. This sentiment is echoed by Sancho, when he tells Alonso Quixano on his deathbed, 'la mayor locura que puede hacer un hombre en esta vida es dejarse morir, sin más ni más, sin que nadie le mate, ni otras manos le acaben que las de la melancolía' ['the foolishest thing a man can do in this life is to let himself die without rhyme or reason, without anybody killing him, or any hands but melancholy's making an end of him'].[70] Whether or not Grisóstomo committed suicide is left up to the interpretation of the reader, but his death as well as those of Anselmo, Camila, and Lotario in *El curioso impertinente*, are representative of the deleterious madness linked to excessive melancholy.

A different angle on suicide is presented in Cervantes's historical tragedy *La Numancia*, where the madness of mass suicide is represented as a heroic virtue. Rather than be enslaved by the uncompromising, relentless Romans, all the Numantians choose to end their lives. The basic instinct of self-preservation is superseded by the value of freedom. Understood from within the framework of liberty, Cervantes emends the act of taking one's life and in this instance it can be interpreted more than as an act of insanity but rather as noble and justifiable.

Jealousy is another emotion like sadness that, when left unmoderated, can drive a character to unhealthy extremes. Often present in theatre, this emotion furthers the plot while eliciting strong reactions from the audience. When not thwarted or ameliorated, it becomes a vehicle, driving characters into rash, foolish obsessions. In the exemplary novel *El celoso extremeño*, jealousy is pushed past its conventional limits into obsession. Here, Cervantes explores the social mores of jealousy, specifically as it related to the sixteenth-century Spanish understanding of honour and the reputation of a family's name, which was based on the purity and faithfulness of the female(s) in the household. Sixty-eight-year old Filipo de Carrizales, whom the narrator describes as the most jealous man in the world even before he marries,[71] becomes even more so after nuptials and confines his young, beautiful wife Leonora to the interior of the house, where she has no contact with the outer world and can only interact with female servants and a eunuch.

[68] 'Y, con esta opinión y un duro lazo
acelerando el miserable plazo
a que me han conducido sus desdenes
ofreceré a los vientos cuerpo y alma
sin lauro o palma de futuros bienes' (I.14).

[69] Castro, p. 239. [70] Cervantes, *El ingenioso* . . . , II.74; *Don Quixote*, p. 694.

[71] Cervantes, *Novelas ejemplares*, p. 370.

Under the guise of protecting her from the outside world, Carrizales has taken every precaution to seal Leonora away from any type of temptation or possible cause of besmirchment, which might inflame his jealousy. However, the lengths to which he goes, instead of representing the social ideal, belie an obsession that is ultimately held up to criticism by Cervantes.[72]

Even after all of his extreme actions to limit Leonora's contact with the outer world and thereby greatly reduce her lifestyle, Carrizales's plan ultimately fails when he finds her in bed with the musician Loaysa and assumes that she has slept with him. Although Carrizales's initial reaction is to take revenge on Leonora and Loaysa, because what he sees ignites a choleric response, the pain that accompanies this leaves him breathless. He returns to his room and collapses in a faint due to the agony and anguish he feels in his heart.[73] In an unexpected twist that differs from most revenge stories, however, when he awakens he decides that the only individual who should suffer from revenge here should be him, declaring that his jealousy is the reason that all of this has come to pass and that he himself has been the creator of the poison that is taking his life.[74] He then forgives Leonora, makes his will, and within seven days passes away.

Francisco de Villalobos, Court doctor to Kings Ferdinand the Catholic and Charles V, wrote about the destructive effects of jealousy in his *Sumario de medicina* and in 'Canción de Villalobos'. He discusses *amor hereos* [lovesickness] as well as jealousy. Linking jealousy to tyranny, greed, pride, envy, and lust, Villalobos warns that those ruled by these passions die in service to the devil because they allow themselves to lose hope (*se desesperan*) and kill themselves.[75] In *El celoso extremeño*, jealousy pushed to its extreme becomes a form of destructive madness that consumes its vassal.[76]

Humoral imbalance, dietary changes, extreme passions; external factors and internal elements impacting the mind; madness in Cervantine literature is not static but rather dialectical and in flux. And although the characters are fictional, they have a tangible realness to which readers easily relate. Critics have spent the past four hundred years attempting to explain the universal appeal of Cervantes's works, especially that of *Don Quixote*. Drawing from the literary and historical environment of seventeenth-century Spain, Cervantes embraced all aspects of humanity, including the ideal and the imperfect, the intentional and accidental, and the *cuerdo* and the *loco*. His astute observations of human nature aided him in infusing his characters with believable personalities. He also encouraged the rejuvenating madness found in carnivalesque culture while he explored the destructive side of madness representing Spain's transition into modern times.

[72] El Saffar categorizes Carrizales as suffering from solipsism, or egocentricity (pp. 40–5).

[73] Cervantes, *Novelas ejemplares,* p. 409.

[74] Cervantes, *Novelas ejemplares,* p. 413.

[75] Villalobos, 'Canción de Villalobos', pp. 207–8.

[76] For a more in-depth analysis of Villalobos's possible influence in Cervantes's construction of Carrizales and Anselmo, see Aguiar.

Works Cited

Aguiar, Gustavo Illades. 'Dos pacientes virtuales del médico Francisco de Villalobos: Anselmo y Carrizales'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 19, no. 2 (1999): pp. 101–12.

Avalle-Arce, Juan Batista. 'La "canción desesperada" de Grisóstomo'. *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica* 11, no. 4 (Apr–Jun., 1957): pp. 193–8.

Bakhtin, Mikhail. *Rabelais and his World*, translated by Hélène Iswolsky (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1984).

Bailón-Blancas, José Manuel. *Cervantes y la psiquiatría: La histeria en 'El licenciado Vidriera'* (Madrid: Necodisne, 2000).

Bailón-Blancas, José Manuel. *Historia clínica del caballero don Quijote* (Madrid: Gráficas Cañizares, 1993).

Bailón-Blancas, José Manuel. 'Un modelo de depresión neurótica en la obra de Cervantes: el curioso impertinente'. In *Actas del II Congreso Internacional de la Asociación de Cervantistas*, edited by Giuseppe Grilli (Nápoles: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1995): pp. 463–86.

Bataillon, Marcel. *Erasmo y el erasmismo* (Barcelona: Crítica, 1983): pp. 327–47.

Castilla del Pino, Carlos. *Cordura y locura en Cervantes*. (Barelona: Península, 2005): pp. 59–81.

Castro, Américo. 'Erasmo en tiempos de Cervantes.' *Hacía Cervantes* (Madrid: Taurus, 1960): pp. 193–230.

Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de. *Don Quixote*, translated by John Ormsby. *Project Gutenberg*. EBook #996. (Published March 4, 2015), n.p. http://www.gutenberg.org/files/996/996-h/996-h.htm.

Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de. *El ingenioso hidalgo don Quijote de la Mancha. Project Gutenberg*. Etext #2000. (Published December 1999), n.p. https://www.gutenberg.org/files/2000/2000-h/2000-h.htm.

Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de. *Novelas ejemplares*. Mobile Read: Florencio Sevilla Arroyo. (Published 15 July 2015), n.p. http://libros.metabiblioteca.org/bitstream/001/154/9/Novelas%20ejemplares%20-%20Miguel%20de%20Cervantes%20Saavedra.pdf.

Covarrubias Orozco, Sebastián de. *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española* (Madrid: Luís Sanchez, 1611). https://archive.org/details/A253315.

Davis, Alex. *Chivalry and Romance in the English Renaissance* (Cambridge: DS Brewer, 2003).

Durán, Manuel. 'El Quijote a través del prisma de Mikhail Bakhtin: carnaval, disfraces, escatología y locura.' In *Cervantes and the Renaissance*, edited by Michael D. McGaha (Easton, PA: Juan de la Cuesta, 1980): pp. 71–86.

Egido, Aurora. 'La memoria y el Quijote'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 11, no.1 (1991): pp. 3–44.

Eisenberg, Daniel. 'La biblioteca de Cervantes: Una reconstrucción'. *Versión preliminar a 2002. https://www.academia.edu/26165618/La_biblioteca_de_Cervantes_una_reconstrucci%C3%B3n*.

El Saffar, Ruth Anthony. *Novel to Romance: A Study of Cervantes's* Novelas ejemplares (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1974).

Erasmus, Desiderius. *The Praise of Folly*, translated by John Wilson. *Project Gutenberg* Ebook #9371.

Fajardo, Diógenes. 'Erasmo y *Don Quijote de la Mancha*'. *Centro virtual Cervantes: Thesaurus* 40, no. 3 (1985): pp. 604–19. https://cvc.cervantes.es/lengua/thesaurus/pdf/40/TH_40_003_120_0.pdf.

Feal, Carol. 'Against the Law: Mad Lovers in *Don Quixote*'. In *Quixotic Desire: Psychoanalytic Perspectives on Cervantes*, edited by Ruth Anthony El Saffar and Diana de Armas Wilson (Ithica: Cornell UP, 1993): pp. 179–99.

Fernández de Avellaneda, Alonso. *El ingenioso hidalgo don Quijote de la Mancha* (Barcelona: Poliedro, 2005).

Forcione, Alban Keith. *Cervantes and the Humanist Vision: A Study of Four* Exemplary Novels (Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 1982).

Foucault, Michel. *History of Madness*, edited by Jean Khalfa, translated by Jonathan Murphy and Jean Khalfa (London: Routledge, 2006).

Garcés, María Antonia. 'Delirio y obscenidad en Cervantes: el caso Vidriera.' *Actas de los Congresos de la Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas* 12 (1995): pp. 225–36.

Gilman, Stephen. *Cervantes y Avellaneda: Estudio de una imitación* (DF: Colegio de México, 1951).

Green, Otis H. 'El ingenioso hidalgo'. *Hispanic Review* XXV (1957): pp. 175–93.

Heiple, Daniel. 'El licenciado Vidriera y el humor tradicional del loco'. *Hispania* 66, no. 1 (1983): pp. 17–20.

Heiple, Daniel. 'Renaissance Medical Psychology in *Don Quijote*'. *Ideologies and Literatures* 2, no. 9 (1979): pp. 65–72.

Huarte de San Juan, Juan. *Examen de ingenios para las ciencias* [1594]. Reproduced in *Electroneurobiología* 3, no. 2 (1996): pp. 1–322. http://electroneubio.secyt.gov.ar/Juan_Huarte_de_San_Juan_Examen_de_ingenios.htm.

Iffland, James. *De fiestas y aguafiestas: Risa, locura e ideología en Cervantes y Avellaneda.* (Madrid: Iberoamericana, 1999).

Iffland, James. 'Do We Really Need to Read Avellaneda?' *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 21, no. 1 (2001): pp. 67–83.

Iriarte, Mauricio de. *El Doctor Huarte De San Juan Y Su Examen De Ingenios* (Madrid: Ediciones Jerarquía, 1939).

Iriarte, Mauricio de. '"*El ingenioso hidalgo*" *y El examen de ingenios: qué debe Cervantes al Dr. Huarte de San Juan.*' *Revista Internacional de los Estudios Vascos/Revue Internationale des Etudes Basques* 24 (1933): pp. 499–522. *http://hedatuz.euskomedia.org/1688*.

Johnson, Carroll. *Madness and Lust: A Psychoanalytical Approach to Don Quixote* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983).

López Alonso, Carmen. Locura *y* sociedad en Sevilla*: Historia del Hospital de los Inocentes (1436–1840)* (Sevilla: Diputación Provincial, 1988).

López-Muñoz, Francisco and Cecilio Álamo. 'Sobre las fuentes médicas de Cervantes'. *Humanidades médicas.* JANO 1644 (2007): pp. 54–6.

Mondragón, Hierónymo de. *Censura de la locura humana i escelencias della* (Lérida: Antonio de Robles, 1598). https://play.google.com/books/reader?printsec=frontcover&output=reader&id=hOkN_lZFd3YC&pg=GBS.PT10.

Palma, Jose-Alberto and Fermin Palma. 'Neurology and Don Quixote'. *European Neurology.* 68 (2012): pp. 247–57. https://www.karger.com/Article/FullText/341338.

Pérez-Álvarez, Marino. 'Psychology in Don Quixote'. *Psychology in Spain* 10, no 1 (2006): pp. 17–27.

Price, Robin. 'Spanish Medicine in the Golden Age'. *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine*. 72 (1979): pp. 864–974.

Read, Malcolm. *Juan Huarte de San Juan* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1981).

Salillas, Rafael. *Un gran inspirador de Cervantes, el doctor Juan Huarte y su* Examen de ingenios (Madrid: Eduardo Arias, 1905).

Sampayo Rodríguez, José Ramón. *Rasgos erasmistas de la locura del* Licenciado Vidriera *de Miguel de Cervantes* (Kassel: Reichenberger, 1986).

Shuger, Dale. *Don Quixote in the Archives: Madness and Literature in Early Modern Spain* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 2012).

Soufas, Teresa Scott. *Melancholy and the Secular Mind in Spanish Golden Age Literature* (Columbia: U of Missouri Press, 1990).

Speak, Gill. 'An Odd Kind of Melancholy: Reflections on the Glass Delusion in Europe (1440–1680)'. *History of Psychiatry* 2, no. 2 (1990): pp. 191–206. doi:10.1177/0957154X9000100203. http://hpy.sagepub.com/content/1/2/191.

Tropé, Hélène. 'Inquisición y locura en la España de los siglos XVI y XVII'. *Bulletin of Spanish Studies* 87, no. 8 (2010): pp. 57–79.

Tropé, Hélène. *Locura y sociedad en la Valencia de los siglos XV la XVII: los locos del Hospital de los Inocentes (1409–1512) y del Hospital General (1512–1699)*. (Valencia: Diputación de Valencia, Centre d'Estudis d'História Local, 1994).

Tropé, Hélène. 'Los tratamientos de la locura en la España de los siglos XV al XVII: El caso de Valencia'. *Frenia* 11 (2011): pp. 27–46.

Unamundo, Miguel de. *La vida de don Quijote y Sanch.* (Madrid: Cátedra, 1988).

'Vidriera.' *Diccionario de Autoridades* (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 2012). Accessed August 17, 2015. http://web.frl.es/DA.html.

Vilanova, Antonio. *Erasmo y Cervantes.* (Barcelona: Lumen, 1989).

Villalobos, Francisco de. 'Canción de Villalobos, con su glosa'. In *Algunas obras del doctor Francisco López de Villalobos: obras literarias* (Madrid: La sociedad de Bibliófilos españoles, 1886), pp. 202–15.

Villalobos, Francisco de. 'Sumario de la medicina.' In *Algunas obras del doctor Francisco López de Villalobos: obras científicas* (Madrid: La sociedad de Bibliófilos españoles, 1886), pp. 109–27.

Wagschal, Steven. *The Literature of Jealousy in the Age of Cervantes* (Columbia: U of Missouri Press, 2007).

Ziolkowski, Eric J. *The Sanctification of Don Quixote: from Hidalgo to Priest* (University Park: Penn State Press, 1991).

CHAPTER 14

CERVANTES AND GENRE

BRIAN BREWER
Trinity College Dublin

In *Don Quixote* I.47 and 48, Cervantes sets out his most sustained exposition of literary theory. My purpose here is not to survey the critical debates that have erupted regarding the sincerity of these aesthetic principles, still less to rehash the arguments pro and contra, but, instead, to point out that the dialogue staged in these chapters between the canon from Toledo and the priest from Don Quixote's village contains in embryonic form the primary tensions that infuse Cervantes's attitude toward literary genre as revealed in his fiction.[1] The critical exchange is divided into two parts: the canon's critique of the romances of chivalry that have caused Don Quixote's insanity, and the priest's appraisal of the state of contemporary popular theatre. In both cases, which are complementary, the characters' criticisms are harsh without being completely uncompromising. Also in both cases, the artistic precepts expounded accurately describe Cervantes's actual practice of composing literary fiction, with the non-trivial caveat that they also contain important limitations.

In his remarks on the romances of chivalry, the canon repeatedly denounces their 'disparates' [absurdities] and failure to conform to the prescriptions of 'arte', 'reglas', and 'preceptos' [art, rules, and precepts]. These latter are derived from the theoretical debates which stemmed from the Renaissance's critical engagement with Aristotle's *Poetics* and Horace's *Ars Poetica*. The canon, following contemporary convention, privileges

[1] For E.C. Riley, '[t]his well-known passage is central to Cervantes's theory of the novel. It is the most compact and concrete expression of his views on what such a novel ought to be and, more especially, ought to contain' (*Cervantes's Theory*…, p. 49). Anthony Close concurs: 'I take it, as others have done, that [the canon] speaks for Cervantes here' (p. 110). Javier Blasco, in contrast, warns against taking these statements at face value. He accuses Riley of failing to distinguish between Cervantes's own literary opinions and those of his characters, and thus of conflating '*Cervantes's theory of the novel*' with '*Cervantes's theory of a novel*' ('La compartida responsabilidad…', pp. 47–8; original emphasis). Independently of whether such a modern separation of voices is easily applicable to an early modern text, it is worth noting that Riley himself was perfectly aware of this distinction: 'What we have here is not so much a theory of The Novel as a theory of a certain type of novel—a type, however, which specially appealed to Cervantes' (*Cervantes's Theory*…, p. 49).

unity-in-variety, verisimilitude, decorum, rhetorical polish, and pleasurable instruction above the 'monstrous' aberrations of the structurally disjointed, unrealistic (understood as both preposterously impossible and lacking truth-to-type in literary characterization), unrefined, and unedifying romances. Nevertheless, the canon still allows for the perfectibility of the romance, provided it were purged of its outrages against good taste:

> [C]on todo cuanto mal había dicho de tales libros, hallaba en ellos una cosa buena, que era el sujeto que ofrecían para que un buen entendimiento pudiese mostrarse en ellos, porque daban largo y espacioso campo por donde sin empacho alguno pudiese correr la pluma, describiendo naufragios, tormentas, rencuentros y batallas, pintando un capitán valeroso con todas las partes que para ser tal se requieren . . . pintando ora un lamentable y trágico suceso, ahora un alegre y no pensado acontecimiento; allí una hermosísima dama, honesta, discreta y recatada; aquí un caballero cristiano, valiente y comedido; acullá un desaforado bárbaro fanfarrón; acá un príncipe cortés, valeroso y bien mirado; representando bondad y lealtad de vasallos, grandezas y mercedes de señores. Ya puede mostrarse astrólogo, ya cosmógrafo excelente, ya músico, ya inteligente en las materias de estado, y tal vez le vendrá ocasión de mostrarse nigromante, si quisiere.[2]
>
> [[D]espite all his strictures on such books he did find one positive quality in them: they provided subject matter with which a good intelligence could express itself, because they made available a broad and spacious canvas on which the pen could wander unhindered, describing shipwrecks, storms, skirmishes and battles; portraying an exemplary captain with all the necessary characteristics . . . depicting now a lamentable and tragic event, now a happy and unexpected one, there a lovely lady, virtuous, intelligent and demure, here a Christian knight, brave and courteous, there a reckless braggart of a barbarian, here a worthy, polite and considerate prince; representing goodness and loyalty in vassals, grandness and generosity in lords. The author can show himself to be an astrologer, a skilled cosmographer, a musician, knowledgeable about affairs of state, and perhaps he will even have an opportunity to show himself to be a magician, if he so wishes.][3]

As Alban Forcione, amongst many others, has pointed out, this sketch of the perfect prose romance describes Cervantes's own final work, *Persiles y Sigismunda*.[4] I should like to propose that it also succinctly outlines Cervantes's entire practice of creative prose fiction, which is predicated upon a critical engagement with heroic romance narratives and the inclusion of multiple, overlapping, and competing literary and non-literary discourses. This is true of Cervantes's first published work, the pastoral novel *La Galatea*, which maintains a serious meta-literary dialogue with the courtly and Petrarchan tropes of erotic fiction, and in which the bucolic idyll is violently interrupted by the introduction of real-world socioeconomic concerns that threaten the happy resolution of the story's central love conflict.[5] It is equally applicable to the posthumously published *Persiles y Sigismunda*, which offers a sustained engagement with both

[2] Cervantes, *Don Quijote* . . . , pp. 601–2.
[3] Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, p. 441.
[4] Forcione, *Cervantes, Aristotle* . . . , p. 169.
[5] Forcione, 'Cervantes en busca . . .', pp. 1011–14.

Renaissance literary theory and contemporary moral, theological, and political issues.[6] *Don Quixote* and the *Novelas ejemplares* most obviously reflect this characteristic interplay of romance tropes and discursive multiplicity, however. These are the works that have received the most critical attention in this regard, and it is upon them that I shall primarily focus, first by means of a discussion of some relevant critical approaches, and then through a close analysis of the exemplary novel *El celoso extremeño*.

E. C. Riley established a fundamental dichotomy within the critical typology of Cervantes's fiction. In a seminal essay, 'Cervantes: A Question of Genre', Riley identifies a sustained interaction between two basic genres of prose narrative, romance and novel. The former is a traditional generic mode which differs from the latter in fundamental respects, among the most important of which are: a romance is a story of love and/or adventure in which idealized protagonists face a series of travails frequently involving long journeys, quests, and shipwrecks; the characters are psychologically flattened and the moral dilemmas that they face are simplified; supernatural elements are prevalent, while space and time are not subject to the constraints of physical reality; the resolution of the plot, which takes precedence over character development and in which virtue usually triumphs, is based on coincidence (*peripeteia* and *anagnorisis*) rather than causality. These characteristics (sans the overtly supernatural) are identifiable in the canon from Toledo's discourse on the ideal prose narrative, with its tragic turns and happy outcomes, shipwrecks and storms, and stock character types (beautiful damsel, heroic knight, brash barbarian). Some critics have argued that Cervantes evolved either away from or toward the romance genre over the course of his life, but such assertions are now generally agreed to be untenable. Rather, as Riley points out, the romance–novel polarity is a schematic simplification; in practice Cervantes combined elements of each genre throughout his career.[7]

Riley's thesis is now widely accepted, although it has been subject to some critique. Javier Blasco argues that it is an historical anachronism to oppose the traditional romance to the modern novel, which only came into existence in the nineteenth century.[8] Conscious of the incapacity of romance to deal with the problems of real life, Cervantes brought it into dialogue with the Italian novella, which did not focus on the wanderings of stylized character types but, rather, on the quotidian details of everyday lives. Thus, Cervantes reacted, not against the romance as literary genre, but against its stilted vision of reality, and his literary achievement is therefore as much epistemological as aesthetic. Cervantes appropriates and bequeaths to literary posterity the previously unexplored space between history ('what is') and poetry ('what

[6] On the former aspect, see Forcione, *Cervantes, Aristotle*…; on the latter, see Armstrong-Roche.

[7] Edwin Williamson argues that in *Don Quixote* Cervantes subjects the degraded, late medieval chivalric romances to ironic parody, from within which he effects a radical shift in focus toward the interior lives of the characters (Williamson, *The Half-Way House*…; 'Romance and Realism…').

[8] This is also why Williamson terms *Don Quixote* a 'half-way house' of fiction between the medieval romance and the modern novel (Williamson, *The Half-Way House*…, p. ix).

should be'); the fundamental binary within his fiction, according to Blasco, is not romance–novel but literature–life.[9]

Antony Close provides a further historical revision of the romance–novel dialectic. Rather than set the romance in opposition to the novel, he analyses Cervantes's fiction as the interplay of romance and comedy. Perhaps more than any other critic, Close insists on Cervantes's basic fidelity to the traditional division of styles (high, medium, and low) and the classical (i.e. Aristotelian and Horatian) precepts of literature. Cervantes was not interested in realism for its own sake, Close argues; rather, he remained faithful to comedy's conventional 'low' rhetorical style and focus on everyday subjects and themes, albeit largely stripped of its traditional coarseness and social indecorousness. Close controversially maintains that *Don Quixote* was in conception essentially a work of comedy, a stand that some critics have decried as hermeneutically constraining.[10] Close asserts that *Don Quixote* 'is a comic novel fundamentally conceived from the perspective of romance', and this interweaving of narrative modes produces the progressive breakdown of generic segmentation in the work.[11] Cervantes's tendency to 'intermesh' romance and comedy leads to the 'revolutionary synthesis of the plane of low comedy with more serious matters in *Don Quixote*, Part II'.[12] The specific structural mechanism by means of which Cervantes achieves this radical advance in narrative technique is the integration of traditional digressive episodes into the main plot. Rather than treating such digressions conventionally, as merely ornamental distractions or sententious meditations, *Don Quixote*, Part II contains a 'sweeping mosaic of contemporary life' that synthesizes novelistic and documentary elements, moral satire, ethics, politics, and religion.[13]

In this view, the romance genre forms the core of all of Cervantes's prose works, and this observation allows Close to define Cervantes's poetics of comedy, which receives practically no explicit theoretical treatment in Cervantes's *oeuvre*, in terms of his aesthetics of romance. Close argues that Cervantes's conception of verisimilitude bears little relation to nineteenth-century standards of mimetic realism, but is instead symmetrical to his theory of the prose epic, which is predicated upon astonishment and wonder, but not outright fantasy. In other words, 'monstrous aberration' in Cervantes's comedy mirrors 'heroic or romantic prodigy' in his romance fiction.[14] This approach runs counter to much Cervantes criticism, which has often been preoccupied with explaining the originality of *Don Quixote* in opposition to the canon from Toledo's aesthetic principles, rather than in consonance with them.[15]

[9] Blasco, *Cervantes, raro inventor*, pp. 16–17.

[10] Roberto González Echevarría undoubtedly reflects widespread critical opinion when he writes: 'They say that in the beginning the *Quixote* was read almost universally as a funny book. This is obviously a misreading; it is much more than just a funny book' (p. 11).

[11] Close, p. 139. [12] Close, pp. 128–9. [13] Close, pp. 149–50.

[14] Close, p. 161.

[15] Riley, for example, contends that the canon from Toledo's declaration of aesthetic principles 'accounts well enough for the *Persiles*, but only very partially for the *Quixote*…It does nothing to explain the complex creative processes of *Don Quixote*' (*Cervantes's Theory*…, p. 49). Eduardo Urbina argues that *Don Quixote*, Part II creates a new kind of fiction based on ambivalent *admiratio* (wonderment and

That said, the discursive capaciousness that Close identifies in *Don Quixote*, Part II cannot only be the product of the romance-comedy dialectic, or of Cervantes's revolutionary structural innovations, because it is present, in some degree, in all of his prose fiction. It appears to be basic to Cervantes's conception of romance, as Blasco observes.[16] This is evident in the canon from Toledo's previously cited remarks about the thematic variety available to the writer of chivalric fiction. Modern Cervantes criticism frequently links discursive polyphony in *Don Quixote* with the theory of literary heteroglossia developed by M. M. Bakhtin. According to Bakhtin, 'the novel can be defined as a diversity of social speech types (sometimes even diversity of languages) and a diversity of individual voices, artistically organized'.[17] Unlike primitive narrative forms (e.g. epic and romance), the novel is never univocal but is instead composed of a multiplicity of languages drawn from the spectrum of social registers and dialects and dialogically harmonized. 'Authorial speech, the speeches of narrators, inserted genres, the speech of characters are merely those fundamental compositional unities with whose help heteroglossia [*raznorečie*] can enter the novel; each of them permits a multiplicity of social voices and a wide variety of their links and interrelationships (always more or less dialogized)'.[18]

Bakhtinian discourse analysis has been widely applied to Cervantes, and it is one of the few literary theories that has found widespread favour amongst both Anglo-American and Spanish critics. One result of this critical approach is the challenging of all authorities and the relativizing of all truth. As Carroll Johnson puts it, *Don Quixote* 'sows disorder' by undermining any relation between reality, language, and individual consciousness.[19] Or, according to Blasco, 'Cervantes, through his protagonist's madness, demonstrates that in a story, be it historical or fictional, truth is a pure construct of discourse'.[20] Some critics maintain that these claims are overwrought. Stanislav Zimic observes: 'Since Romanticism, it has often been maintained that one of the principal themes of *Don Quixote* is the impossibility of distinguishing reality from its appearances, truth from fiction. It is obvious . . . that Don Quixote and some other characters personify such an impossibility, but with what legitimate literary criterion can one conclude that Cervantes is suggesting with it a philosophical axiom, applicable universally to all?'[21] Indeed, Quixote's perception is aberrant, and the text never privileges it above the common perspective of the other characters.[22]

Despite this important caveat, however, it would be exaggerated to delegitimize (rather than attenuate) the relativistic readings of other critics. Close acknowledges

laughter) that supersedes the canon's categorical norms (Urbina, p. 105). Mercedes Alcalá Galán remarks on the disappointment that such a 'new and radical' work as *Don Quixote* is not supported by a literary theory that explains it or deviates from the critical commonplaces of its time (p. 168).

[16] Blasco, *Cervantes, raro inventor*, p. 112. [17] Bakhtin, p. 262. [18] Bakhtin, p. 263.
[19] Johnson, p. 345. [20] Blasco, *Cervantes, raro inventor*, p. 26.
[21] Zimic, pp. 26–7.
[22] The lone exception is perhaps the Cave of Montesinos episode in *Don Quixote*, Part II, but is any critic willing to posit that Quixote's vision in that instance is any more 'real' than his seeing giants in place of windmills?

Cervantes's 'radical refusal of omniscience'; a certain level of ambiguity is clearly endemic in his fiction and must simply be taken as a given.[23] Cervantes himself makes this point explicit in the prologue to *Don Quixote*, Part I, in which he exempts his reader from 'todo respecto y obligación, y, así, puedes decir de la historia todo aquello que te pareciere, sin temor que te calunien por el mal ni te premien por el bien que dijeres della' ['every respect and obligation, and so you can say whatever you like about this history, without any fear of being attacked for a hostile judgement or rewarded for a favourable one'].[24] Such ambivalence is consonant with Cervantes's engagement with romance. The canon from Toledo condemns the *comedia nueva* (new comedy), a genre which is here presented as symmetrical to prose romance, as 'conocidos disparates' ['so much stuff and nonsense'] while hailing Cervantes's own early play *La Numancia*, amongst others, as a model of popular theatre that conforms to the classical precepts of art.[25] The priest takes up the theme and disparages the modern theatre for being, not an 'espejo de la vida humana' ['mirror of human life'] as Cicero prescribed, but 'espejos de disparates' ['mirrors of absurdity'], because there can be nothing more absurd than disregarding the unity of time or representing 'un viejo valiente y un mozo cobarde, un lacayo rectórico, un paje consejero, un rey ganapán y una princesa fregona' ['an old man who's courageous and a young one who's a coward, a lackey who's a great orator, a page who's a counsellor, a king who's a porter and a princess who's a cleaning-woman'].[26]

As with the canon's dismissal of the chivalric romances for their violations of the traditional rules of art, the priest decries the *comedia*'s violations of the classical unities of time and place and unrealistic character portrayals. Note, however, that what he presents as Ciceronian truth-to-life is actually truth-to-literary-type. Surely valiant old men and cowardly youths exist in 'human life', although such characterizations were anathema to sixteenth-century neo-Aristotelian poetics. In practice, Cervantes was willing to violate these precepts, to some degree, when he deemed it appropriate to do so. Indeed, the most salient characteristic of the young nobleman Cardenio in *Don Quixote*, Part I is his cowardice.[27] He is precisely the kind of 'mozo cobarde' that the priest rejects as an aesthetic absurdity. There is further evidence of this tension in the ostensible 'absurdity' of portraying 'una princesa fregona', a princess who's a cleaning-woman, as the priest has it. Roughly a decade later, Cervantes wrote an exemplary novel titled *La ilustre fregona*, which introduces the character of Costanza, not a princess but still yet the daughter of aristocrats, who grows up in an inn and comes to be known as 'la ilustre fregona'.[28] An even more striking example is found in Cervantes's play *El rufián dichoso*, in which the titular character has a religious conversion, changes his name from Lugo to Cristóbal de la Cruz, and abandons the criminal underworld of Seville for a bea-

[23] Close, p. 68. [24] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*…, p. 10; p. 12.

[25] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*…, p. 604; p. 443. [26] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*…, pp. 605–6; p. 444.

[27] See Cardenio's own description of his cowardice in not asking his father for permission to marry his beloved Luscinda, and his subsequent failure to prevent her from marrying Don Fernando in *Don Quixote* I.27.

[28] On the interplay of romance and realism in *La ilustre fregona*, see Williamson, 'Challenging…' and Lewis-Smith, 'Realism, Idealism…'.

tific life in Mexico. At the beginning of Act Two there is an interlude of some 100 verses in which the metaphorical figures of Curiosidad [Curiosity] and Comedia [Theatre] discuss the play's apparent violations of the unities of time, place, and person. Comedia explains that 'Ya represento mil cosas,/no en relación, como de antes,/sino en hecho; y así, es fuerza/que haya de mudar lugares;/que, como acontecen ellas/en muy diferentes partes,/voime allí donde acontecen,/disculpa del disparate' ['I now represent a thousand things,/not as figures, like before,/but as facts; and thus, it is necessary/that I change location;/since those things occur/in very different places,/I go where they happen/which excuses the absurdity'].[29] Here, Cervantes explicitly retracts the wholesale denunciation of precisely the same 'disparate' that both the canon and priest condemn in *Don Quixote*. While Florencio Sevilla Arroyo and Antonio Rey Hazas convincingly argue that this passage does not constitute a recantation of formal principles, Cervantes's willingness to adapt his poetics to the exigencies of genre (in the case of *El rufián dichoso*, the *comedia de santos* or saint's play) bespeaks an aesthetic flexibility that partially belies the conventional exposition of artistic standards.[30] As Williamson observes, 'Cervantes's attitude to romance is complex . . . Like most writers of his time, Cervantes starts from within a particular genre . . . but in his desire to delight his readers while at the same time reflecting plausible experience, he is prepared to follow his creative instincts or yield to the pressures of context, even to the point of straining genre beyond established practice'.[31] Both the canon and priest allow for the perfectibility of the prose romance and the popular theatre (once again, understood as aesthetically symmetrical genres), and so the basic duality that Riley identified (and Blanco and Close, amongst others, modified) of romance and novel that traverses all of Cervantes's work is contained in the dialogue between the two characters.

If Cervantes's unceasing literary experimentation produces such 'paradoxical hybrids', as Close terms the exemplary novels *La gitanilla* and *El celoso extremeño*, perhaps that is because romance cannot be fully harmonized with any other literary genre.[32] The texts that result from such aesthetic collisions will inevitably contain loose ends, jagged edges, and thematic fissures. '[A]lgún misterio tienen escondido que las levanta' ['They have some hidden mystery that elevates them'] Cervantes enigmatically assures us in the prologue to his *Novelas ejemplares*.[33] *El celoso extremeño* is a case in point. Constructed as a collage of competing generic tropes taken from the Bible, mythology, romance, folktale, comedy, and tragedy interwoven with numerous non-literary discourses, the story is infused with indeterminacies of theme and character that defy conventional categorization and straightforward interpretation.[34] In the novella, Cervantes uses discursive multiplicity and generic hybridity to imbue a traditional tale of an ironically cuckolded jealous husband with moral ambiguity and psychological complexity.

[29] Cervantes, *Teatro completo*, p. 326, vv. 1245–52.
[30] Sevilla Arroyo and Rey Hazas, pp. XLII–XLIV.
[31] Williamson, 'Romance . . .', p. 67.
[32] Close, p. 120.
[33] Cervantes, *Novelas ejemplares*, vol. 1, p. 53. All quotations from the *Novelas ejemplares* have been translated by the author of this chapter.
[34] On the Biblical and mythological references in *El celoso extremeño*, see Boyd.

El celoso extremeño is the story of Carrizales, a *hidalgo*, or gentleman, from Extremadura who spends the first forty years of his life squandering his inheritance before moving to Peru, where he amasses a fortune in ways that are ethically problematic. Upon returning to Spain twenty years later, he settles in Seville and marries Leonora, a girl of thirteen, whom he locks up in a large house described as both convent and castle and from which he banishes all other males, including cats and dogs. Not even the tapestries contain male figures, such is the extreme nature of Carrizales's obsessive jealously. Loaysa, a local youth, determines to break into the house and seduce Leonora. He partially succeeds, but, although tempted, Leonora refuses to consummate the adulterous romance. Carrizales, who has been administered a sleeping unguent, awakes unexpectedly and discovers the apparent lovers in a compromising position, but a heart attack prevents him from carrying through his plan to kill them both. He sanctimoniously pardons Leonora before he dies, but she refuses to marry her seducer and instead enters the most cloistered convent in the city.

The figure of the jealous husband who becomes a cuckold, and particularly the jealous old husband who marries a young girl, is a standard type in European folklore and the Italian novella.[35] Cervantes exploits this stock figure to great comic effect in his *entremés El viejo celoso*, but in *El celoso extremeño* he suffuses the conventional character with moral resonance derived from contemporary economic discourse related to commercial ethics. I have studied this aspect of the novella in detail elsewhere, and here I will focus on the intertwining of love, religion, marriage, and literature in the scenes of the attempted seduction of Leonora and the story's denouement.[36] When Loaysa first penetrates the outer defences of the house (the stable and the area above it where a black slave named Luis sleeps), he speaks to the women (Leonora, her duenna, and maids) through the inner door of the house and offers to provide some powder ['polvos'] that will make Carrizales sleep. The device of a magical sleeping potion is common in romance narratives, but Cervantes customarily attenuates this fantastical aspect of the plot by explaining that a physician will provide the soporific unguent that is eventually applied to Carrizales. The response of one of the maids to the young man's proposal introduces into the story the discourses of courtly love and Catholic theology that will prove to be of great thematic importance. She exclaims that, if the potion works, '¡qué buena ventura se nos habría entrado por las puertas, sin sentillo y sin merecello!' ['what good fortune would have walked through the door, without us feeling or deserving it!']. The powder would be 'polvos de vida para todas nosotras' ['powder of life for all of us'], and she enthusiastically offers to mix it with wine and be her master's cup bearer: 'y pluguiese a Dios que durmiese el viejo tres días con sus noches, que otros tantos tendríamos

[35] 'Of all the tales in the collection [of *Novelas ejemplares*] none is more directly indebted in form and content to the central tradition of the European short story, which found its classical expression in the *Decameron*, and none reveals more clearly Cervantes's mastery of the narrative techniques which Boccaccio perfected and left as the classical standard for future short story writers' (Forcione, *Cervantes and*…, p. 31).

[36] See Brewer.

nosotras de gloria' ['and may it please God that the old man sleep three days and nights, for they would be days of glory for us'].[37]

The maid's reference to the good fortune to be had 'without us feeling or deserving it' and the life-giving properties of the soporific recalls the Pauline doctrine of the divine gift of salvific grace (Ephesians 2:8), while the 'three days and nights' that will lead the women to 'glory' clearly references Christ's sacrificial death and resurrection. The cluster of Christological images also includes the wine with which the powder is to be mixed, which evokes the blood of Christ as represented in the Eucharist. Given that what is in play is the seduction of a married woman, the scene becomes a burlesque travesty of the sacraments of Holy Communion and marriage in which the sleeping Carrizales is the missing element of the dyad, the (metaphorical) body of Christ and the (real) body of the husband, and will be replaced in the marriage bed by the young seducer.[38] The conjunction of theology and adulterous love derives from the tradition of courtly love and was prevalent in fifteenth-century Spanish *cancioneros* [songbooks]. There is an explicit reference to the courtly tradition in the 'glory' that the maid hopes to attain from Loaysa, because the term *gloria* in *cancionero* poetry was often the equivalent of *joi* in Provençal verse, i.e. sexual consummation.[39]

The confluence of literary and theological discourses, which here propitiates a parody of the *religio amoris* of the courtly tradition, recurs in Loaysa's burlesque oath to respect the authority of the women in the house. He swears 'por la intemerata eficacia, donde más santa y largamente se contiene, y por las entradas y salidas del santo Líbano monte, y por todo aquello que en su proemio encierra la verdadera historia de Carlomagno, con la muerte del gigante Fierabrás' ['by the immaculate grace, where it is more saintly and fully contained, and by the entrances and exits from holy Mount Lebanon, and by all that is related in the prologue of the true history of Charlemagne, with the death of the giant Fierabrás'].[40] The reference to the 'true history of Charlemagne' is to the *Historia del Emperador Carlo Magno y de los Doce pares de Francia* by Nicolao de Piamonte, a very popular *libro de cordel* [chapbook] that Marcel Bataillon describes as 'archivulgaire'.[41] The comic effect of swearing on such a book is obvious, but the preceding references are more suggestive. The 'intemerata eficacia' ('immaculate grace') is a reference to the Virgin; the phrase would have been familiar to Cervantes's contemporaries from the frequently reprinted *Horae intemeratae Virginis Mariae*.[42] Holy Mount Lebanon also refers to the Mother of God, as becomes clear from a reference in Juan de Mena's *Laberinto de Fortuna*: 'el Líbano monte do nace el Jordano / do fué bateado el Fi de María' ['the Lebanese mount where the Jordan is born / where the

[37] Cervantes, *Novelas ejemplares*, vol. 2, p. 116.

[38] Within this specific context of corporeal substitution, might a contemporary reader have discerned an oblique reference to the doctrine of transubstantiation?

[39] Whinnom, pp. 123–8. Note, however, that in the period the word 'polvo' did not have its modern sexual connotation. See also Rico.

[40] Cervantes, *Novelas ejemplares*, vol. 2, p. 124.

[41] Bataillon, p. 395.

[42] Spitzer, p. 484; Bataillon, p. 396.

Son of Maria was forged'].[43] The phrases 'donde más santa y largamente se contiene' and 'por las entradas y salidas' are taken from notarial language. The inclusion of the adjective 'santa' is obviously burlesque, but it acquires an especially piquant signification in view of the possible sexual meaning of 'entradas y salidas' ['entrances and exits'].

In *Persiles y Sigismunda* the Spaniard Antonio is shipwrecked on the Barbarous Isle, where he meets a young woman named Ricla. Ricla recounts how she visited Antonio frequently in the cave where he was hiding, and the result of her many 'entradas y salidas' was the birth of the couple's two children.[44] The comical connection between mountains and childbirth was established in the classical tradition, for example in Horace's *Ars Poetica*: 'parturient montes, nascetur ridiculus mus' ['Mountains will labour, to birth will come a laughter-rousing mouse!'].[45] This association remained commonplace in Golden Age Spain, as indicated by Cristóbal Pérez de Hererra's *Enigmas* of 1618: 'Dezimos que los montes están preñados, por los grandes tumores y hinchaçones que tienen. Nunca paren, aunque dixo metaforicamente vn poeta, *Parturient montes, nascetur ridiculus mus*, que estarán de parto los montes, y nascerà un pequeño rato[n]' ['We say that the mountains are pregnant, because of the large lumps and swellings that they have. They never give birth, although a poet said, metaphorically, *Parturient montes, nascetur riduculus mus*: the mountains will be in labour and a small mouse will be born'].[46] Even more farcically, in the seventeenth-century the word 'montaña' was a slang term for 'mancebía' [brothel].[47] Therefore, Loaysa's solemn oath is an outrageous travesty, a burlesque collage that comically reduces to the same plane of nonsense the Immaculate Conception, the Virgin Birth, legal terminology, and unsophisticated popular literature (the obviously false 'true history' of Charlemagne).

The themes or virginity, childbirth, religion, and sex refer directly to the situation within the house: it is ostensibly full of virgin women, although there is the suggestion that this is true only of Leonora due to Carrizales's impotence, which is doubly ironic considering that his primary motivation for marrying was to have children to whom to bequeath his fortune. Moreover, it harks back to the maid's speech analysed above, in which the absent sacramental body (Christ/Carrizles) is to be replaced by the virile young male, who will then deliver the sexual satisfaction (and fertility?) that the husband has been unable to provide. The text develops this theme further via the reference to Loaysa as a 'virote', a word that meant the bolt fired by a crossbow but also, in *germanía*

[43] Bataillon, p. 395.

[44] Cervantes, *Los trabajos*…, p. 82. Compare, as well, the Archpriest of San Salvador's reassurance to Lázaro de Tormes that the latter's wife, in reality the former's mistress, 'enters' and 'exits' his home without dishonouring her husband: 'Lázaro de Tormes, quien ha de mirar a dichos de malas lenguas nunca medrará; digo esto porque no me maravillaría alguno, viendo entrar en mi casa a tu mujer y salir della. Ella entra muy a tu honra y suya' ['Lázaro de Tormes, he who credits the lies told by evil tongues will never amount to anything; I say this because such a falsehood would not surprise me at all, in view of your wife's comings and goings from my house. Her entrances are very honourable both for you and for her'] (*Lazarillo de Tormes*, pp. 132–3; the translation is by the author of this chapter).

[45] Horace, pp. 462–3.

[46] Pérez de Herrera, vol. 2, p. 128^{v}.

[47] Redondo, p. 195.

[ruffians' slang], 'penis'.[48] Moreover, the seducer gains entry to the house by means of Carrizales's master key, an object whose obviously phallic connotations are only bolstered by the fact that Leonora takes it from its hiding place under the mattress of the marriage bed, just beneath the midpoint of her husband's body.[49] Furthermore, the element of sacramental travesty is reinforced by the fact that Leonora is able to take the key because Carrizales has been anointed with the quasi-magical soporific, 'lo mismo que haberle embalsamado para la sepultura' ['as if he had been embalmed for the tomb'], in a parody of the sacrament of last rites.[50] Finally, before being admitted into the house, Loaysa demonstrates his (false) good faith by making the sign of the cross with two fingers and kissing it three times.[51]

El celoso extremeño thus articulates a complex palimpsest in which the discourses of love, religion, and sex converge in a brilliant parody of courtly poetry and a biting satire of unequal marriages (high rates of mortality in childbirth meant that unions between older men and very young women were common in the period), played out in a burlesque parody of Christian sacraments and Christological imagery. These thematic strands continue until the end of the novella, although they diverge somewhat into primarily comic and morally serious registers. The former is represented by the women's first full look at Loaysa once he enters the house, dressed in his finest clothes. One admires his 'copete…tan lindo y tan rizado' ['such a beautiful, curly quiff'], while another praises his teeth, which are as white as 'piñones mondados' ['peeled pine nuts']. A third describes his beautiful 'ojos tan grandes y tan rasgados' ['large and almond-shaped eyes'] which are so green that 'no parecen sino que son de esmeraldas' ['they look like emeralds'].[52] This is a parody of the Petrarchan tropes of the traditional *descriptio puellae* of Renaissance poetry. Instead of long, golden locks, Loaysa has curly hair, which was not associated with beauty in the period; in place of teeth as white as pearls, his are like peeled pine nuts; and his large, almond-shaped eyes, as green as emeralds, recall those of Melibea in Fernando de Rojas's *La Celestina*, itself a parody of the excesses of courtly love.[53]

Cervantes takes a serious approach to these poetic commonplaces elsewhere, in his descriptions of Preciosa in *La gitanilla* and Costanza in *La ilustre fregona*, and of Isabela in *La española inglesa* and Auristela in *Persiles y Sigismunda* as rendered ugly by (the romance devices of) poison and witchcraft. In *El celoso extremeño*, however, Cervantes effects a particularly complex double inversion by transposing the parody to a male eroticized by the female gaze, which heightens the comic incongruity of the scene at the same time that it reflects on the low-class status of the women who surround Leonora, as well as creating empathy for the very same group of (mostly young) females who have

[48] Hernández Alonso and Sanz Alonso, p. 494.

[49] In the period, the key was a common phallic symbol, while doors, locks, and associated imagery corresponded to female genitalia. Such images figure prominently throughout *El celoso extremeño*. See Redondo, p. 194.

[50] Cervantes, *Novelas ejemplares*, vol. 2, p. 121.

[51] Cervantes, *Novelas ejemplares*, vol. 2, p. 119.

[52] Cervantes, *Novelas ejemplares*, vol. 2, p. 125.

[53] Rojas, p. 101. See also Severin.

been virtually imprisoned and unnaturally denied any outlet for their legitimate sexual feelings.

The religious discourse reappears in a morally and psychologically serious register in the repeated references to Carrizales as the 'velado' ['veiled one'] of Leonora. The term 'velado' comes from the bride's veil in the 'velambres' or wedding ceremony, and so the description of Carrizales as the 'velado' refers directly to the sacrament of Christian marriage.[54] This is doubly significant, firstly because it redeems the sacramental travesty played out in the parody of courtly poetry, and secondly because it adds psychological complexity to Leonora's characterization. Trapped between two perversions of Christian marriage, that of a loveless union in which she was essentially purchased from her parents in order to breed heirs for her husband, and the temptations of a young seducer who intends only to abuse her innocence and beauty, Leonora acquires increased interiority as an independent and morally autonomous character because of her constant weighing of the temptation of physical satisfaction with Loaysa against her obligation to respect her marriage vows. Her decision to enter a convent after Carrizales's death is an appropriate response to the internal turmoil that has roiled her during Loaysa's attempted seduction, as well as the inversion of the sacramental travesty of marriage analysed above: Leonora definitively reiterates her choice not to replace the absent body of her husband with the physical body of another, opting instead to become a bride of Christ. Far from the unsatisfied wife who schemes for sexual satisfaction of folktales and the Italian novella, Leonora emerges as a character imbued with a mind and soul who expresses internal psychic, emotional, and spiritual conflict.[55]

The same is true of her husband, who experiences moral and spiritual crises both before setting sail for Peru and upon his return to Seville. The most subtle and ambiguous revelation of the character's psychology, however, comes at the end of *El celoso extremeño*, through the fusion of Carrizales's point of view with that of the previously omniscient and objective narrator. This confluence of perspectives is not clearly signalled in the text, which continues to be narrated in an apparently unchanged third-person omniscient voice. Nevertheless, there are multiple clues that indicate that, in fact, the novella's ending, up until its enigmatic final paragraph, is actually presented from Carrizales's point of view in an indirect style. This narrative shift occurs at precisely the moment when Carrizales awakes and discovers Leonora and Loaysa asleep in each other's arms. The narrator has been unequivocal in stating directly that Leonora did not give in to her seducer's entreaties, and that her refusal to do so was the direct result of her own will. Now, however, the narration, which has not obviously switched to

[54] Covarrubias Orozco, p. 955; [s.v. *velo*]. The description of the sleeping Carrizales as a 'velado' is also an ironic play on the meaning of the verb 'velar', 'to stay awake' and 'to keep watch over'.

[55] Unlike Castro, I perceive no subversive malice in Leonora's thinking of Carrizales as her 'velado' (p. 324). Moreover, attributing Loaysa's sexual failure to his own 'premature agedness' instead of to Leonora's strength of will strips the latter of her agency and flattens the complexity of her character (p. 328). I concur with Forcione that 'Leonora displays courage and struggles against the force that has appeared overwhelming and that has attracted her so powerfully … [Loaysa's] ignominy only throws into sharper light the true victory and the authentic heroism of the maiden' (*Cervantes and* …, pp. 71–2).

Carrizales's perspective, speaks of the righteous vengeance that such a 'grande maldad' ['great evil'] requires, and that the wronged husband makes a 'determinación honrosa y necesaria' ['honest and necessary determination'] to cleanse his stained honour.[56] This is both factually untrue within the story as well as incommensurate with the presentation of bloody vengeance elsewhere in Cervantes's work, which otherwise invariably condemns violent reprisal and shows the tragic consequences that flow from it.

Such examples of Carrizales's own point of view presented as if they were the narrator's objective, third-person perspective proliferate. When Leonora discovers her husband after his infarction, she naturally shows concern, but Carrizales, described (inaccurately) as a 'desdichado viejo' ['unfortunate old man'], reacts to her as 'la dulce enemiga suya' ['his sweet enemy']. The language of the woman as 'sweet enemy' (because beloved but disdainful) comes directly from courtly love, which functions here, not as a sacramental travesty, but as a parody of the extreme male narcissism typical of Provençal and *cancionero* poetry. Leonora continues to tend to her husband 'como si fuera la cosa del mundo que más amaba' ['as if he were the thing she most loved in the world'], while he alternately laughs 'con una risa de persona que estaba fuera de sí, considerando la falsedad de sus lágrimas' ['with the laugh of a crazy person, considering the falseness of her tears'] and cries 'por ver cuán fingidamente ella las derramaba' ['from seeing how falsely she shed them'].[57] In view of Leonora's resistance to the (very real) attractions of Loaysa, it is entirely plausible that Carrizales is indeed the thing that she most loves (even if that love is undeserved, and primarily the product of her age and inexperience), while her tears are unquestionably the result of genuine emotional turmoil. This is categorically not a neutral presentation of the state of Leonora's mind and soul, but a tendentious, self-flattering, and self-exculpatory interpretation of her actions on the part of her husband. The third-person indirect style of narration, however, imbricates the omniscient perspective of the narrator and the biased point of view of the character. Because the text does not explicitly signal this radical narrative shift, the reader is lulled into accepting Carrizales's solipsistic perspective as objectively factual.

Edwin Williamson has noted a similar technique at work in *Don Quijote*, in which the narrative style anticipates the *style indirect libre* as the narrator appropriates, manipulates, and ironizes the characters' discourses in order to reveal hidden aspects of their own consciousness, while problematizing issues of poetic truth and the author's responsibility in selecting and ordering the content of his fiction.[58] I propose that in *El celoso extremeño*, this clearly deliberate destabilisation of narrative authority represents Cervantes's reaction to the picaresque novel, particularly to his literary rival Mateo Alemán's enormously popular *Guzmán de Alfarache*. Guzmán narrates his own life story of increasing delinquency and debauchery, interspersed with sententiously moralising digressions, from his perspective as a reformed sinner who has undergone a complete spiritual conversion. It is a critical axiom that Cervantes never accepted the

[56] Cervantes, *Novelas ejemplares*, vol. 2, p. 130.
[57] Cervantes, *Novelas ejemplares*, vol. 2, pp. 131–2.
[58] Williamson, *The Half-Way House*…, pp. 147–9.

monadic narrative viewpoint of the picaresque, preferring instead to divide the unitary perspective amongst two characters, as in the exemplary novels *La ilustre fregona*, *Rinconete y Cortadillo*, and *El coloquio de los perros*.[59] In his study of the exemplary novel *El licenciado Vidriera* as Cervantes's rewriting of the picaresque novel, E. Michael Gerli observes a fusion of the points of view of the titular protagonist and the tale's omniscient narrator in order to lend credibility to the madness-induced social satire of a marginalised character.[60] In *El celoso extremeño*, in contrast, Cervantes combines first-person subjectivity with third-person objectivity to produce the opposite effect, a disconcerting composite of competing claims to authority and the resultant loss of the narrator's impartiality. In concert with Carrizales's sanctimonious pardoning of Leonora, this technique challenges the possibility of first-person narrative objectivity. It further suggests that picaresque narratives are equally subjective, and, if only by implication, that Guzmán's moral conversion is as suspect as that of Carrizales.

The novella's final paragraph confirms the narrator's loss of autonomy. There is an abrupt change to a first-person style reminiscent of picaresque texts, 'Y yo quedé con el deseo de llegar al fin deste suceso' ['And I was left with the desire to come to the end of this story'], followed by a trite moral about the uselessness of locks and other safeguards in containing the free will of inexperienced youths worthy of Carrizales himself.[61] In fact, as if in final confirmation of narrative fusion, this statement essentially repeats the old man's own (self-justifying) explanation to Leonora of how he came to be 'defrauded' in his marital hopes: 'no te culpo, digo, porque persuasiones de viejas taimadas y requiebros de mozos enamorados fácilmente vencen y triunfan del poco ingenio que los pocos años encierran' ['I do not blame you, I repeat, because the persuasions of crafty old women and the wooing by young men in love easily defeat and overcome the scant intelligence of the young].[62] Most puzzling, however, is the final sentence. Suddenly, the previously omniscient narrator is unaware of why Leonora did not make more of an effort to convince her dying husband that she had not been unfaithful to him. The narrator's explanation, that her own distress and Carrizales's quick death made it impossible, is completely unsatisfactory in view of the fact that the old man does not die for seven days after his initial shock, nor is there any suggestion that he remains unconscious for most or all of that time. The more plausible explanation, I would suggest, is that the old man's death constricts the narrator's perspective, as part of a purposeful subversion of the legitimacy of first-person picaresque narratives.

There is evidence for this reading elsewhere in Cervantes's work. In *Don Quixote*, Part I, the Don frees a group of criminals condemned as galley slaves (precisely like Guzmán de Alfarache). One of them, Ginés de Pasamonte, has written his own life story, which he confidently proclaims to be superior to *Lazarillo de Tormes* and all other books of its ilk (i.e. picaresque stories). Don Quixote enquires if Ginés has finished his life's work:

[59] For an overview of the topic and critical survey, see Gasta.

[60] Gerli, pp. 20–1. Ruth El Saffar likewise notes the fusion of protagonist and narrator in *El licenciado Vidriera*, which she identifies with Cervantes's own lack of critical distance from the character (pp. 50–61).

[61] Cervantes, *Novelas ejemplares*, vol. 2, p. 135.

[62] Cervantes, *Novelas ejemplares*, vol. 2, p. 133.

'—¿Cómo puede estar acabado—respondió él—, si aún no está acabada mi vida?' ['"How can I have finished it," he replied, "if my life hasn't finished yet?"'].[63] The answer is illuminating. It suggests that picaresque narratives are inevitably incomplete, as are the lives of their (diegetic) author-narrators. In *El celoso extremeño*, however, Cervantes parodies the picaresque form both by inverting the normal life pattern of the protagonist (Carrizales's story focuses on his old age and death rather than his birth and growth to adulthood) and by contriving to have the character die at the end, thus bringing the tale to the definitive conclusion that traditional picaresque narratives necessarily lack. The death of the character obviously forecloses the possibility of further expressing his perspective, but because his point of view has become entwined with that of the narrator, stripping it of its objectivity and authority, there is nothing left for the narrator to do but to speculate feebly on Leonora's motives and the ultimate meaning of the text. This final, fundamental indeterminacy functions to expose the radical subjectivity of first-person picaresque texts and, therefore, to undermine their pretence of narrative authority. Just like the befuddled narrator at the end of *El celoso extremeño*, the *pícaro* cannot be trusted to accurately judge and recount his own life; ultimate interpretative authority resides with the reader, just as we have seen Cervantes proclaim in the prologue to *Don Quixote*, Part I.

Johnson points out that, for Bakhtin, the free indirect style of narration is a fundamental aspect of the novel because it fuses two different intersubjective discourses (that of the narrator and another character).[64] The critic argues that this fusion leads to the breakdown of all textual authority. While acknowledging the ineluctable ambiguity of the technique, I nevertheless view it as motivated more by aesthetic than epistemological concerns. If Cervantes were truly interested in fatally undermining all authorities, it seems unlikely that he would go to such lengths to create the appearance of objectivity in his other picaresque-inflected works (especially the three *Novelas ejemplares* listed above). For Cervantes, multiple observers and common perspectives appear to be, if not guarantees, reliable simulacra of objectivity within literary representation. *El celoso extremeño*, therefore, exposes the inadequacy of the particular kind of unmediated, first-person narration popularised by the picaresque novel, not the impossibility of all authoritative discourse. It represents an audacious response to a contemporary literary genre, rather than a philosophical meditation on the nature of reality. This profound aesthetic engagement is typical of Cervantes's fiction, as is the inclusion of an abundance of heterogeneous literary and non-literary discourses and the novella's radical shifts in tone, which modulates between the extremes of comic farce and tragedy. *El celoso extremeño* is indeed a 'paradoxical hybrid', to return to Close's definition, and one that aptly demonstrates, on a small scale, the inveterate experimentation and inherent challenge to strict literary categorization that characterizes all of Cervantes's writing.

[63] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, p. 266; p. 182.
[64] Johnson, p. 343.

Works Cited

Alcalá Galán, Mercedes. *Escritura desatada: poéticas de la representación en Cervantes* (Alcalá de Henares: Centro de Estudios Cervantinos, 2009).

Armstrong-Roche, Michael. *Cervantes's Epic Novel: Empire, Religion, and the Dream Life of Heroes in 'Persiles'* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009).

Bakhtin, M. M. *The Dialogic Imagination*, edited by Michael Holquist, translated by Caryl Emerson and Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981; repr. 2004).

Bataillon, Marcel. 'Glanes Cervantines'. *Quaderni Ibero-Americani* 2, no. 15 (1954): pp. 393–7.

Blasco, Javier. *Cervantes, raro inventor* (Alcalá de Henares: Centro de Estudios Cervantinos, 2005).

Blasco, Javier. 'La compartida responsabilidad de la "escritura desatada" del *Quijote*'. *Criticón* 46 (1989): pp. 41–62.

Boyd, Stephen. 'A Tale of Two Serpents: Biblical and Mythological Allusions in Cervantes's *El celoso extremeño*'. In *Rewriting Classical Mythology in the Hispanic Baroque*, edited by Isabel Torres (Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2007): pp. 71–89.

Brewer, Brian. 'Jealousy and Usury in *El celoso extremeño*'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 33, no. 1 (2013): pp. 11–43.

Castro, Américo. 'Cervantes se nos desliza en *El celoso extremeño*'. In *Obra reunida volumen dos*, edited by José Miranda (Madrid: Trotta, 2002), pp. 321–30.

Cervantes, Miguel de. *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, edited by Francisco Rico and others (Barcelona: Galaxia Gutenberg, 2004).

Cervantes, Miguel de. *Don Quixote*, translated by John Rutherford (London: Penguin, 2000; repr. 2003).

Cervantes, Miguel de. *Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda*, edited by Juan Bautista Avalle-Arce (Madrid: Castalia, 1969; repr. 1992).

Cervantes, Miguel de. *Novelas ejemplares*, vol. 1, edited by Harry Sieber (Madrid: Cátedra, 2002).

Cervantes, Miguel de. *Novelas ejemplares*, vol. 2, edited by Harry Sieber (Madrid: Cátedra, 2003).

Cervantes, Miguel de. *Teatro completo*, edited by Florencio Sevilla Arroyo and Antonio Rey Hazas (Barcelona: Planeta, 2003; Altaya, 2005).

Close, Anthony. *Cervantes and the Comic Mind of His Age* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000; repr. 2002).

Covarrubias Orozco, Sebastián de. *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*, edited by Felipe C. R. Maldonado, revised by Manuel Camarero (Madrid: Castalia, 1995).

El Saffar, Ruth. *Novel to Romance: A Study of Cervantes's 'Novelas ejemplares'* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974).

Forcione, Alban K. *Cervantes and the Humanist Vision: A Study of Four 'Exemplary Novels'* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982).

Forcione, Alban K. *Cervantes, Aristotle, and the 'Persiles'* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970).

Forcione, Alban K. 'Cervantes en busca de una pastoral auténtica'. *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica* 36, no. 2 (1988): pp. 1011–43.

Gasta, Chad M. 'The Picaresque According to Cervantes'. *Philological Quarterly* 89, no.1 (2010): pp. 31–53.

Gerli, E. Michael. *Refiguring Authority: Reading, Writing, and Rewriting in Cervantes* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1995).

González Echevarría, Roberto. *Cervantes's 'Don Quixote'* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015).

Hernández Alonso, César, and Beatriz Sanz Alonso. *Diccionario de germanía* (Madrid: Gredos, 2002).

Horace. *Satires, Epistles and 'Ars Poetica'*, edited and translated by H. Rushton Fairclough (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press; London: William Heinemann, 1970).

Johnson, Carroll B. 'Cómo se lee hoy el *Quijote*'. In *Cervantes*, edited by Anthony Close (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Cervantinos, 1995), pp. 335–48.

Lazarillo de Tormes, edited by Francisco Rico (Madrid: Cátedra, 2008).

Lewis-Smith, Paul. 'Realism, Idealism, and the Transformation of Romance in "La ilustre fregona' ". *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 30, no. 1 (2010): pp. 17–31.

Pérez de Herrera, Cristóbal. *Proverbios morales y consejos christianos, mvy provechosos para concierto y espejo de la vida, adornados de lugares y textos de las diuinas y humanas letras. Y enigmas filosóficas, naturales y morales, con sus comentos*, vol. 2, (Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1618).

Redondo, Augustín. 'De don Clavijo a Clavileño: Algunos aspectos de la tradición carnavalesca y cazurra en el *Quijote* (II, 38–41)'. *Edad de Oro* 3 (1984): pp. 181–99.

Rico, Francisco. 'Polvos y pajas'. In *Prosa y poesía: Homenaje a Gonzalo Sobejano*, edited by Christopher Mauer and others (Madrid: Gredos, 2001), pp. 311–22.

Riley, E.C. 'Cervantes: A Question of Genre'. In *Medieval and Renaissance Studies on Spain and Portugal in Honour of P.E. Russell*, edited by F.W. Hodcroft and others (Oxford: The Society for the Study of Mediaeval Languages and Literature, 1981), pp. 69–85.

Riley, E.C. *Cervantes's Theory of the Novel* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1962).

Rojas, Fernando de. *La Celestina*, edited by Dorothy S. Severin (Madrid: Cátedra, 2002).

Severin, Dorothy Sherman. 'La parodia del amor cortés en *La Celestina*'. *Edad de Oro* 3 (1984): pp. 275–9.

Sevilla Arroyo, Florencio, and Antonio Rey Hazas. 'Introducción'. In *Teatro completo* by Miguel de Cervantes, edited by Sevilla Arroyo and Rey Hazas (Madrid: Planeta, 2003; Altaya, 2005), pp. xi–lxxiii.

Spitzer, Leo. 'Y así juro por la intemerata eficacia . . . '. *Quaderni Ibero-Americani* 2, no. 16 (1954): pp. 483–4.

Urbina, Eduardo. *Principios y fines del 'Quijote'* (Potomac, Maryland: Scripta Humanistica, 1990).

Williamson, Edwin. 'Challenging the Hierarchies: The Interplay of Romance and the Picaresque in *La ilustre fregona*'. *Bulletin of Spanish Studies* 81, nos. 4–5 (2004): pp. 655–74.

Williamson, Edwin. 'Romance and Realism in the Interpolated Stories of the *Quixote*'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 2, no. 1 (1982): pp. 43–67.

Williamson, Edwin. *The Half-Way House of Fiction: 'Don Quixote' and Arthurian Romance* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1984).

Whinnom, Keith. 'Towards the Interpretation and Appreciation of the *Cancioneros* of the *Cancionero general* of 1511'. In *Medieval and Renaissance Spanish Literatures: Selected Essays*, edited by Alan Deyermond and others (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1994), pp. 114–32.

Zimic, Stanislav. '*Don Quixote*: Some Observations on the Creation and Evolution of Its Protagonist and on Its Novelistic Structures'. *Bulletin of Spanish Studies* 88, no. 1 (2011): pp. 25–43.

SECTION 4

CERVANTES THE DRAMATIST

CHAPTER 15

FIRST WRITINGS FOR THE STAGE (1580S)

Pre-Lopean Successes and Failures

DAVID G. BURTON
Ohio University

After having spent five years as a captive in Algiers, Cervantes was at last ransomed, returning to his native Spain in the autumn of 1580. All of his attempts at securing a soldier's pension or a position of any kind in the court were unsuccessful. Jean Canavaggio writes that 'failing to obtain the post that he coveted, the author of *Galatea* then sees himself obliged to try the impossible: to live by his pen, however modestly'.[1] Cervantes then turned to writing for the stage, a genre that had long held great appeal to him.

A popular entertainment in Spain since the early years of the sixteenth century, by the 1570s plays presented by professional acting troops in permanent buildings called *corrales* [theatres] rapidly became an obsession with the Spanish theatre-going public, especially in the larger urban centres like Madrid, Seville, and Valencia. The advent of the plays by Lope de Vega in the late 1580s would take that obsession to a national level.

Fate has not been kind to the manuscript versions of plays from those early years, extending even well into the seventeenth century. Very often these texts did not survive because, in order to have the play performed, it would be sold to an *autor de comedias*, the head of an acting troop, who then performed the play, surely with omissions and/or emendations he considered necessary for the artistic and economic success of a production. Since their prime interest was to earn a living and make a name for themselves, few dramatists made the effort to have their works published. Should a patron like a particular play or group of plays, he or she would hire someone to make a copy for their personal library. Such copies over time might or might not survive fires, wars, and other calamities that could ravage homes. At least one exception to the fate of dramatic texts is that of the Sevillian Juan de la Cueva (1545–1610). In 1583, and again in 1588, Cueva ensured that his

[1] Canavaggio, *Cervantes*, p. 114.

fourteen plays, produced and performed in the public theatres of Seville between 1579 and 1581, appeared in print. Such was not the case for Cervantes's early plays.

Critics tell us that Cervantes's first plays were written at some time after his return to Spain from captivity in Algiers in 1580 until about 1586. Dates and titles are, at best, surmises, since no text has been found that names Cervantes as author. Stefano Arata, in 1997, found, in the Biblioteca Nacional de España in Madrid, copies of actor's parts for *La Jerusalén* and *Los tratos de Argel* that indicate rehearsals for these two *comedias* in 1586. Cervantes does not provide much help. By his own account, in the prologue to the *Ocho comedias y ocho entremeses* (1615), Cervantes claims to have penned some twenty or thirty plays during the years spanning 1581–6, and that his plays enjoyed some success. In that prologue he writes:

> compuse en ese tiempo hasta veinte comedias o treinta, que todas ellas se recitaron sin que se les ofreciese ofrenda de pepinos ni de otra cosa arrojadiza; corrieron su carrera sin silbos, gritas ni barahundas. Tuve otras cosas en que ocuparme; dejé la pluma y las comedias, y entró luego el monstruo de naturaleza el gran Lope de Vega, y alzóse con la monarquía cómica.[2]
>
> [I wrote at that time some twenty or thirty plays, for all of them were performed without being offered cucumbers or any other thing that could be thrown onto the stage; they ran their course without whistles, booing or uproars. I had other things to do; I left behind my pen and plays, and that was when the great Lope de Vega, the monster of nature, came on the scene.][3]

The previous year, in the 'Adjunta al Parnaso' Cervantes named some of those early plays that he considered worthy: *Los tratos de Argel*, *La Numancia*, *La gran turquesca*, *La batalla naval*, *La Jerusalén*, *La Amaranta* o *La del Mayo*, *El bosque amoroso*, *La única* o *La bizarra Arsinda*. Of these, only *Los tratos de Argel*—also known by the singular form *El trato de Argel*—and *El cerco de Numancia*—better known as *La Numancia*—have survived and have enjoyed a history of print. Antonio de Sancha first published them in 1784 along with the *Viaje del Parnaso*. In addition, we might add the anonymous play *La conquista de Jerusalén*, thanks to the efforts of a handful of critics who, beginning in 1992 with the work of the Italian Hispanist Stefano Arata, consider it written by Cervantes.

Los tratos de Argel/El trato de Argel

Critics tell us that the earliest of Cervantes's plays is *Los tratos de Argel*. The date of composition is left to speculation. Since Cervantes himself names it first among his early plays, *Los tratos* continues to be accorded the position of the first composed. Geoffrey

[2] Cervantes, *Obras completas* (Valbuena Prat), p. 180.
[3] All translations are those of the author of this chapter, unless otherwise noted.

Stagg believes Cervantes wrote it sometime around 1577, while he was still a captive in Algiers. Others, following the lead of Jean Canavaggio in 1977, say that Cervantes penned it after his return to Spain during the period 1581–3. In the play, our writer's time spent as a captive in Algiers becomes a motif that will reoccur throughout his literary creations.[4]

Briefly, the plot of *Los tratos* centres on the plight of Aurelio, a Spanish captive and slave in the home of Yzuf and his wife Zahara. We find that Zahara harbours a desire to make Aurelio her lover, while Yzuf has the same feelings toward another Spanish captive, Silvia. Unbeknownst to either the husband or the wife, Silvia is Aurelio's beloved. Scattered among these tensions, a parade of characters pass through, giving the audience glimpses into the horrific lives that Christian captives had to endure. Among these characters are instances of men who, in failed attempts to escape, narrate the cruel punishment that awaits them when they are inevitably caught; of a Christian family where the sons are taken from their parents to be sold as slaves or as objects of sexual desire to Muslim masters; of apostates who convert to Islam in order to gain an easier life; of the torture and murder of a captive Catholic priest as retribution for the death of a *morisco* (a Spanish Muslim convert to Christianity) in Spain at the hands of the Inquisition; of the fortunate captives who await rescue and ransom by the Trinitarian and Mercedarian friars. At the conclusion of the play, a glimmer of hope shines as the King of Algiers allows Aurelio and Silvia to return to Spain on the condition that they send their ransom payment to him.

Currently, one can easily find four editions of *Los tratos*. The play is in Volume 5 of the comedies and interludes that Rodolfo Schevill and Adolfo Bonilla published between 1915 and 1922. Florencio Sevilla Arroyo and Antonio Rey Hazas published it twice: once as part of Cervantes's complete theatrical works for Planeta in 1987, and again as Volume 3 of Cervantes's complete works for the Centro de Estudios Cervantinos in 1995. Kathleen Thornton Spinnenweber prepared an edition, aimed principally for an undergraduate audience in the US, for Cervantes & Co. in 2011. Each of these editions contains notes that clarify and complement the text.

The body of textual criticism treating *Los tratos* is not extensive. When considered as a whole, three topics stand out as points of critical interest. Most of the studies prior to 2002 deal with two of those themes: the play as important to understanding Cervantes's biography and the metric structure of the play. To be sure, the difficult lives of captives in Algiers exerted an enormous influence on Cervantes. His keen observation of life and customs in a society so very different from his own gave the Spaniard another perspective that surely challenged his own views. After the 2002 publication of María Antonia Garcés's *Cervantes in Algiers*, criticism tends to examine the play considering the challenges to Cervantes as a captive. These challenges lead to the ideas of perspectivism and ambiguity that become landmarks of Cervantine style.

[4] There exist only two manuscripts of *Los tratos.* One is housed in the Spanish National Library in Madrid; the other in the library of the Hispanic Society of America in New York. See Kahn, 'Even Further…', pp. 157–8 for a discussion of the manuscript copies of *Los tratos*, *La Numancia,* and *La Jerusalén.*

Schevill and Bonilla, writing in 1922 in their introduction to the comedies and interludes, devote a little more than six pages to a discussion of the play. They focus on form, commenting on the importance of the play as a part of Cervantes's biography, on what they regard as a plot of unconnected episodes, on language and phrases similar to that found in some of the plays of Juan de la Cueva, and on the versification. J.P. Wickersham Crawford writes: 'The construction is loose and, as a play, it cannot be accorded high rank'. He does state, however, that because it portrays experiences lived by Cervantes and points out the harsh conditions of Christian captives, 'it deserves our respect and admiration'.[5]

Joaquín Casalduero (1974) gives *Los tratos* a Christian reading, believing that this play works out the process of salvation. It is not a series of unrelated episodes but rather a conscious effort to show the reward for remaining a steadfast Christian, given the cruelties, the separations, and the hardships that a captive in an Islamic culture must face. Geoffrey Stagg (1953) makes the claim that Cervantes wrote *Los tratos* during his captivity in Algiers. He writes that references in the text to specific events in the summer of 1577 and in the spring of 1580 provide the evidence that Cervantes wrote the play in 1577 and made revisions to it in 1580. The critic also bases his belief in a composition date of 1577 on two points of form that occur in other dramatic works in the 1570s and 1580s: the experimenting with various verse forms and combinations and the tendency in those years to reduce the number of acts from five to four.

Jean Canavaggio's study of Cervantes's theatre (1977) repeatedly cites textual evidence that shows Cervantes to be an independent creator, not a slavish follower of a specific style or dramatist. In his biography of our author, the French critic sees *Los tratos* as a picture of history as well as the 'first significant break between the illusions of the hero of Lepanto and Algiers and the disappointments of the captive returned to his native land'.[6]

E.C. Riley's article on *figuras morales* [allegorical figures] (1971) sees the interaction of Aurelio and the figures of *Ocasión* [Opportunity] and *Necesidad* [Need] in *Los tratos* as a spiritual conflict within Aurelio that underlines Christian fortitude as the primary theme in the play. Edward Friedman finds that parallel episodes form a conceptual unity in Cervantes's plays. Friedman believes that captivity and love give that unity to *Los tratos*.

Stanislav Zimic (1992) sees *Los tratos* as a description of Hell similar to Dante's in the *Divine Comedy*. The episodes give the appearance of real life, not fiction. Zimic writes that the love between Aurelio and Silvia 'simboliza la firmeza de la fe y del amor verdadero, que hace sobrellevar los peores tormentos y sacrificios del cautiverio y ofrece la única posibilidad de salvación'.[7] ['simbolizes the strength of faith and true love, which makes it possible to endure the worst torments and sacrifices of captivity and offers the only possibility of salvation'].

[5] Crawford, p. 180. [6] Canavaggio, *Cervantès dramaturge*, p. 125.
[7] Zimic, *El teatro* . . . , p. 55.

Sevilla Arroyo and Rey Hazas see the *comedia* as a true representation of the physical and mental suffering of captives. Furthermore, they view the play as a call to Philip II to pay attention to the cruelties that captives were suffering and to send immediate relief.[8]

Stephen Rupp focuses on the year 1541 as a key moment in Spain's history. At that time Charles V sent an ill-fated expedition to Algiers to fight against Algerian piracy. In *Los tratos* the Christian captives live each day with the hope that Philip II, remembering their plight, will send a Spanish fleet to free them. Unfortunately, the army that was being built up in Extremadura was meant to invade Portugal, not to ransom the Spanish captives in Algiers.

María Antonia Garcés takes criticism of *Los tratos* to a new level. As a former prisoner of war herself, Garcés draws on the trauma she experienced in her native Colombia to give meaning to her reading of *Los tratos* and the 'Captive's Tale' in the first part of *Don Quixote*. She believes that in the writing of *Los tratos*, Cervantes was giving vent to those atrocities that he suffered during his five-year captivity in Algiers; atrocities that only one who has suffered them can understand. She writes: 'If *El trato de Argel* [sic] testifies to the impossibility of bearing witness to trauma, it also enacts the liberation of the testimony through the medium of drama and poetry'.[9] This book is indispensable reading for an understanding of this play in light of the trauma experienced by captives in any age. Her Spanish edition (2005) updates some of her thoughts on trauma. Of interest here is her explanation of how Cervantes began to use the *apellido* [surname] Saavedra as part of his family name after his return from captivity. It would appear that no previous *cervantista* has explored this phenomenon.

Moisés Castillo writes about the ambiguities that occur in *Los tratos* when talking about what he calls 'los ideales fatuos' [fatuous ideals]—honour, purity of blood, orthodox religion, especially when they happen in 'zonas de contraste cultural' [areas of cultural contrast].[10] The critic says that in creating a theatre of ideas Cervantes wants his readers to think for themselves by seeing these values from the perspectives of both Christians and Muslims. Tolerance results when one begins to understand that values, in whatever form, are shared with the Other.

Julia Domínguez's article on psychodrama in *Los tratos* fits nicely into a group of studies that explore the deeper meanings of the play. Domínguez employs the idea of psychodrama to show that Cervantes's characters recall moments or experiences that he lived during captivity. For Domínguez, captivity gave Cervantes an opportunity to learn about and to explore deeply a culture so very different from his own. The proof arises in the view of Algiers through different perspectives presented by the characters in the play. They appear as pairs, almost binary opposites, who reconstruct the past, but from different perspectives. By way of example, Saavedra, the orthodox Christian captive, appears opposite Pedro, an apostate, who has chosen Islam so as to enjoy an easier life in Algiers; the *morisco* in Valencia who is 'relaxed' by the Inquisition in an *auto da fe* and the priest in Algiers who is brutally killed in retribution.

[8] Cervantes, *Obra completa*, v. 3, p. 1025, fn. 2.
[9] Garcés, *Cervantes in Algiers*, p. 176.
[10] Castillo, '¿Ortodoxia cervantina? . . . ', p. 220.

Natalio Ohanna writes that *Los tratos* presents a complex representation of the realities that captives faced in Algiers. In much the same thread as the Domínguez article, Ohanna discusses the idea of perspective as it applies to religion, Catholic Christian as well as Islam. By drawing parallels between Spain and Algiers, Cervantes creates a diversity of points of view that open the door to doubt when it comes to questions of societal ideas. Sebastián, in Act I, talks about the cruelty of his captors in Algiers as he narrates the death of a *morisco* in Valencia at the hands of the Inquisition. He insists that the Holy Office and its Inquisitors have carried out justice even as he names a similar and equally horrible death of a captive priest in Algiers as extreme cruelty. At the end of the play, when the King of Algiers allows Aurelio and Silvia to return to Spain and freedom, Cervantes calls his audience to reflect that a member of a stereotyped, cruel society is also capable of mercy.

In the same vein, Moisés Castillo studies *La Jerusalén* in view of other of Cervantes's captive plays, among them *Los tratos*. Castillo sees parallels among these plays for the way that Cervantes allows Christian and Muslim values to intertwine. This intermingling of cultural points of view creates ambiguities that momentarily suspend 'actitudes dogmáticos' [dogmatic attitudes].[11]

Charles Patterson discusses the Potiphar's Wife motif in the play. He writes that details in the relationship Aurelio-Zahara come not from the Judeo-Christian tale of Joseph as found in Genesis 39, but from *morisco* versions of the Joseph material that had circulated in Spain since the Middle Ages. By including details that come from a non-Christian tradition, Patterson sees that Cervantes subverts his text by creating yet another level of ambiguity. This ambiguity points to the complex vision of religious and ethnic differences that Cervantes observed during his captivity.

La Numancia

Of the two plays—or three if one considers *La Jerusalén* to be authored by Cervantes—that survive from the 1580s following Cervantes's return from captivity, *La Numancia* is the one that students of Spanish literature know best. It is also the one that has received the most critical attention. Few, if any, critics seem to have dealt with the issue of its date of composition; it evidently being enough that Cervantes situates it in that early period and that he mentions it by name three different times: in *Don Quixote*, in the 'Adjunta al Parnaso', and in the prologue to the *Ocho comedias y ocho entremeses.* As with *Los tratos*, it survives in two manuscripts: the one in the Hispanic Society of America that contains both plays, and in a separate manuscript in the Spanish National Library.

Briefly, the plot centres on the last days of a sixteen-year siege that the Roman army has placed on the Celtiberian town Numancia in the second century BC. The Roman Senate has sent Escipión, its most able general, to restore discipline to the army, to end

[11] Castillo, 'Espacios…', p. 140.

the siege, and thus gain control at last over the unruly province. When the citizens of Numancia try to sue for a peaceful truce, Escipión will have none of it. The remainder of the play works out the result of the siege and the Numantians' refusal to surrender to the occupying force only to be treated as slaves. All signs point to the inexorable, tragic end of the city and its inhabitants brought about by the siege and starvation.

The love interest between Marandro and Lira gives a human side to the Celtiberians whose women, mothers, and children must suffer extreme hunger and even death, for the sake of remaining free. Rather than surrender to the Romans, to a person, the citizens choose communal suicide. In the final scenes, when the Romans climb the walls only to observe the mass destruction of the city, the sole survivor, a young boy named Bariato, tells Escipión and the army that the city preferred death to slavery. The boy then jumps to his death thus depriving the Roman general a true victory. Allegorical figures, a common Cervantine device in these early plays, appear at the end of Act I, in Act IV, and at the end of the play. These figures speak to the future glory of Spain as well as to the valour and courage of the Numantians, who are seen as the ancestors of the Spaniards of Cervantes's epoch.

Editions of *La Numancia* continue to appear, the latest coming out as an e-book in 2014. Antonio de Sancha was the first to publish *Numancia* and *Los tratos* as part of an edition that included the *Viaje del Parnaso* in 1784. Curiously enough in this digital age, in a recent online search, Sancha's edition as well as an edition prepared from what appears to be the manuscript in the Biblioteca Nacional are available as e-books. Schevill and Bonilla included it in their six-volume set of the *comedias*. Undergraduate and graduate students studying Spanish literature in the United States have read it in the edition made by Martel and Alpern for their *Diez Comedias del Siglo de Oro* [*Ten Plays of the Golden Age*]. Sevilla Arroyo and Rey Hazas include it in their *Teatro de Cervantes* [*Cervantes's Plays*] (1985) and in their three-volume *Obras completas de Cervantes* [*Complete Works of Cervantes*] (1995). Among the numerous separate editions that one can find in libraries and on-line are those by Ricardo Doménech (1967), Alfredo Heremegildo (1994), Robert Marrast (1995), Alison Caplan and Bryan Betancur (2010), Alfredo Baras Escolá (2009 hardback and also as an e-book), and Gastón Gilabert (2014 e-book).

When one takes into account the criticism that has been written about *La Numancia*, that work falls into three discernible areas, where the mid area marks a clear division between the first and third. Aaron M. Kahn's *The Ambivalence of Imperial Discourse* (2008) is clearly the work *ab quo* where one must begin. This critic consulted almost all of the articles and books that touch on all aspects of this Cervantine *comedia*. The few that, for whatever reason, do not appear in Kahn's bibliography make up that body of criticism that will be considered here in chronological order as prior to the publication of his monograph in 2008. Those articles that also came out in 2008 or which followed the publication of Kahn's book will be considered as post-Kahn.

Kahn studies *Numancia* from the point of view that 'no clear message can be discerned from simply reading the text'.[12] Kahn goes on to clarify that 'by making use of

[12] p. 75.

ambiguous ideas, words, and dramatic devices he [Cervantes] encourages us . . . to investigate beyond the literal dialogue'. This critic sees in *Numancia* a message about the 'consequences of unjust imperial expansion'.[13] In his first chapter, Kahn studies Spanish dramatists of the period 1580–90 who morally opposed Philip II's move to annex the throne of Portugal to his ever-expanding empire. In many of the plays by such dramatists as Jerónimo Bermúdez, Juan de la Cueva, Cristobal de Virués, Gabriel Lobo Lasso de la Vega, and Lupercio Leonardo de Argensola, all contemporaries of Cervantes, one can read a subtle message directed to the monarch about the dangers of exceeding his power. Kahn places Cervantes clearly among those dramatists who veil their political stance in plays that are historical in nature.

In Chapters Two and Three, Kahn investigates the theme of ambiguity in the play—is it blatantly patriotic or does it criticize conquest and imperialism?—and ambiguity in the ability to place *Numancia* into a dramatic category—is it a tragedy or is it that admixture of both comedy and tragedy. Chapters Four, Five, and Six continue to explore the idea of ambiguity but now in Cervantes's manipulation of historical characters that appear in *Numancia* and who participated in Spain's own history. Throughout his analysis of *Numancia* Kahn draws on the vast bibliography to bolster his argument. In addition, he summarizes those ideas so that the reader has a clear sense of the criticism that has chiefly been written since the beginning of the Twentieth Century.

One finds, however, that some essays did not find their way into Kahn's book. Karl-Ludwig Selig writes about the 'river speech' spoken by the Duero River in Act I. In the prophecy of a bright future for Spain, Selig finds references to Garcilaso de la Vega—the Tagus River, the Duke of Alba, Mars and Venus (war and love)—that evoke a Renaissance model and ideal. Selig writes that the Duero speech not only looks forward to the Fama speech at the end of the play, but 'establishes also a thematic link to Marandro, who is the individual and poetic *reductio* of the Numantians as the heroic collective'.[14]

Stanislav Zimic's article 'Visión política y moral de Cervantes en *Numancia*' is an important essay to accompany Kahn's reading of this play as an ambiguous work. Zimic believes that Cervantes subtly criticizes the relationship between Spain and the Vatican in the sixteenth century. Zimic sees a conflict between good and evil, where Numancia represents Spain and good, while Escipión stands for the corrupt, Machiavellian Roman Curia and evil. Gwynne Edwards sees that *Numancia* is organized around a sense of tragedy in its structure that develops and intensifies as the play moves to its conclusion.

Adrienne S. Mandel, writing in 1981, believes that what Cervantes presents in *Numancia* is 'una visión fundamental existencialista' ['a fundamentally existential vision'].[15] She finds that the Numantians find the meaning of their existence precisely in their solidarity to die for their cause. When the young boy Bariato jumps to his death, he has secured not only his existential freedom but that of all the Numantians.

Jane Tar, writing in 2004, discusses the Aristotelian idea of *hamartia*, an error in judgment. She sees this idea as not a moral shortcoming, but rather as 'the complicity of

[13] p. 75. [14] Selig, p. 685. [15] p. 318.

practical lived experience and the mutability of the human situation'.[16] Furthermore, the critic views this error as a double *hamartia* occurring both with the Numantian governing body and with Escipión. Essentially she claims that both sides have erred by being too slow to react: the Numantians for waiting too long to sue for peace (Act I) and for choosing to settle the siege with a one-on-one duel that seems ridiculous to the Romans and their code of honour (Act III), and Escipión for waiting too long to show clemency to Numancia, namely when he offers mercy to the boy Bariato in an effort to show himself victorious to the Roman people (Act IV).

Antonia Petro, in 2005, discusses sacrifices in *Numancia*. For this critic, the theme of sacrifice is present throughout the play and functions as 'el eje principal sobre el que gira toda la obra' ['the principal idea of the work'].[17] According to Petro, sacrifice should restore harmony to a community or the death of one should save the whole, but this does not happen in *Numancia*. Time and again the sacrifices made by the Numantians result in failure. Only when Bariato jumps from his tower at the end of the play does a sacrifice benefit everyone. 'Este ejemplo animará . . . al resto de pueblos [sic] españoles a luchar por su identidad y libertad en los tiempos venideros. Numancia se sacrifica . . . para beneficio de la totalidad del pueblo español que representa' ['This example will move, in the future . . . all the other Spanish peoples to fight for their identity and liberty. Numancia sacrifices itself . . . for the benefit of the entire Spanish people that it represents'].[18]

Following the publication of Kahn's book in 2008, we have a body of essays that continue to explore the meaning of *Numancia* and its place in Cervantes's literary production. Michael Armstrong-Roche, in 2008, argues that the patriotism that many believe to be the core of *Numancia* is ambiguous at best. If this play asks its Spanish audience 'Who are we?', the answer is far from simple. Spain as *patria* [fatherland] is the result of positive and negative traits portrayed both in the Numantians and in the Romans. In terms of ethnicity, religion, law, and language, if the Numantians are the ancestors of sixteenth-century Spain, then, writes Armstrong-Roche, 'we are courageous, but primitive, cannibalistic, and homicidal. If Roman, then we are prudent, accomplished and Lords of the World but also proud, tyrannical, and doomed to be trampled underfoot by once and future Numancias'.[19]

Martha García writes about order and disorder in *Numancia* using Aristotelian terms with respect to tragedy. She equates disorder with the unjust war waged upon Numancia by the Romans. The Numantians have not committed any act that must be punished. Their only 'sin', as it were, is the desire to remain free and independent. For that reason, the war is an unjust aggression toward them. Thus, at the close of the play, when all the Numantians have committed their collective act of suicide precisely to remain free and independent, order, i.e. justice, is restored.

Margarita Peña, also writing in 2008, speaks to *Numancia* in terms of Cervantes's biography. She considers the play to have been written *c.*1584–5, with the six allegorical figures (Spain, Duero, Hunger, Sickness, War, and Fame) being expressions of the personal

[16] p. 56. [17] p. 755. [18] Petro, p. 772. [19] p. 224.

tragedies Cervantes experienced in captivity and in the years following his return to Spain in 1580.

Elena García-Martín studies, in 2009, ceremonial drama as represented by Cervantes's *Numancia* and the two Numancia plays written by Rojas Zorrilla in the 1640s. She sees Cervantes's play as portraying the national myth of Numancia as a ceremonial drama that praises the nation, while the two plays by Rojas Zorrilla work to destroy that same myth.

Rachel Burk examines blood imagery in her provocative study of *Numancia*. She suggests that Cervantes undermines the idea that heredity, i.e. blood as lineage, links Numantians and Spaniards. Rather, it is through self-sacrifice represented by the Eucharist that Spaniards can trace their heritage to the Numantians. For Burk, being Christian and Spaniard does not rely on biological and ethnic heritage, but rather depends on the repeated participation in the Eucharist, the rite of self-sacrifice instituted by Christ.

Carlos Moreno Hernández takes the reference to 'el jirón lusitano' [the Portuguese pennant][20] (l. 517) in the Duero River's prophecy as his point of departure. This critic insists that twenty-first century terminology for nations must not be employed when discussing a work written in the sixteenth century. He maintains that until the nineteenth century, the word *España* referred to the totality of the Iberian Peninsula: Aragon, Castile, *and* Portugal. *Castilla*, he affirms, is the term that should be used to differentiate between the three kingdoms. He harshly criticizes several academics (principally non-Spanish ones) for their failure to make the distinction between Spain and Castile, especially when discussing Philip II's annexing Portugal to the crown of Castile in the 1580s.

Jorge Checa (2013) examines the speech made by the allegorical figure of War (Act IV), the character of Escipión, and the idea of harmony disrupted within the Numantians through a philosophical lens. Checa sees that an apparent optimism in War's speech questions the stability of the Spanish Empire where the *alto* [powerful] and *pequeño* [weak] will exchange places. He studies the character of Escipión using subjective reason for his analysis. The general sees that only he is right and reduces his opponents to mere beasts. Within Numancia the situation seems harmonious with the exchanges of friendship and loyalty between Marandro and Leonicio, and the love between Marandro and Lira. When the sacrifice of Marquino fails, followed by the necromancer's own death, along with the call by Teógenes for collective suicide, that harmony is shown to be precarious at best in what Checa calls 'the negative sublime'. Even at the end of the play, when Fame predicts a brighter future for Spain, the audience has its own doubts after having witnessed the on-stage loss of friends, family, and loved ones.

E. C. Graf (2013) explores similarities present in El Greco's *Alegoría de la Liga Santa* [*Allegory of the Holy Alliance*], San Juan's *Cantico espiritual* [*Spiritual Song*], and Cervantes's *Numancia*. A diabolical presence intrudes into each of the works to lend a moral perspective to each. In the El Greco painting it is the gaping mouth of Hell behind the figure of Philip II. In San Juan's poem it is the mention of the name Aminadad in a final stanza. In his own commentary on the poem, San Juan equates that name with the

[20] l. 517.

Devil. In *Numancia* it is the devil who comes from beneath the stage to snatch the sacrificial ram away from the Numantian priests (Act II). For Graf, in each of these works, the artist/writers have placed Philip II 'at a precarious point in their cosmic moral trajectories' that makes each of these works a political one as well.[21] He further states that:

> in my opinion they are sufficiently skeptical of Philip II's moral status so as to anticipate, to varying the degrees, the role played by the diabolical in more modern political discourse. In my view, each in its own way anticipates a certain 1799 political cartoon of Napoleon leading his troops into a giant hellmouth.[22]

Matthew Wyszynski (2014) discusses civic oratory in *Numancia*. He carefully studies and juxtaposes two examples of deliberative rhetoric in the play. In Escipión's harangue to his troops in Act I, Wyszynski shows that while the Roman general follows the rules of speaking, his later actions, i.e., refusing to dialogue with the Numantians, undercut the effectiveness of his call to action. The second example comes from Act III, when the Numantian women effectively convince their fellow citizens that collective suicide is the only way to preserve the city's liberty. Here, words and deeds work in harmony to bring about an effective action. At the end of his essay, Wyszynski considers why women had no voice in civic oratory. His answer seems to be that by placing speech-making that produces effective results in the voices of a marginalized part of society, Cervantes advocates the same for his own society. 'Top-down' policies have led only to disaster; the 'bottom-top' deserves to have its voice heard.

La conquista de Jerusalén por Godofre de Bullón

This anonymous *comedia* survives in two manuscript forms. A complete version of the play in three acts resides in the Biblioteca de Palacio de Madrid, and the other is a collection of individual actors' parts [*papeles de actor*] kept in the Biblioteca Nacional, also in Madrid. These sheets, used by the actors to rehearse their lines, comprise nearly 900 lines of material.

The play takes place during the First Crusade (eleventh century) without and within the walls of Jerusalem. The complicated plot is based on Torquato Tasso's 1581 poem *La Gerusalemme liberata* [*Jerusalem Delivered*]. The Christian forces led by Godofre de Bullón (Godfrey of Bouillon) lay siege to the city. Aladino, the Muslim ruler of Jerusalem, sends his trusted Amazonesque warrior Clorinda to Godofre asking for a truce, a tactic meant to delay while the besieged await the arrival of forces sent by the

[21] Graf, p. 59. [22] Graf, pp. 59–60.

Sultan of Egypt. When Clorinda arrives with her compatriot Agrante, the Christian leader Tancredo immediately falls in love with her.

Erminia, daughter of the Muslim King of Antioch, had been taken prisoner by Tancredo after the Christian army had captured that city before moving on to Jerusalem. She fell in love with her captor, who, because of their difference of religion, has distanced himself and freed her. Because she is a friend of Clorinda with whom she shares chambers, Erminia decides to dress in Clorinda's armour so that she can go unnoticed to the Christian camp in order to see Tancredo.

Clorinda and a messenger from the Sultan of Egypt ask Godofre to retreat from Jerusalem, but he refuses. Erminia, in Clorinda's armour, asks to see Tancredo. Thinking she is Clorinda, Tancredo goes to meet her and confesses his love for her. Erminia discloses herself and then returns to Jerusalem.

In Jerusalem, a eunuch tells Clorinda that he brought her to Jerusalem. The Christian Queen of Ethiopia gave birth to a white daughter, Clorinda, whom she exchanged for a black baby. The queen then made the eunuch promise that he would ensure that Clorinda become a Christian. Now Clorinda says that she will destroy the Christian war machines. In the Christian camp, Tancredo does not recognize Clorinda, they fight, and he kills her. Just before she dies, Clorinda asks to be baptized, and then reveals herself to Tancredo.

The Christians celebrate their victory over the Muslims and the restoration of Jerusalem into Christian hands. Godofre is crowned King of Jerusalem.

Woven into this fabric are allegorical figures (Jerusalem, Travail, Hope, Contentment, Liberty) that comment on the fate of Jerusalem before and after the Christian victory, Christian captives in Jerusalem, a Christian who has suffered hardships by walking to the Holy Land to fight alongside Godofre, two soldiers who comment on their willingness to participate in a just war.

Stefano Arata was the first to attribute this play to Cervantes in two articles, one in 1992 and the other in 1997. In the article from 1992, Arata provides a short study of the play along with an edition of the manuscript text from the Palace Library. Arata bases his attribution to Cervantes on four characteristics that he sees present also in *Los tratos* and *Numancia*: a high number of characters, the use of *figuras morales*, the meticulous description of costuming, and the use of theatrical special effects.

In 1997, Arata presents the *papeles de actor* [actor's parts] from a folder that he had found in the Spanish National Library. The *papeles* were sheets on which were written the lines that actors used to learn and rehearse their parts in a play. Often these give the cue so that the actor knows when to speak the lines. In the folder were, among others, the lines for characters in *La Jerusalén*, namely Godofredo de Bullón, Erminia, Solinda, and Teodoro. On the sheet that has Erminda's lines, there is reference to rehearsals and/or performances given in the summer of 1586. Furthermore, the lines of Ocasión [Opportunity], one of the allegorical figures in *Los tratos*, appear among those of the other characters. This led Arata to believe that *Los tratos* was also being rehearsed/performed during 1586.

At some unspecified time but following the publication of Arata's article in 1997, Florencio Sevilla Arroyo prepared two versions of the text of *La Jerusalén* for the

Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes [Miguel de Cervantes Virtual Library] (www.cervantesvirtual.com).[23] One (*Comedia de la conquista de Jerusalén por Godofre de Bullon* [sic] [*Play about the Conquest of Jerusalem by Godfrey de Bouillon*] is an image of the manuscript in the Biblioteca de Palacio. The other (*La conquista de Jerusalén por Godofre de Bullón* / obra atribuida a Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra; edición de Florencio Sevilla Arroyo) [*The Conquest of Jerusalem by Godfrey de Bouillion*/work attributed to Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, edition by Florencio Sevilla Arroyo] is in print format that uses Arata's version. There is no critical apparatus to accompany either text.

Héctor Brioso Santos prepared, in 2009, a critical edition of the text from the Biblioteca de Palacio for Cátedra. The introduction of more than one hundred pages contains the most complete study of the play to date. Footnotes clarify vocabulary and references. Brioso Santos discusses the problem of authorship, the sources, language and style, versification, stage directions, allegorical figures and scenes, and the relationship between the three early plays: *Los tratos*, *Numancia*, and *La Jerusalén*. While he never states unequivocally that Cervantes is the author, one infers from the textual evidence that he believes the play to be by Cervantes.

Alfredo Rodríguez López-Vázquez, writing in 2011, states that by analysing forty words and phrases from *La Jerusalén* and by comparing them with other Cervantine texts and with dramatic texts by some of his contemporaries (Virués, Juan de la Cueva, Gabriel Lobo, and Rey de Artieda) during the years 1580–95, he finds that Cervantes wrote *La Jerusalén* around 1585. The critic then gives a detailed philological analysis of twenty of these phrases that aims to clarify textual problems that Arata and Brioso had not resolved in their editions of the play. This same critic published an e-book edition of the play on 11 November 2014 that includes an introduction and notes. López-Vázquez here reaffirms his stance that Cervantes wrote the play. In his endeavour to present a clearer reading of the text, López-Vázquez corrects questions of vocabulary by comparing phrases and syntax that he finds in *La Jerusalén* with similar ones in other Cervantine texts. These are not the same words and phrases that he had included in his article three years earlier. One notable change happens with the character that Arata, Sevilla Arroyo, and Brioso Santos read as LUSTAQUIO (I, 420–651); López-Vázquez reads it as EUSTAQUIO.

Aaron M. Kahn defends his belief that Cervantes is the likely author of *La Jerusalén* in 2010. Kahn continues what Arata began by exploring the use of similar words and phrases in works known to be by Cervantes; a comparison of characters, especially between Escipión in *Numancia* and Godofre in *Jerusalén* and the use of allegorical figures in both dramas; the use of explicit stage directions; versification; and comparisons with plays by other Spanish dramatists of the 1580s.

Moisés R. Castillo, writing in 2012, compares *Jerusalén* with three other plays by Cervantes that speak to the question of captivity and the relationship between Christians

[23] While there is not a publication date on the Biblioteca Virtual Cervantes website, Alfredo López-Vázquez, writing in the introduction to his electronic edition of the play in 2014, states that Sevilla Arroyo published it in 2012.

and Muslims: *Los tratos de Argel*, *La gran sultana*, and *Los baños de Argel*. After reviewing the criticism of *Jerusalén*, he then compares the four plays. His main focus is on the clash of human weakness in both Christians and Muslims with an 'exagerada fervor religioso' ['exaggerated religious fervour'] of Christian characters.[24] Castillo also details the personal mini-dramas in the suffering of captives as well as the humanitarian treatment toward the Other, situations that he sees as a result of war and captivity. In these ambiguous spaces where both Christian and Muslim values intertwine, Castillo sees the hand of Cervantes. For this critic, *Jerusalén* in all likelihood is by Cervantes.

Kahn returns to *Jerusalén* in 2013. Kahn continues his belief that Cervantes is the probable author of *Jerusalén*. He reviews the criticism up to that date, as well as defends his previous stance. Kahn is a firm believer that the historicity of these three early plays gives us an insight into human thoughts, emotions, and suffering as they occur in captivity. Rather than only considering versification or comparing vocabulary used in the plays, Kahn views these similar human thoughts and emotions in the three plays as a compelling argument for Cervantes as possible author. He also includes in his article a reproduction and transcription of the manuscript pages of the *papel de actor* for Ocasión. He then compares the lines among the various manuscript versions to demonstrate that the text is basically the same.

Only two, or possibly three, plays survive from this first period when Cervantes tried his hand at writing for the stage. For whatever reason, the author of *Don Quixote* did not return to the genre until he published the *Ocho comedias y ocho entremeses* near the end of his life. The early plays are marked by having a large cast of characters (over twenty), the use of allegorical figures who do not interact with the other characters but act much like a Greek Chorus to comment or prophesy, a wide use of metrical forms, explicit stage directions and decorations, and references to the time that Cervantes spent in Algiers as a captive. Why did he abandon the theatre? Today, some four centuries later, we can only speculate. By his own admission, Cervantes says that he had other things to do. Furthermore, he evidently felt that he could not, or would not, compete with the new formula for stage productions that Lope de Vega created beginning in the late 1580s.

Works Cited

Arata, Stefano. '*La conquista de Jerusalén*, Cervantes y la generación teatral de 1580'. *Criticón* LIV (1992): pp. 9–112.

Arata, Stefano. 'Notas sobre *La conquista de Jerusalén* y la transmisión manuscrita del primer teatro cervantino'. *Edad de Oro* XVI (1997): pp. 53–66.

Armstrong-Roche, Michael. '(The) *Patria* Besieged: Border–Crossing Paradoxes of National Identity in Cervantes's *Numancia*'. In *Border Interrogations: Questioning Spanish Frontiers*, edited by Benita Sampedro Vizcaya and Simon Doubleday (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2008), pp. 204–27.

Burk, Rachel L. '"La patria consumida": Blood, Nation, and Eucharist in Cervantes's *Numancia*'. *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies* 13, no. 1 (2012): pp. 1–19.

[24] Castillo, 'Espacios…', p. 128.

Canavaggio, Jean. 'A propos de deux 'comedias' de Cervantes'. *Bulletin Hispanique* 68 (1966): pp. 5–29.
Canavaggio, Jean. *Cervantes*, translated by J. R. Jones (New York: Norton and Co., 1990).
Canavaggio, Jean. *Cervantès dramaturge: un théâtre à naître* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1977).
Casalduero, Joaquín. *Sentido y forma del teatro de Cervantes* (Madrid: Gredos, 1974).
Castillo, Moisés R. 'Espacios de ambigüedad en el teatro cervantino: *La conquista de Jerusalén* y los dramas de cautiverio'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 32, no. 2 (2012): pp. 123–42.
Castillo, Moisés R. '¿Ortodoxia cervantina? Un análisis de *La gran sultana*, *El trato de Argel* y *Los baños de Argel*'. *Bulletin of the Comediantes* 56, no. 2 (2004): pp. 219–40.
Cervantes, Miguel de. *Comedias y entremeses*, edited by Rodolfo Schevill y Adolfo Bonilla, 6 vols. (Madrid: B. Rodríguez, 1915–22).
Cervantes, Miguel de. *El cerco de Numancia*, edited by Robert Marrast. 3rd ed. (Madrid: Cátedra, 1995).
Cervantes, Miguel de. *El trato de Argel*, edited by Kathleen Thornton Spinnenweber. (Newark, DE: European Masterpieces, 2011. Cervantes & Co. No. 59).
¿Cervantes, Miguel de? *La conquista de Jerusalén por Godofre de Bullón*, edited by Alfredo Rodríguez López-Vázquez. *Clásicos Hispánicos* (49). November 11, 2014. September 19, 2015. http://www.clasicoshispanicos.com.
Cervantes, Miguel de (Attributed). *La conquista de Jerusalén por Godofre de Bullón*, edited by Héctor Brioso Santos (Madrid: Cátedra, 2009).
Cervantes, Miguel de. *La destrucción de Numancia,* edited by Alfredo Hermenegildo (Madrid: Castalia, 1967).
Cervantes, Miguel de. *La destrucción de Numancia,* edited by Ricardo Doménech (Madrid: Taurus, 1967).
Cervantes, Miguel de. *Obras completas*, edited by Angel Valbuena Prat (Madrid: Aguilar, 1967).
Cervantes, Miguel de. *Obra completa*. 3 vols, edited by Florencio Sevilla Arroyo & Antonio Rey Hazas (Alcalá de Henares: Centro de Estudios Cervantinos, 1995).
Cervantes, Miguel de. *Tragedia de Numancia,* edited by Alfredo Baras Escolá (Zaragoza: Prensas Universitarias de Zaragoza, 2009).
Cervantes, Miguel de. *Tragedia de Numancia,* edited by Gastón Gilabert. *Clásicos Hispánicos* (48). 25 September 2014. 19 September 2015. http://www.clasicoshispanicos.com.
Cervantes, Miguel de. *La Numancia*, edited by Alison Caplan and Bryan Betancur (Newark, DE: European Masterpieces, 2010. Cervantes & Co No. 33).
Cervantes, Miguel de. *Teatro completo*, edited by Florencio Sevilla Arroyo y Antonio Rey Hazas (Barcelona: Planeta, 1987).
Checa, Jorge. 'Razón subjetiva y ética de lo sublime en *La destruición de Numancia*'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 33, no. 2 (2013): pp. 119–44.
Crawford, J. P. Wickersham. *Spanish Drama Before Lope de Vega*, edited by Warren McCrady (Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 1967).
Domínguez, Julia. 'Los escenarios de la memoria: psicodrama en *El trato de Argel* de Cervantes'. *Bulletin of the Comediantes* 61 (2009): pp. 1–23.
Edwards, Gwynne. 'La estructura de *Numancia* en el desarrollo de su ambiente trágico'. In *Cervantes: su obra y su mundo. Actas del I Congreso Internacional sobre Cervantes*, edited by Manuel Criado de Val (Madrid: EDI–6, 1981), pp. 293–301.
Friedman, Edward H. *The Unifying Concept: Approaches to the Structure of Cervantes's Comedias* (York, SC: Spanish Literature Publications Co, 1981).

Garcés, María Antonia. *Cervantes en Argel. Historia de un cautivo* (Madrid: Gredos, 2005).
Garcés, María Antonia. *Cervantes in Algiers. A Captive's Tale* (Nashville: Vanderbilt UP, 2002).
García, Martha. 'El uso del *orden* y el *desorden* como técnica de expresión estética en *La Numancia*'. In *Hacia la tragedia áurea. Lecturas para un nuevo milenio*, edited by Frederick A. de Armas, Luciano García Lorenzo, and Enrique García Santo-Tomás (Madrid: Iberoamericana; Frankfort: Vervuet, 2008): pp. 255–63.
García-Martín, Elena. 'Revisiones al tema numantino en Cervantes y Rojas Zorrilla: ritualización y desmitificación del mito patrio'. *Bulletin of the Comediantes* 61 (2009): pp. 83–102.
Graf, E. C. 'The Devil's Perspective in El Greco's Alegoría de la Liga Santa, San Juan de la Cruz's *Cántico espiritual*, and Cervantes's *La Numancia*'. *Romance Notes* 53 (2013): pp. 53–64.
Hermenegildo, Alfredo. *La tragedia en el Renacimiento español* (Barcelona: Planeta, 1973).
Kahn, Aaron M. 'Even Further Towards a Theory of Attribution: Advancing the Cervantine Attribution of *La conquista de Jerusalén por Godofre de Bullón*'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 33, no.1 (2013): pp. 133–65.
Kahn, Aaron M. *The Ambivalence of Imperial Discourse: Cervantes's 'La Numancia' within the 'Lost Generation' of Spanish Drama (1570–90)* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2008).
Kahn, Aaron M. 'Towards a Theory of Attribution: Is *La conquista de Jerusalén* by Miguel de Cervantes?' *Journal of European Studies* 40, no. 2 (2010): pp. 99–128.
López-Vázquez, Alfredo Rodríguez. 'Un tríptico presuntamente cervantino*: La Jerusalén*, *Los habladores* y el auto de *La Virgen de Guadalupe*'. *Rivista di Filologia e Letterature Ispaniche* XIV (2011): pp. 57–76.
Mandel, Adrienne Schizzano. '*La Numancia*: Cuando el último hombre ha dicho su última palabra'. In *Cervantes: Su obra y su mundo. Actas del I Congreso Internacional sobre Cervantes*, edited by Manuel Criado de Val (Madrid: EDI–6, 1981), pp. 317–23.
Martel, José and Hyman Alpern, editors. *Diez comedias del siglo de oro* (New York: Harper and Row, 1968).
McKendrick, Melveena. 'Writings for the Stage'. In *The Cambridge Companion to Cervantes*, edited by Anthony J. Cascardi. (Cambridge, UK; Cambridge UP, 2002), pp. 131–59.
Moreno Hernández, Carlos. 'El jirón lusitano en *La Numancia*: siglo de oro e imperio católico'. *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 89, no. 1 (2012): pp. 15–30.
Ohanna, Natalio. 'Lamentos de doble filo: *El trato de Argel* y la dimensión geopolítica de la lucha por la unidad religiosa'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 30, no. 1 (2010): pp. 141–61.
Patterson, Charles. '*Los tratos de Argel* and the Muslim Story of Joseph and Potiphar's Wife'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 33, no. 1 (2013): pp. 113–31.
Peña, Margarita. 'La esencia de la tragedia: alegoría, recursos escénicos e infortunio en *La destrucción de Numancia*, de Cervantes'. In *Hacia la tragedia áurea. Lecturas para un nuevo milenio*, edited by Frederick A. de Armas, Luciano García Lorenzo, and Enrique García Santo-Tomás (Madrid: Iberoamericana; Frankfort: Vervuet, 2008), pp. 57–80.
Petro, Antonia. 'El fallido ritual sacrificial en *La Numancia* de Cervantes'. *Bulletin of Spanish Studies* 82, no. 6 (2005): pp. 753–72.
Riley, E. C. 'The *pensamientos escondidos* and the *figuras morales* of Cervantes'. In *Homenaje a William L. Fichter*, edited A. David Kossoff and José Amor y Vázquez. (Madrid: Gredos, 1971), pp. 623–31.
Rupp, Stephen. 'Remembering 1541: Crusade and Captivity in the Algiers Plays of Cervantes'. *Revista de Estudios Hispánicos* 32 (1998): pp. 313–35.

Selig, Karl-Ludwig. '*La Numancia*: A Reconsideration of the Duero Speech'. In Homenaje a William L. Fichter, edited by A. David Kossoff and José Amor y Vázquez. (Madrid: Gredos, 1971), pp. 681–5.

Stagg, Geoffrey. 'The date and form of *El trato de Argel*'. *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 30 (1953): pp. 181–92.

Tar, Jane. 'Hamartia in *La Numancia*'. *Romance Notes* 45 (2004): pp. 55–61.

Vivar, Francisco. "*La Numancia*" *de Cervantes y la memoria de un mito* (Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva, 2004).

Wyszinski, Matthew A. 'Civil Oratory in Cervantes's *La Numancia*'. *Syposium* 68 (2014): pp. 25–36.

Zimic, Stanislav. *El teatro de Cervantes* (Madrid: Castalia, 1992).

Zimic, Stanislav. 'Visión política y moral de Cervantes en *Numancia*'. *Anales cervantinos* XVIII (1979–80): pp. 107–50.

CHAPTER 16

OCHO COMEDIAS (1615)

MELANIE S. HENRY
Queen's University Belfast

Miguel de Cervantes is best known for his unparalleled contribution to Spanish letters in the form of the incomparable *Don Quixote*—the author's magnum opus. Although the publication of the novel charting the would-be knight's fantastical adventures heralded Cervantes's literary prowess and secured his iconic status in Spanish cultural history, the novelist yearned for recognition and envisaged success as a playwright. Díez Borque has rightly declared Cervantes a 'man of the theatre; preoccupied and even obsessed by it'.[1] Certainly, the aspiring dramatist's own recollections, as emphasized by the prologue to his published plays, portray a picture of a young and eager Cervantes spectating at dramatic events and contemplating the workings of theatrical representation. The playwright's prologue reflects nostalgically on the feats achieved by his precursor, 'el gran Lope de Rueda' [the great Lope de Rueda], whilst lauding the supremacy of a stage that prioritized the dramatization of the spoken word and shunned hyperbolic manifestations of an overly adorned stage.[2] This concern with matters pertaining to spectacle would remain unaltered during the course of Cervantes's career and contribute to his resistance to and departure from established theatrical conventions, as this chapter will outline.

Despite Cervantes's passion for the theatre and his desire to succeed as a playwright, scholarship generally acknowledges that his attempts at drama were unsuccessful in terms of their own immediate context as well as the works' reception (both critical and performative) in more recent history.[3] The reasons for Cervantes's apparent 'failure' are complex and not easily reduced to a formula that highlights a deficient theatrical gene lurking in the corpus of his writings for the stage. The *Ocho comedias*, the focus of this particular chapter, hold a conflicted and uneasy position within the Cervantine canon.

[1] Díez Borque, p. 18.

[2] Cervantes, *Teatro completo*, p. 7; Thacker observes that Cervantes, amongst others, nostalgically misrepresented Rueda's dramatic achievements, p. 124.

[3] Thacker, p. 57.

Often overlooked in favour of the infinitely more successful *Don Quixote* or *Novelas ejemplares*, Cervantes's *comedias* might be said to occupy a sort of literary 'limbo' in which numerous factors compete with their viability as artefacts worthy of the type of rigorous and demanding investigation so readily achieved by the author's more famous works.

Among the reasons that contribute to Cervantes's dramatic output receiving scant recognition and the perception that he is somewhat inadequate as a playwright, is the fact that none of his plays in the collection were performed in his lifetime. Moreover, a legacy of negative scholarship and harsh critical judgement should not be discounted from the elements that have conspired to exclude Cervantes's dramatic output from more serious and sustained consideration. A key contributing factor must also be the tendency to survey Cervantes vis-à-vis his nemesis and the creator of Spain's highly successful national theatre, Lope de Vega. Additionally, our privileged position as twenty-first-century critics allows us to reflect retrospectively on the formation and, indeed, construction of the Golden Age theatrical canon and understand that a body of key texts have emerged for scrutiny to the detriment of numerous play texts that have escaped critical notice to date. Collectively, the above listed factors, amongst others, have worked against Cervantine theatre, sometimes creating the misplaced impression of a negatively charged and comparatively irrelevant body of work.

Lope de Vega exercised a theatrical monopoly at a time when Cervantes longed for success as a functioning playwright.[4] It is evident that Cervantes keenly felt his isolation from the theatrical culture emerging at the beginning of the new century as well as a growing concern with the condition of the public stage. In particular, Cervantes retained anxieties about the commercialization of drama and resisted the idea of consumer demand as a barometer for the outworking of artistic endeavour.[5] Spadaccini states: 'While Cervantes explicitly renounces the mediations of producers and actors and shows disdain for the "mass" audience of the public theatre, Lope was to make all sorts of compromises for the benefit of that audience to ensure his plays a favourable reception.'[6] Nonetheless, it would be unjust to portray Cervantes as a dogmatic figure clinging desperately to dramatic traditions of the past whilst battling public-driven fashions and Lope's redefinition of dramatic art. Reed rightly notes that there exists a 'too convenient impression that Cervantes and Lope were in complete disagreement concerning the value of contemporary dramatic conventions, and that Cervantes the "classicist" refused to accept Lope's innovations'.[7] Zimic sustains that it is a grave error to think that Cervantes opposed changes within the dramatic arena purely on the basis that they were changes.[8] As more recent criticism evidences, Cervantes, too, attempted modifications

[4] See Chapter 24 for a study of Cervantes and Lope de Vega.

[5] See Chapter 18 of this Handbook for a fuller exposition of Cervantes's position on the new style of drama. Cervantes's lament about the commercialization of theatre is well expressed in *Don Quixote*, I.48. Lope's *Arte nuevo* asserts that the new theatre is driven by the demands of the *vulgo* [masses].

[6] Spadaccini, p. 55. [7] Reed, p. 68. [8] Zimic, *El teatro* . . . , p. 16.

within the parameters of early modern Spanish theatre, and crafted theatre that may now appropriately be termed experimental.[9]

As intimated above, Cervantes's disappointments and the title with which he published his theatre have created a certain stigma and generated the impression that Cervantes is a 'failed' dramatist. Such a notion has contributed decisively to the small space that Cervantes's *comedias* occupy in the field of Cervantine and Golden Age dramatic studies. Not until the middle of the twentieth century was Cervantes's theatre subject to any serious examination, although minor studies and editions of these works had been published in the early part of the century by authors/editors such as Schevill and Bonilla, Cotarelo y Valledor, and Valbuena Prat. Casalduero's 1951 study of Cervantes's theatre signalled a shift in Cervantine dramatic studies when the scholar offered a sustained evaluation of the author's writings for the stage and asserted a more critical approach, which marked a move away from historiographical and biographical concerns. Canavaggio's pioneering *Cervantès dramaturge: un théâtre à naître* is a study that underscored the validity of rigorous analysis.

During the last four decades Cervantes's theatre has experienced a certain regeneration as critical scrutiny recuperates a drama which long languished in the shadow of the *Quixote*. Various Cervantistas have made an influential mark on the field and contributed enormously to scholarship. Critics such as Wardropper, Friedman, Spadaccini, Zimic, Maestro, and Henry, among others, have published monographic as well as smaller studies of work which, collectively, assert the value of the *comedias*, but more significantly, promote judicious perspectives which highlight the autonomy, intricacy, and multifaceted qualities of a challenging and probing body of plays. While distinct in their approaches—and sometimes opposing—the above works offer a sense of a highly self-conscious dramatic imagination which is creatively and perspicaciously engaged with its contexts.

Over the years, various volumes have been dedicated to Cervantes's stage as well as journal issues and miscellaneous studies.[10] Sterling editions of the *comedias*, such as that proffered by Sevilla Arroyo and Rey Hazas, have greatly facilitated and supported critical inquest. Although Cervantine dramatic studies are overshadowed by projects dedicated to the writer's prose, it is not an entirely unexplored or unchartered field. Notwithstanding the work that remains to be done, scholarship has emphasized positively that we cannot afford to ignore Cervantes's theatrical writings, despite the fact that success eluded him.[11] Weimar suggests that much of the explanation for neglect of Cervantes's *comedias*:

[9] See Reed, p. 69; Zimic, *El teatro*…, pp. 402–3; McKendrick, p. 132. On occasions scholarship has over-stretched the idea of Cervantes's experimental approach. His theatre may not fit the conventional Golden Age mould, but it is not always as ahead of its time as some critics would contend.

[10] For instance, the *Bulletin of the Comediantes* dedicated volume 56, no. 2 (2004) to Cervantes's stage. Cervantine dramatic studies are often limited to conference contributions.

[11] McKendrick, p. 132.

> lies not in the texts, but in ourselves—or more precisely, in the challenge these texts present to our theatrical, and especially Golden Age theatrical, horizon of expectations… they [*Ocho comedias*] might well also leave modern readers of early modern peninsular drama, readers most accustomed to Golden Age works following the precepts laid down in Lope's *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias*, somewhat interpretively at sea.[12]

Vigorous investigation in later years might have provided an anchor to which students of the *Ocho comedias* can cling, but the fact remains that the scholar must confront a complex and demanding theatre with a proclivity to break the mould. Interpretative waters have been muddied further by the persistent qualification that Cervantes's *comedias* are dissimilar and inferior to Lope's dramatic ventures: 'Evaluation of Cervantes's drama as "anti-Lope" created with the sole purpose of voicing the dramatist's preoccupation with Lope's theatrical domination, has resulted in a one dimensional argument that tends to prioritize what Cervantes's theatre does or, indeed, does not do within a very limited context.'[13] Likewise, González, Maestro and others have condemned such a reductionist critical methodology. Maestro observes that reading and seeing the *Ocho comedias* as a result of an impotency to adapt to current dramatic trends equates to proposing a false solution to an equally false problem. In the scholar's opinion, Cervantes never wanted to imitate his peers, the *comedia nueva*, or Lope de Vega. Rather, the playwright attempted to fashion an alternative theatre.[14] Thus, the *comedias* have suffered as a result of a flawed argument, which perceives Cervantes's plays as defective simply because they do not subscribe to the fashions of the time. Maestro demonstrates that Cervantes and Lope are not easily compared and to insist on such an assessment gravely limits our interpretative capabilities. In other words, qualifying the *Ocho comedias* vis-à-vis Lope closes down rather than opens up enquiry. It is, therefore, imperative that students and scholars of Cervantes's dramatic output recognize the theatre's anti-*comedia* objectives and thus move beyond these in order to interrogate robustly the playwright's alternative stage and realize the value of the *Ocho comedias* on their own aesthetic terms.

The *comedias* broach many of the concepts, ideas, and themes incorporated throughout the Cervantine canon within both a literary and extra-literary context. In particular, they dialogue very distinctly with wider sociocultural concerns and provide an outlet for artistic expression of the troubled realities of early modern Spain. Syverson-Stork aptly notes that Cervantes's theatre persistently manifests the playwright's desire to expose his nation's problematical present.[15] Throughout his drama, Cervantes engages with the anxieties and complexities inherent within a fractured environment typified by *desengaño* [disillusionment] and plagued by the dark realities of a weakened political-economic infrastructure and a precarious power base, among other pressing

[12] Weimar, p. 48. [13] Henry, *The Signifying Self*, p. 5.

[14] Maestro, 'El triunfo…', p. 20; see also Alcalá Galán.

[15] Syverson-Stork, p. 9; the scholar contends that Cervantes's efforts in this regard contributed to his failure as a dramatist.

issues.[16] Spadaccini and Talens comment: 'The effervescence and continual change that traverse Spain, from imperial expansion to the bankruptcy of the state, serve not only as a historical and cultural frame but are also inscribed, analysed, and deconstructed through Cervantes's literary discourse.'[17] The *Ocho comedias* are no exception; they cast a critical and discriminating look over the conflicts facing the early modern Spanish nation-state and the tumultuous society in which the *comedias* were conceived. Cervantes's full-length plays represent a preoccupation with the complexities and contradictions of the prevailing worldview and the ideologies espoused by the Castilian state. The dramatist deals provocatively with concerns such as *limpieza de sangre* [blood purity], the racial supremacy of the Spaniard, the expulsion and persecution of minority groups, and the impact of Spain's imperial policies (among many other polemical but less lofty affairs) in a decidedly perverse fashion. In fact, Cervantes's *comedias* exhibit a 'transgressive compulsion' to challenge and contest dominant principles and dogma.[18] Cervantes's 'alternative' theatre operates as a questioning aesthetic, which interrogates and probes the limits of Baroque consciousness. The *Ocho comedias*, therefore, formulate and promote a counter-perspective to the discourses and structures which underpin Golden-Age Spain.

Such a contradiction is also apparent in Cervantes's opposition to the dominant stage. The *comedias* may make a few formal concessions to the Lopean formula, but they predominantly operate against the grain of the public theatre and prevailing dramatic imaginings, which, in Cervantes's opinion, functioned as an instrument of propaganda that endorsed governing infrastructures.[19] Collectively, the Cervantine resistance to contemporary dramatic methodologies and dominant sociocultural practices creates a seditious theatre, which flouts established perceptions and destabilizes widespread 'certainties'. Such a violation may go some way to explaining Cervantes's marginalization from early modern Spanish dramatic culture and the lack of interest exhibited by play producers of the time. Certainly, Cervantes's antagonistic strategies would have wielded implications for his audience, had his theatre ever received one. The playwright, having been willing to expend the effort to confront and engage with a spectator conditioned by the system of expectations ratified by the *comedia nueva*, communicates a theatre which did not permit collusion with the status quo.[20] In other words, Cervantes's *comedias* promote and, in fact, stimulate examination of the climate in which the seventeenth-century Spanish spectator lives. Such a strategy fabricates conditions that do not permit an

[16] See Robbins for further discussion of the early modern Baroque environment in which Cervantes and other writers of the time conceived their works.

[17] Spadaccini and Talens, p. xii.

[18] Cruz, p. 122; this statement, made in connection with the *entremeses*, is just as readily applied to the *Ocho comedias*.

[19] See Maravall's thesis, which views the *comedia* as a type of mechanism of control that served the interests of the Castilian state. It is worth noting that Maravall's ideas have been significantly challenged since the publication of his work in 1972. Scholarship in more recent years has drawn attention to the pitfalls of assuming a monolithic and homogenous audience.

[20] For further discussion of the strategies which Cervantes employs to create and educate a spectator who will understand the tenets of his alternative theatre, see Henry, *The Signifying Self*, pp. 110–11.

audience to 'tilt at windmills' and invest in the 'realities' promoted by either stage or state. Ultimately, the audience, and early modern Spanish subject, is liberated from a more passive reception of the signs at play.

Spirited critical argument of late has emphasized the *comedias*' concept of freedom as an issue which demands attention within the parameters of Cervantes's interrogative approach.[21] Cervantes was well aware that the profoundly disrupted society in which the individual lived had produced an alienated and unsettled subject.[22] Consequently, an insecure and complex relationship existed at micro and macro levels between the early modern Spaniard and their environment. Throughout his literary discourse, Cervantes remains profoundly preoccupied by the freedom of the individual as it affected the seventeenth-century Spanish subject and displays great concern for the tensions provoked by the uneasy correlation between individual inclination and societal pressure.[23] The *comedias* give voice to such anxieties as Cervantes positions centre-stage in self-consciously provocative texts the conflicted and contradictory subject who is coerced by a wide range of social and political disputes which impinge on his/her place in the world. Designated as 'la poética de la libertad', Cervantes's *comedias* expose the restricted freedom of the individual as a key component of a complex Baroque subjectivity.[24] The *Ocho comedias* bring to the fore individual selfhood as an entity in and of itself within a contestatory context in relation to the power structures of Counter-Reformation Spain. As McKendrick states, in Cervantes's world 'there is always the sense of a definable self to be discovered, cultivated and adhered to in the face of the world's pressures'.[25] The playwright's dramatization of individual, national, and artistic selfhoods formulate a dissident aesthetic which persistently scrutinize—and subvert—the systems and authorities of his own day, and the place of the Spanish subject within these.

The *Ocho comedias* are as unorthodox in form as they are in the poetics and perspectives they disseminate. The eight plays are not easily classified and do not fit neatly into the categories conventionally ascribed to Golden-Age theatre. According to Canavaggio, some of the typical *comedia nueva* characteristics intrude into Cervantes's play texts.[26] These are largely structural and represent minor allowances for an audience well-tuned to Lopean principles. The system of values and ideals present in Lope's stage is conspicuously absent in the Cervantine *comedia*. Crowd-pleasing concerns—such as notions of honour and monarchy—are not permitted to take centre-stage.[27] When surveyed as a collection, the *comedias* may appear very distinct but they do offer a more cohesive

[21] For example, see Henry, *The Signifying Self* and Rey Hazas, *Poética*…

[22] Mariscal, *Contradictory Subjects*. The complexities of the Baroque epoch require more extensive consideration than the constraints of this chapter allow.

[23] Rosales observes that freedom serves as the very axis of the Cervantine artistic endeavour, p. 33.

[24] Rey Hazas, *Poética*… [25] McKendrick, p. 136. [26] See *Cervantès dramaturge*.

[27] According to Arboleda, Cervantes rejects the manipulation and use of the theatre as a propaganda vehicle for ideas and myths such as love, honour, and the monarchy. Alternatively, the dramatist insists on artistic integrity and rigour (p. 84).

aesthetic than scholarship has often allowed.[28] For instance, the plays harness various techniques which collectively underline Cervantes's preoccupation with dramatic writing as well as his acute understanding of the dynamic between stage and audience and the mediations which implicate reception of the spectacle.

Existing criticism on the *Ocho comedias* mostly takes the form of small and diverse individual studies (journal articles, conference proceedings, etc.), which have evoked a wide-range of responses.[29] Unfortunately, such a disparate approach has generally deterred comparative and/or holistic approaches that seek to value the plays as a body of work. It is, however, entirely possible to identify commonalities in the *comedias* that permit a coherent approach as well as a much more robust investigation of what Cervantes's theatre *does*. Thus, the remainder of this chapter offers a brief analysis of particular aspect(s) of each play but connects the *comedias* in three groups: the *comedias* that appear to emulate (and subsequently deconstruct) Lope; the plays that deal overtly with captivity/freedom; and the dramas that dialogue with Cervantes's conception of dramatic art and the medium of the stage itself.[30] While these 'categories' persistently overlap, they provide a systematic framework within which the qualities of Cervantes's alternative theatrical aesthetic may be observed.

La entretenida; El laberinto de amor; La casa de los celos y las selvas de Ardenia

Three of Cervantes's *comedias* are considered to be more directly influenced by Lope de Vega's theatrical model: *La entretenida*; *El laberinto de amor*; and *La casa de los celos y las selvas de Ardenia*. Whilst it is important to acknowledge the 'anti-Lope' aspects inherent within these *comedias*, a move beyond analysis of the texts as a frustrated reaction to the *comedia nueva's* dramatic monopoly provides scope for a more composite interpretation. This is particularly significant with regards to *La entretenida*, a play which is typically examined as a parody of Lope's *capa y espada* formula [cape and sword play].[31] The drama is set within an aristocratic household in Madrid and distorts many of the elements familiar to a Golden Age audience: the master/servant relationship; convoluted love plots; disguise and mistaken identity, etcetera. Interestingly, the play calls express attention to the fact that it closes without marriage—a well-worn device in the *corral*. Despite the seemingly frivolous subject matter—love twists and triangles—the drama

[28] Friedman's monograph, *The Unifying Concept*, makes a strong case for a coherent dramatic aesthetic.

[29] It is, therefore, not feasible to accommodate all of these critical responses within this chapter.

[30] Examination of the plays in this chapter is driven primarily by interest in issues of identity, selfhood, and freedom, concerns identified by the author as fundamental to an understanding of Cervantes's drama.

[31] For example, see Zimic, 'Cervantes frente…' and López Alfonso.

bristles with dark undertones and insinuates challenging (and even oppressive) struggles, which confront the individual.

Cervantes's nonconventional representation of women in *La entretenida* generates much of the drama's tension and has been identified as one of the threads that threaten the play's funny business.[32] The drama is dominated by noblemen who dictate the lives of their households, daughters, and would-be wives. The three female protagonists—Marcela Osorio, Marcela Almendárez, and Cristina—are bound by the diktat articulated by Ocaña in Act I: 'La mujer ha de ser buena, / y parercerlo, que es más' ['A woman must be good and, furthermore, be seen to be good'].[33] To varying degrees, however, all three women disrupt expectations placed upon them and negotiate their selfhoods in ways that oppose the status quo. This is most evident within the character of Marcela Osorio, a noblewoman promised in marriage to Don Antonio. Marcela is confined to a monastery by her father, Don Pedro, while he negotiates a marriage contract and dowry and her character remains absent from the stage for the duration of the play. Don Pedro's speech in Act III, in which he likens his daughter to an 'armiño aprisionado' ['imprisoned ermine'], paints a bleak picture of female containment and the subjugation of women to patriarchal codes.[34] Marcela has little value beyond her usefulness as an object of exchange in a business which promotes the commodification of the female. Nonetheless, Marcela will not tolerate physical nor textual incarceration and contracts a legal document with Don Ambrosio, the man whom she loves. Marcela Osorio, therefore, exercises male prerogatives and interferes compellingly in the public sphere. As is the case with many Cervantine heroines, she deploys her voice (albeit in a paradoxical fashion) in a highly skilful and strategic fashion. Marcela produces a text and becomes the author of her own life in a scene which clearly foregrounds the power and potential of the written word. Her successful attempt to circumvent the desires of others highlights inner resolve and free will as fatal challenges to the mechanisms of control, which demand submission.

The subversion of social standards and the autonomy of the individual are well expressed in the *entremés* in Act III. Cervantes uses the play within the play to disrupt the Lopean formula and carve a distinctly Cervantine space in which his own dramatic voice and values are firmly highlighted. Throughout *La entretenida*, principles of hierarchy are severely undercut by the working class who assume leading roles and forge their own plots. The servants articulate two thirds of the drama's lines and upstage their masters at every turn. Cervantes grants his characters ample room to express the hardships they suffer and the exploitation they endure at the hands of the Almendárez family. When the servants elect to stage a play in Act III as a means of escaping the daily grind of life, they cast their employers in the role of audience. The servants quite literally upstage their masters as they pull the nobility into an intricate fiction from which they cannot extract themselves.

[32] On this topic, see Mariscal, 'Woman and Other Metaphors'. [33] I. 81–2. [34] III. 2790.

Significantly, within the interlude, the working class play themselves. They re-represent their roles as servants and employ staged dialogues in order to voice their displeasure and articulate the hypocrisies of a repressive system that demands submission on the basis of rank. The interlude, therefore, becomes a powerful vehicle that allows temporary insubordination and acts as a mask behind which unsettling truths may be securely revealed. The servants emerge as clever, adroit individuals with feelings, desires, and an ingenuity their noble counterparts do not possess. The play within the play, thus, functions as an apparatus that permits self-expression and provides scope for competing and seditious discourses and practices. As such, the *entremés* not only encapsulates the nonconformist attitude of the Cervantine stage but also its liberating potential.

El laberinto de amor, which precedes *La entretenida* in Cervantes's published collection, is often regarded as Cervantes's emulation of the conventional *capa y espada* model. The play has been judged harshly on account of its labyrinthine plot, despite the fact that its very title evokes the confusion that the spectator will encounter. The drama follows three young women, Rosamira, Julia, and Porcia, who are determined to wield control over their restrictive circumstances and marry the men of their choice. Through displays of bravery and rebellion, the women fabricate and negotiate a tangled web of deception and transformation to usurp male authority and secure their desires. Like Marcela Osorio, the female protagonists navigate societal demands by means of inventive strategies. Critical studies of *El laberinto* have established that the women resourcefully manipulate speech and roleplay in their bid for a degree of autonomy, prompting evaluation of Cervantes's treatment of 'freer' female expression within the constraints of Counter-Reformation Spain.[35]

Cervantes uses the labyrinth motif to convey usefully the confusing realities of contemporary life. Drawing on Ovid's account of the Cretan labyrinth, Cervantes exploits the classical source to create a maze through which his characters journey on a voyage of self-discovery. The play highlights the struggle of the women to assert themselves as individuals insofar as they are subject to authoritarian values, which dictate their repressive position within society. Cervantes's heroines embark on a quest to overturn the decisions imposed upon them within a female-authored drama that ventriloquizes female objectives whilst casting their unwitting male counterparts as co-players. Similar to *La entretenida*, it is the marginal subject who paradoxically assumes a more central role as the women undertake the influential position of creators and artists.

The opening of the play sees Rosamira skilfully manipulating her father's insecurities regarding familial honour and, thus, orchestrate her own incarceration; an initiative that avoids a loveless marriage and secures her place at the centre of the metaphorical labyrinth from which she can dictate how the drama unfolds. Once again we encounter a competent heroine infringing on the male space and displaying an innate sense of self. Cervantes imbues his female lead with the power to rewrite her own future. This is evident also in Julia's pursuit of Manfredo. Her clever roleplay as the student Camilo sees her relaying Julia's feelings for Manfredo whilst engineering the nobleman's response.

[35] For further exploration of these strategies, see Taddeo and Anderson.

Julia's wily refashioning of self inevitably threatens male definitions of female behaviour and identity. Both Julia and Rosamira's schemes not only exemplify a supreme level of control but also demonstrate the limitations of society's power over the internal. A strong sense of self and inner freedom exhibits the potential to undermine and destabilize restrictions, which undoubtedly wields wider implications for social conditioning.

At the end of the play, the women procure praise and admiration from the men they have duped and ensure their love matches. Like *La entretenida*'s Marcela, they have not refused to enact their place in society but have insisted forcefully, via a host of metadramatic strategies, how this role should be fulfilled. The spectator is well aware that the heroines' unorthodox conduct has been propelled by the stringent rein on their freedom. *El laberinto de amor* has often drawn comparisons with Lope as a result of its seemingly contrived closure of multiple marriages—a device shunned by *La entretenida* and condemned by *Pedro de Urdemalas*. Nevertheless, the use of the method is striking precisely because Cervantes allows his heroines to write their own ending to the story. Furthermore, the dénouement cannot entirely expunge—nor contain—the heroines' radical and nonconformist behaviour. Castillo comments that many of the female characters in Cervantes's drama 'challenge established moral and social codes, and yet are not punished for their transgressions'; an observation which places *El laberinto* at odds with the *comedia nueva*.[36]

As deviant, marginal creators, Rosamira, Porcia, and Julia are not unlike Cervantes himself, who writes theatre on the fringe of acceptable dramatic conventions and attempts to destabilize Lope's theatrical methodology. The women's struggle to express themselves is not dissimilar to Cervantes's efforts to locate his peripheral voice more prominently via the *Ocho comedias*. If *El laberinto de amor* and the success of the female protagonists teach us anything, it is that such a voice demands our critical gaze.

La casa de los celos y las selvas de Ardenia does not immediately strike the reader/spectator as a dialogical work that contends with leading dramatic models. However, Trambaioli's 2004 work has competently presented Cervantes's play as a parody of some of Lope's earlier theatrical writings, all of which are heavily influenced by Ariosto and chivalric material.[37] *La casa de los celos* is complicated, highly complex, and at times the drama borders on bewildering. Certainly it is Cervantes's least stage-able *comedia* and to date it has not been performed. *La casa* has generated meagre debate; those studies that do exist tend to promote issues around which there is little consensus. Critical argument has attempted to locate the play's unifying themes and shed some light on its apparent lack of cohesion, as indicated by the incompatible environments inscribed in the drama's title.[38]

La casa de los celos adapts episodes from chivalric material and maintains a complex intertextual relationship with its Italian predecessors (Boiardo's *Orlando innamorato* and Ariosto's *Orlando furioso*). The main plot charts the quest of two of Charlemagne's paladins—Reinaldos and Roldán—for the love of Angélica. The subplot mirrors these

[36] Castillo, David R., p. 117. [37] Trambaioli, p. 411. [38] Ruiz Pérez, p. 666.

amorous attempts in the form of a shepherdess, Clori, who is pursued by two shepherds. The plot is further complicated by the appearance of allegorical figures as well as Bernardo del Carpio and Marfisa, who arrive in the forest of Ardenia in search of adventure. Significantly, the drama's literary self-consciousness constructs a play that is defined entirely by literature. As such, the reader / spectator might anticipate that there is an acute absence of reality or events with which they can relate. Nonetheless, the play persistently denies its own artifice by calling attention to the apparatus that informs it. Throughout *La casa*, fiction is dismantled by illusion-breaking techniques. The puncturing of fantasy generates a self-reflexive drama that will have particular effects for a Golden Age dramatic audience accustomed to the illusion-oriented spectacle engendered by the *corral*.

One of the most interesting elements of Cervantes's *comedia* is Malgesí, a character responsible for much of the plot's magical happenings. The magician is the voice of reason and discernment among paladins who jump to conclusions and act on the basis of ill-constructed notions. Malgesí deduces the often perverse motivations of others and interferes in the plot to warn the onstage characters of duplicitous devices that masquerade as reality. The enchanter performs the role of 'truth teller' as he deconstructs the fraudulent operations of Angélica and Galalón. The paladins, however, remain undeterred by his cautions and appear to surrender willingly to the mechanisms deployed by those who seek to manipulate them.

Malgesí provides the means through which the spectator is prompted to exercise a level of discernment. He promotes conscientious use of the magic arts and discourages the audience against receiving the artifice unproblematically. The character is, therefore, a vehicle that facilitates astute perception of the mechanisms of dramatic fashioning. *La casa de los celos* operates beyond the bounds of aesthetic issues. Bernardo del Carpio, an epic hero, suffers a crisis of identity that brings into play ontological concerns and a warning that the spectator must engage responsibly with the transmission of sociocultural and political messages. The final scene of *La casa*, in which an angel foretells the tragic fate of the protagonists, compounds the realities of Spain's aggressive imperial policies and its ever-weakened condition. As a whole, and despite its flaws and incongruities, *La casa de los celos* confronts its audience quite forcefully and emphasizes the Cervantine stage as a theatre that does not permit complacency. The disintegration of illusion may act as a 'freeing' mechanism that desensitizes an audience away from propaganda disseminated by the public stage.

La entretenida, *El laberinto*, and *La casa de los celos* operate along lines which negotiate and envision many of the social antagonisms within early modern Spanish culture. Fuller exploration reveals concerns ranging from individualism and social conflict to intertextual and meta-theatrical anxieties. Examination of the three *comedias* portrays Cervantine theatre as a stage that refuses to submit to dramatic—or social—dictates. In each *comedia*, the playwright creates artists who endorse responsible use of illusion and, therefore, an ethically charged stage. Cervantes's *comedias* evidently demand a heightened level of scrutiny, a mandate which the more apathetic seventeenth-century Spanish spectator may have refused, or been unable, to acknowledge.

La gran sultana Doña Catalina de Oviedo; El gallardo español; Los baños de Argel

La gran sultana Doña Catalina de Oviedo, *El gallardo español*, and *Los baños de Argel* are commonly considered Cervantes's *comedias de cautivos* [captivity plays]. As explained in Chapter 4, Cervantes's North African imprisonment exerted a tremendous impact on his literary output. The *comedias de cautivos* deal with the traumatic situation of the captive and paint a dark picture of the bleak reality facing those unfortunate enough to languish in prison and encounter oppressive situations far from their homeland. Each of the plays dramatizes the struggle between captive and captor and the issue of confinement is represented in many different forms. Although the plays occur outside of Spain (Constantinople, Oran, and Algiers, respectively), each *comedia de cautivos* has at heart a preoccupation with the problems engaging the Spanish nation-state.[39]

La gran sultana's backdrop is an opulent Constantinople. The play features another spirited heroine—the play's namesake—who was taken captive as a child and has been hidden away by servants of the Gran Turco [Great Turk], unbeknownst to their leader. The title of the *comedia* encapsulates the drama's central dilemma; the Turco desires Catalina and wishes to marry her, but the Spanish woman refuses to renege her Catholic religion and Spanish identity. Thus, Doña Catalina is trapped between the powerful jurisdiction of the Ottoman Empire and her own value system. Despite the *comedia*'s many ludic elements, darker impulses lurk beneath the outwardly benign surface text.

The play has attracted critical interest on account of its portrayal of an inclusive Ottoman Empire that seemingly promotes ideals of tolerance and an acceptance of 'otherness'.[40] This perception of liberal values has secured the play's popularity in more recent times and Cervantes's *comedia* has been adapted successfully for the stage.[41] It may be, however, that notions of cultural accommodation and inclusivity have more in common with our own context than an early modern Spanish world. Certainly, Pedraza Jiménez warns against anachronistic evaluation that dislocates Cervantes from his own time and place.[42]

Following this assessment, there is strong evidence to suggest that *La gran sultana* does not propagate values of harmony, lenience, or 'genuine love among people'.[43] The play features a scene in which Madrigal, a Spanish captive, breaks into a Jewish household and, in a display of malignant behaviour, throws bacon into the stew pot. The opening of Act II demonstrates how the Turkish leadership deals with those to whom it is opposed. Such treatment involves ridicule, aggression, and an inept ruler who is

[39] See Fuchs. [40] Fuchs, p. 86.

[41] *La gran sultana* was staged by the *Compañía Nacional de Teatro Clásico* [National Classical Theatre Company] in 1992. It was also staged in Istanbul in 2010.

[42] Pedraza Jiménez, pp. 28–9. [43] Zimic, *El teatro* . . . , pp. 183–4.

capricious and ineffectual. Most significantly, the play does not involve the 'inclusion' of Doña Catalina, but rather her exploitation.

From the outset, Catalina is described in terms that emphasize her objectification by others. She resists the perceptions of others and makes firm assertions about her own identity throughout the play: 'Advierte que soy cristiana,/y que lo he de ser contino' ['I'm telling you that I am a Christian, and I will continue to be so'].[44] Catalina's defiant stance coupled with her insistence on preserving her Spanish dress and name collectively projects a strong sense of ideal Catholic selfhood. Nonetheless, Catalina's forceful declarations of her identity are eclipsed by the Turk's disinterest in her person and individuality. Throughout the play, the Turco attaches utmost value to her appearance and the possession of her body rather than the inclinations of her soul. In an environment that obsesses with the external and in which she is contained, Catalina's counter-discourse is futile. Thus, the signifiers that underpin Spanish national selfhood are challenged and revealed as insecure. *La gran sultana* portrays the individual as a displaced entity in an environment in which self-determination is redundant.

Cervantes's Constantinople, therefore, has much in common with an early modern Spanish world accustomed to the clash between personal inclination and prevailing standards.

The play concludes with Madrigal preparing to leave Constantinople with plans to stage Catalina's (hi)story in the Madrid *corral*. The metadramatic strategy disperses the distance between Spain and Turkey and encourages the offstage spectator to consider carefully the play that they have just watched. *La gran sultana's* final scene resists firm closure and leaves the audience with more questions than answers as the birth of the Sultan and Catalina's child is proclaimed. While the Sultan's servants celebrate the news, the spectator is left to ponder the allegiance of the new heir and the fate of Catalina. The ending is, therefore, wholly unstable and the play finishes as it begins—Catalina de Oviedo is captive within the Ottoman Empire. In this case, marriage and birth do not provide the obligatory happy ending for the *corral* audience. Rather, the conclusion introduces a hybrid heir and promotes a disjointed heterogeneous family unit, which serves to unsettle Spanish obsessions with *limpieza de sangre*. The nonresolution, therefore, destabilizes ideas of cultural essentialism and calls into question rigid sociocultural practices.[45] *La gran sultana* projects onto Muslim Turkey the anxieties experienced by the Spanish Counter-Reformational subject. Cervantes's strategy requires and compels active participation and aims to equip the spectator to deal more astutely with the contradictions that inform their world.[46]

El gallardo español is not dissimilar to *La casa de los celos* insofar as it remains one of the least studied of Cervantes's plays. It is the only *comedia* to dramatize an historical event—the defence of Oran during the Ottoman-Hapsburg struggle for control of the Mediterranean in 1563. Cervantes's negotiation of history makes difficult the separation

[44] II. 1318–19. [45] Castillo, Moisés, p. 220.

[46] Cervantes employs a similar strategy in the exemplary novel, *La española inglesa*, in which his portrayal of England functions as a smokescreen for a critique of Spain.

of truth and fiction, as inferred by the play's closing lines: 'que llega el tiempo / de dar fin a esta comedia,/cuyo principal intento/ha sido mezclar verdades/con fabulosos intentos' ['The time has come to bring an end to this play, which has intended to mix truth with imaginary matters'].[47] In fact, the line between illusion and reality is persistently blurred in *El gallardo español* and the audience encounters a spectacle that is fluid and ambiguous.

Much of the play's insecurity is driven by the *comedia's* central character, Don Fernando de Saavedra—the gallant Spaniard. The soldier occupies a privileged position within the hierarchical power structures of Counter-Reformation Spain. He evinces signs of identity—name, reputation, status, rank—which constitute the signifiers of the normative Spanish subject. Yet in Oran, a space where the Castilian subject exercises more limited authority, Don Fernando suffers a crisis of identity. The drama's paradoxical portrayal of its protagonist has incited interest that tends to polarize the character as deserter or hero.[48] Incongruous character analyses stem from the fact that Fernando is a renowned soldier whose reputation precedes him but does not quite know 'who he is', preferring to concoct various identities. Disguise and roleplay operate as the linchpins of the *comedia*. Fernando's motivations and conduct remain shrouded in doubt, compelling the audience to engage in a type of guessing game, which generates active participation with the fluctuating perspectives at play.

In Act I, Don Fernando is challenged to a fight by the Moor, Alimuzel, and immediately decides to abandon his duty to meet the request, despite his superior's ominous reminder that Fernando belongs, above all, to the king. It is at this juncture that the soldier is conflicted between personal desire and the interests of the monarch. His sense of individuality and being are, therefore, heavily mediated by ideals imposed upon him by the state. Fernando is not so much a dynamic warrior as he is a nonentity incapable of expressing himself.

In a seemingly baffling mode of behaviour, the soldier engineers his enslavement by the Turks. In the Moorish camp he creates an alternate identity and declares that he is merely one of Don Fernando's fellow soldiers. Fernando holds court impressively, constructing a back story and engaging his audience articulately. Like many other Cervantine creations, including *El laberinto's* Julia, Don Fernando assumes an alternative guise which permits a previously prohibited freedom and linguistic agency. Unshackled by demands and decrees, it is ironically within the captive space that the soldier can both assemble and restore a sense of selfhood.

Fernando's conduct becomes increasingly enigmatic, and at times it appears that the soldier has decided to shift his allegiance to the enemy. Yet at the close of the play and at the battle's most critical point, Don Fernando rejoins the ranks of the Christian forces and declares forcefully his identity: 'soy Cristiano, y quiero / mostrate que soy cristiano' ['I am a Christian, and I will show you that I am a Christian'].[49] He may now have become the gallant Spaniard but his assertion cannot eradicate the fact that the soldier's negotiation and restoration of identity has roots in subversive activity. Cervantes's

[47] III. 3130–4. [48] Canavaggio, p. 393; Hughes, p. 68. [49] III. 2778–81.

problematic characterization of his protagonist makes clear that identity is not necessarily fixed, homogeneous, or static. Rather, it is a more volatile force that may be contested. If Cervantes's *comedia* can be said to function along ideological parameters, *El gallardo* raises questions about how Spaniards might see themselves and the discourses which inform the 'absolute' values of Counter-Reformation Spain. As with *La gran sultana*, signifiers of identity (self and collective) are rendered much less certain. Both Doña Catalina and Don Fernando (individuals who have access to advantages within the Castilian state) find themselves at odds with governing standards and their processes of self-analysis (and negation) are convoluted and controversial.

El gallardo español is replete with complex issues beyond those mentioned above (misrepresentation of history, racial essentialism, etc.) but the *comedia* strongly evidences Cervantes's perception of early modern Spanish subjectivity as splintered and unstable. The unmasking of the tensions that wage conflict within the dominant subject allow for examination of so-called 'centres of power'. As such, Cervantes's stage counteracts immutable 'truths' by imbuing them with a degree of fallibility and ultimately calling into question myths peddled by the early modern Spanish nation-state.

Los baños de Argel offers a severe depiction of captives suffering imprisonment in Algiers and is undoubtedly the darkest of the *comedias de cautivos*. The plot begins with the abduction of Spanish Christians and follows various couples and their complicated amorous relationships in Algiers. At the close of the drama, the Spanish captives orchestrate their escape accompanied by the realization that the hostile North African environment remains a cruel reality for many.

Los baños shares plotlines with both the interpolated Captive's Tale in *Don Quixote* and Cervantes's earlier four-act *El trato de Argel*; works which have dominated critical attention. The *comedia* portrays Muslim captors as brutal and barbarous, particularly in their demonization of a young boy who refuses to convert to Islam and is eventually murdered for his resistance. Despite the fact that some of the Spanish captives espouse an idealized perception of their homeland, Cervantes does not hesitate to convey their own prejudices. The sexton, in particular, expresses a malicious brand of anti-Semitism. The most striking aspect of the play occurs in Act III, which sees the captives stage an interlude in order to celebrate the Easter festival. The scene is significant for two particular elements: the meta-play facilitates a more nuanced understanding of the Cervantine dramatic aesthetic and furthers the playwright's vision of a turbulent Spain.

The captives staging of the interlude provides light relief from the sinister episodes that frame it. Throughout the play, the captive is subjected to harsh beatings, verbal abuse, and extreme denigration. Interestingly, the Spaniards choose to stage one of Lope de Rueda's interludes. The choice of material not only reflects Cervantes's homage to his predecessor, but also relocates the offstage spectator to a time when theatre was less commercial. The interlude, then, expresses Cervantes's ongoing concern with the new theatre of the 1600s, as Cervantes ingeniously displaces Lope de Vega with Lope de Rueda.[50] The scene is highly meta-theatrical in form and serves to dismantle provocatively the illusion

[50] Henry, 'Playing Lope…', pp. 116–18.

created by the stage. As the captives set up their act with references to scripts, costumes, actors, and genre, the mechanics of representation and production are played out and the artificiality of the spectacle is reinforced. Once again, we see Cervantes's preoccupation with theatre that does not espouse the *comedia nueva's* 'stage as mirror' mantra, but rather exposes the manipulations of the dramatic act. The actors make reference to the '*comedia cautiva*', which plays on the very genre that Cervantes himself created. The play within the play prioritizes word over action and, therefore, limits the external sources that may act upon it. Thus, as with *La entretenida*, a Cervantine theatre space is created that remains far removed from the impositions of contemporary dramatic practice.

The interlude represents a distinctly Spanish space as the captives stage a Rueda play in order to celebrate their heritage. The Spaniard assumes centre-stage and is momentarily permitted a degree of freedom in the midst of otherwise restrictive conditions. This is especially evident in the character of Tristán, the sexton, who persistently interrupts proceedings. He utilizes the opportunity to ridicule his captor, Cauralí, a man well known for his merciless behaviour. Tristán remains fully in control of the situation and acts out the role of buffoon whilst simultaneously challenging his oppressor and expressing freely his anguish. As in *La entretenida*, the meta-play allows for postponement of hierarchical rank and mounts a challenge to existing authority. Tristán's strategy is a covert game that identifies the Cervantine stage as one which promotes alternative perspectives. It does not escape our notice, however, that the sexton is complicit in racial prejudice. He is both the recipient and the perpetrator of malevolent action. *Los baños* paints a desolate picture of a society trapped in a vicious circle in which repression breeds repression. Within the parameters of this play, restriction is not a locus in which social or moral responsibility may thrive.

Interestingly, the actors choose to stage a pastoral colloquy. The invocation of bucolic imagery could not contrast more starkly with the grim prison environment. The colloquy harnesses Christian tropes and imagery to celebrate the captives' Christianity and the Counter-Reformational discourses that underpin it. However, the dialogue has no bearing on reality and promotes an empty rhetoric that might draw the spectator into a false sense of security. The *entremés* is brought to a premature end by the news that a Spanish armada has been sighted. Nonetheless, the sighting turns out to be a hoax when it transpires that the sun and clouds created silhouettes that formulated the perception of an armada. The instability of the vision and the fact that the sun (Imperial imagery) constructs the mirage brutally dismantles any impending Spanish glory. The play within the play could not end on a darker note: the captives remain incarcerated and the costly mistake of investing in illusion is accentuated in the harshest of ways. *Los baños de Argel*, therefore, issues stark warnings for an audience susceptible to misrepresentation and encourages discriminating scrutiny of wider concerns at stake.

The *comedias de cautivos* dialogue compellingly with the decline of early modern Spain and the conflicts engaging the seventeenth-century Spanish subject. *El gallardo español*, *La gran sultana*, and *Los baños de Argel* project a distinctly pessimistic picture

and are much more brutal than scholarship has previously allowed.[51] The *comedias*, however, employ a number of strategies (often meta-dramatic) that provoke active scrutiny and incite the audience to engage more perceptively with their world. Cervantes, therefore, develops his drama as a 'form of liberation rather than a tool of repression'.[52] Each *comedia* grants a voice to the oppressed subject, and Cervantes utilizes this dissident repositioning of the peripheral to destabilize the prevailing world view and the messages proliferated by the *corral*. Viewed from this perspective, Cervantes's theatre proffers a renewing vision, as indicated by Alcalá Galán.[53] His alternative stage promises not to exploit but to unfetter the spectator from the grave pitfall of critical insensitivity.

El rufián dichoso; Pedro de Urdemalas

El rufián dichoso and *Pedro de Urdemalas* have not conventionally been connected by scholarship. The former is considered a *comedia de santos* [saint's play] whilst *Pedro* is often perceived as a pseudo-picaresque drama. Nevertheless, both plays feature wily protagonists who live on the social margins and utilize roleplay as a means to effect change. In fact, Cervantes's characters may be identified as a type of *pícaro* who view life as a series of performances.[54] For Lugo (*El rufián*) and Pedro, life becomes a stage on which they produce illusions for their onstage audiences. However, the artists exploit the theatre in a dissimilar fashion. *El rufián dichoso* and *Pedro de Urdemalas* are, therefore, highly self-conscious *comedias* that underscore Cervantes's perception of dramatic art, with much to say about the mediations of the stage itself.

El rufián dichoso ostensibly takes the form of a *comedia de santos*; a Cervantine anomaly which has attracted considerable attention. The play features a rogue whose dissolute lifestyle is well documented in the opening Act. The delinquent experiences a religious conversion and decides to commit his life to God, a transformation played out during the remainder of the play. Criticism generally upholds that the *volte-face* is genuine and that Lugo authentically converts from sinner to saint. There are a few dissenting voices, however, which argue that the spiritual experience is merely an illusion fabricated by Cervantes's protagonist.[55] The drama sustains enough evidence to corroborate such an opinion, not least in its engagement with the picaresque genre, which signposts the non-redemption of the protagonist.[56]

Lugo's antisocial conduct can be likened to the archetypal *pícaro*, whose behaviour stems from the stigma of his destitute background. Lugo is motivated to escape his past

[51] Rey Hazas, for example, contends that Cervantes paints a positive picture of the Spaniard in the captivity plays ('Las comedias de cautivos…', p. 36).

[52] Spadaccini, p. 66. [53] Alcalá Galán, p. 269. See also Henry, *The Signifying Self*, p. 63.

[54] Cervantes's relationship with the picaresque is not, however, uncontentious. For further exploration of this uneasy correlation, see Blanco Aguinaga and Dunn.

[55] Stapp, p. 431; Childers, p. 251. [56] Henry, *The Signifying Self*, pp. 129–39.

and forge an identity that ensures he does not live under the shadow of his employer and his father. The rogue is not driven by social or economic mobility but by desire for fame. In other words, he determines that his personal worth and value should be recognized by others.[57] The audience, therefore, encounters another Cervantine creation suffering a crisis of identity and an acute sense of displacement.

The crux of the play occurs toward the end of Act I when Lugo participates in a card game and vows to become a religious man if he wins. Cervantes's protagonist, however, triumphs by cheating and follows through with his promise independently. Questions of free will and the freedom of the individual pervade the scene, issues which reached fever pitch during the Catholic Counter-Reformation. For Lugo, the card game is an extension of his autonomy and signifies his ability to fashion himself however he chooses. He is not prepared to indulge the notion of life as a gamble but prefers to manoeuvre his own destiny.

Lugo exchanges social disorder for a role that appears honourable and which will bring him deference. As an actor, the trickster has access to tools of the trade—such as skilful communication—which facilitate a convincing performance.[58] Lugo utilizes a successful linguistic strategy, which replaces his delinquency with rhetoric that constructs religious conviction. In his new abode—Mexico—Lugo adopts the name of Cruz, a name laden with religious overtones. It is in Act II that his duplicitous conversion is especially highlighted. Cruz exchanges his good works for the sins of Doña Ana to ensure her entry into Heaven—a transaction which earns him much recognition. Notwithstanding the fact that the audience has not witnessed any such good deeds, Cruz's speech at the time of absolution deploys false modesty and humility as a pretext for self-promotion.[59] In full, the scene demonstrates how language ably creates and exploits perspective. Crucially, it is the only episode in which Cervantes depicts his protagonist's sacred self. Rhetoric and reality are at odds as Cruz abuses modes of communication and his position of religious authority. The trickster's display of religion merely cloaks a self-centred individual who orchestrates controlled hoaxes in order to attain power and control.

The conversation between Comedia and Curiosidad at the beginning of Act II contributes to the impression of Lugo's metamorphosis by communicating to the audience the events that have occurred between Acts I and II. The dialogue fills a temporal space and underscores the fact that much of *El rufián*'s action is created by what is said. Cervantes deploys this device throughout his *comedia* in order to highlight the capacity of the stage to wield control over audience response and represent illusion as though it constituted something credible.

Cervantes's ruffian functions as a meta-theatrical device through which the apparatus of the stage is laid bare. Theatre is revealed as a powerful and highly artificial structure, which can toy with realities and manipulate strategies (in this case, language) to mislead and deceive. The *comedia* deconstructs theatre as we witness the processes with which

[57] Zimic, 'Sobre el arte dramático…', p. 88.
[58] Childers, p. 254. Henry, 'Cervantine Theater…', p. 108.
[59] II. 2115–39.

Lugo exploits a counterfeit character. The play's subject is, of course, highly sensitive and a degree of ambivalence pervades *El rufián dichoso*. Nevertheless, Cervantes's *comedia de santos* suggests that fraudulent realities demand radical questioning and inquiry.

In his last play published in the collection, *Pedro de Urdemalas*, Cervantes fashions a comic and self-conscious drama that has received critical approval and found success on the contemporary stage.[60] Cervantes took inspiration from Spanish folklore in his interpretation of the stock picaresque figure, Pedro de Urdemalas. Cervantes's protagonist is both a sharp-witted trickster who easily outmanoeuvres others and a seductive, gallant character who utilizes his capabilities for the benefit of others. The play is set in a rural environment, which does little to mask the bitter undertones that expose weak political and legislative structures as well as social unease and crisis. At times, *Pedro de Urdemalas* exudes a biting tone that invites the audience to laugh at—and question—the systems which govern their world.

Cervantes's ingenious protagonist, Pedro, is the *comedia*'s masterpiece. He is a consummate role-player and a skilful protean figure who adapts rapidly to the circumstances in which he finds and places himself. Cervantes's play is driven by complex meta-theatrical devices, which position Pedro as author and dramatist.[61] Although the world is quite literally his stage, Pedro remains a 'son of his works . . . a free and an independent person'.[62] In fact, Pedro is wholly unaffected by authority or those who would try to impose upon him his place in the world. He is the antithesis of countless Golden Age theatrical characters who fret over their relationship with prevailing standards and attempt to modify it. McKendrick aptly labels Pedro the 'ultimate self-fashioner . . . free and in control of himself and his life'.[63] Cervantes's Proteus, therefore, only superficially embodies mobility and change. Whilst the play's secondary characters find themselves at odds with their environment, Pedro projects a distinct lack of conflict and antagonism.

The play derives its dramatic power from Pedro's radical and nonconformist outlook and perception of freedom.[64] His beliefs are anchored in an unorthodox background, which facilitated Pedro's ability to fashion himself self-consciously into the person of his own choice. He embodies freedom as a way of life and comes to the rescue of those who are denied the right to exercise free will. For instance, the benevolent trickster intervenes in the lives of two women, Belica and Clemencia, in order to facilitate their personal goals and resist the impositions of others. Pedro, therefore, stands in sharp contrast to conventional patriarchal structures and diktats.

The most striking feature of Cervantes's chameleon protagonist is his heightened appreciation of his art. Pedro is fully aware that his roles equate to illusory guises, which he adopts for a moment in time. Throughout the play, Pedro remains detached from fantasy and is never in danger of being deceived. His ability to maintain distance from his performances not only displays a confident individuality but also reveals an astute

[60] The play has been staged in Spain on various occasions. The Royal Shakespeare Company presented an English verse translation in 2004 under the title of *Peter, the Great Pretender*.

[61] See Zimic, 'El gran teatro . . .' for consideration of the *comedia's* metadramatic dimension.

[62] Rey Hazas, *Poética . . .*, p. 305. [63] McKendrick, p. 149. [64] See Arias Careaga, p. 43.

understanding of the stage as an ephemeral and transitory structure. Unlike *El rufián*'s Lugo, Pedro does not exploit the stage indefinitely nor wilfully orchestrate highly dangerous hoaxes.

It is entirely appropriate that at the last Pedro becomes a professional actor and, therefore, finds a way to sustain permanently his metamorphoses. He is an unconventionally stable protagonist cognizant of his role as a performer and within society itself. Cervantes, therefore, responds to the mutable world of the Baroque and allows the subject—and his perverse notions of freedom—to reign supreme. Pedro not only challenges the environment of appearances and external conformity in which he lives but embodies a very significant model of theatre. His dramatic art renders illusion as illusion and highlights the artifice upon which the stage is fabricated. The drama's final lines fire a parting shot at the spectator who would invest in the *comedia* as though it constituted something wholly credible: 'Mañana, en el teatro, se hará una . . . /y verán que no acaba en casamiento,/cosa común y vista cien mil veces' ['Tomorrow a play will be staged in the theatre . . . that doesn't end in marriage as is usual and seen a hundred thousand times before'].[65] *Pedro de Urdemalas* represents Cervantes's greatest challenge to contemporary drama and, in fact, is reminiscent of the Cervantine stage itself: a counter-reaction to established dramatic and ontological 'realities'.

In *El rufián dichoso* and *Pedro de Urdemalas*, Cervantes stages two autonomous individuals who resist the control of external pressures and fashion themselves in accordance to their own predetermined standards. The outworking of such determination evidently results in two very distinct *modus operandi*. Nevertheless, both protagonists harness inner will and strength to withstand and subdue the conventions to which others so readily accede. In line with Cervantes's other *comedias*, *El rufián* and *Pedro* recognize perceptive engagement and free will as antidotes to the oppression experienced by the early modern Spanish subject. As with *La casa de los celos*, the *comedias* observe the aptitude of the stage and dialogue with the antagonism between illusion (*parecer*) and reality (*ser*). The destabilization of the apparatus that generates the artifice is designed to rouse insightful discrimination toward the workings of the stage and the wider contexts in which it operates.

Cervantes's *Ocho comedias* represent a body of work that ought not to be judged by the standards and conventions of the Lopean stage but has profited paradoxically from the dramatist's antagonistic attitude toward contemporary theatrical practice. The playwright's unease with the *comedia nueva* gave birth to a theatre that aimed to transcend existing trends and forge an outlet for an unorthodox artistic vision. Despite the fact that there was little hope of competing with the Lopean model, Cervantes fashioned his stage with resilience and drive without resorting to resentful or vindictive approaches. Rather, the dramatist creatively constructs a highly self-reflexive and challenging drama that communicates his distinct, and dissident, conception of the stage. As a writer committed to plurality of perspective, Cervantes induces the audience to consider actively

[65] III. 3166, 3169–70; Pedro may be referring to the play that the offstage audience have just watched, *Pedro de Urdemalas*, or perhaps to Cervantes's *La entretenida*.

the nuances of his *comedias* and discern their aesthetic concerns, and the implications of these within the broader context. In spite of any perceived 'failure', it is evident that Cervantes understood comprehensively the workings of the stage.[66] His *comedias* demonstrate astute awareness of the producer/consumer dynamic, as well as plot, action, and language, and their symbiotic relationship within the dramatic arena. Above all, Cervantes recognizes the ideological dimension of theatre and his dramatic craft deals expressly with the far-reaching potential of manipulation of such a public forum.

The *comedias*, however, are by no means an iconoclastic art form that ruptures with the classical traditions of the past. Rooted in Horatian aesthetics, the eight plays formulate a stage that both entertains and instructs.[67] The didactic function of the Cervantine stage reveals a bold attempt to create a spectator who will comprehend and appreciate the dramatist's agenda. Such a project may be very ambitious, but it portrays a playwright who retains confidence in his work and is driven by a desire for an audience that shares his vision. Cervantes prioritizes notions of reception and his dramatic strategies reveal a writer very much in tune with the influential relationship between the stage and its public. As outlined by the brief readings of the *comedias* in this chapter, Cervantes often dialogues with sombre and profoundly weighty issues, which are balanced by moments of comic relief, always delivered by a master hand adept at striking the right note between humour, empathy, and pathos. Undoubtedly, Cervantes's drama exhibits a sharp awareness of the travails of the human condition as well as its flaws and foibles. At the heart of the *comedias* lies a deep preoccupation with human nature and its many facets; particularly the tensions that lie within—and without—the individual. Art and life are connected meaningfully in the Cervantine dramatic imagination as the playwright engages his audience compellingly, persistently challenging their view of the world.

The Cervantine stage is resolutely anti-propagandistic in its forceful resistance to the ideological infrastructure of early modern Spain. It is designed to provoke a discerning reaction and, therefore, does place substantial demands on an audience's sensibilities. However, this is a stage rooted in its own time and place and should not be labelled radical by our own standards. Cervantes does not misuse his art in order to promote disregard for societal standards or upheaval of the system. Rather, his drama represents the oppositions and tensions inherent within sociocultural/political practices and constrains the audience to consider judiciously their environment and the messages transmitted by powerful fora. Ultimately, Cervantes's theatre signifies an innovative aesthetic

[66] Cervantes has often been accused of novelizing his writings for the stage. Zimic considers Cervantes's penchant for the novelistic as a contributing factor toward the failure of his dramatic endeavours: 'Sobre la técnica dramática'. It is ironic that critics have denounced the presence of narrative/novelistic strategies in Cervantes's theatre yet have been quick to emphasize the theatricality of his prose; see González.

[67] Henry, *The Signifying Self*, p. 57. This combination of 'delectare et docere' underpins the *Novelas ejemplares*, as the author himself explains in the prologue to the collection. Cervantes, the dramatist, was influenced not only by Horace but also by the poetics and ideas espoused by Plato and Aristotle, amongst others.

written on the margins of mainstream theatre and propelled by a craftsman captivated by the paradoxes of his world and the ability of the dramatic imagination to realize and dialogue powerfully with these.

Works Cited

Alcalá Galán, Mercedes. ' "Dios te dé salud y a mí paciencia": Teoría del teatro en Cervantes'. In *La media semana del jardincito: Cervantes y la reescritura de los códigos*, edited by José María Manuel Morán (Padova: Unipress, 2002), pp. 255–75.

Allen, John J. 'Some aspects of the staging of Cervantes's play'. *Crítica Hispánica* 11 (1989): pp. 7–16.

Anderson, Ellen M. 'Refashioning the Maze: The Interplay of Gender and Rank in Cervantes's *El laberinto de amor*'. *Bulletin of the Comediantes* 46, no. 2 (1994): pp. 165–85.

Arboleda, Carlos Arturo. *Teoría y Formas del metateatro en Cervantes* (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1991).

Arias Careaga, Raquel. '*Pedro de Urdemalas*: Otro ejemplo de libertad Cervantina'. *Annali di Ca' Foscari: Rivista della Facoltà di Lingue e Letterature Straniere dell'Università di Venezia* 31, nos. 1–2 (1992): pp. 43–59.

Blanco Aguinaga, Carlos. 'Cervantes y la picaresca: Notas sobre dos tipos de realismo'. *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica* 11, no. 2 (1957): pp. 313–42.

Buchanan, M. A. 'The works of Cervantes and their dates of composition'. *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada* 32 (1938): pp. 23–39.

Canavaggio, Jean. *Cervantès dramaturge: un théâtre à naître* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1977).

Casalduero, Joaquín. *Sentido y forma del teatro de Cervantes* (Madrid: Aguilar, 1951).

Castillo, David R. *(A)Wry Views: Anamorphosis, Cervantes, and the Early Picaresque* (Indiana: Purdue University Press, 2001).

Castillo, Moisés. 'Ortodoxia Cervantina? Un análisis de *La gran sultana*, *El trato de Argel,* y *Los baños de Argel*'. *Bulletin of the Comediantes* 56, no. 2 (2004): pp. 219–40.

Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de. *Comedias y Entremeses*, edited by Rodolfo Schevill and Adolfo Bonilla (Madrid: Impr. de B. Rodríguez, 1915–22).

Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de. *Poesías Completas, I. Viaje del Parnaso y Adjunta al Parnaso*, edited by Vicente Gaos (Madrid: Castalia, 1973).

Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de. *Teatro Completo*, edited by Florencio Sevilla Arroyo and Antonio Rey Hazas (Barcelona: Planeta, 1987).

Childers, William. ' "Ese Tan Borrado Sobrescrito": The Deconstruction of Lope's Religious Theater in *El retablo de las maravillas* and *El rufián dichoso*'. *Bulletin of the Comediantes* 56, no. 2 (2004): pp. 241–69.

Cotarelo y Valledor, Armando. *El teatro de Cervantes* (Madrid: Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos, 1915).

Cruz, Anne. 'Deceit, Desire, and the Limits of Subversion in Cervantes's Interludes'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 14, no. 2 (1994): pp. 119–36.

Díez Borque, José María. 'La historia del teatro según Cervantes'. In *Cervantes y la puesta en escena de la sociedad de su tiempo*, edited by Catherine Poupeney Hart, Alfredo Hermenegildo, and César Oliva (Murcia: Universidad de Murcia, 1999), pp. 17–53.

Dunn, Peter N. 'Cervantes De/Re-Constructs the Picaresque'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 2, no. 2 (1982): pp. 109–31.

Friedman, Edward. 'An Archetype and its modifications: Cervantes's dramatic theory and practice'. *The American Hispanist* 15 (1978): pp. 9–11.
Friedman, Edward. *The Unifying Concept: Approaches to the Structure of Cervantes's Comedias* (South Carolina: Spanish Literature Publications Company, 1981).
Fuchs, Barbara. *Passing for Spain: Cervantes and the Fictions of Identity* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2003).
González, Aurelio. 'Dramaturgia Barroca en las comedias de Cervantes'. *Olivar* 1, no. 1 (2000): pp. 83–102.
Henry, Melanie. 'Cervantine Theater as Counter-Perspective Aesthetic: Reconsidering *El rufián dichoso*'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 31, no. 2 (2011): pp. 105–24.
Henry, Melanie. 'Playing Lope in Cervantes's *Los baños de Argel*'. In *Artifice and Invention in the Spanish Golden Age*, edited by Terry O'Reilly and Stephen Boyd (Oxford: Legenda, 2014), pp. 116–25.
Henry, Melanie. *The Signifying Self: Cervantine Drama as Counter-Perspective Aesthetic* (London: MHRA, 2013).
Hughes, Gethin. 'El gallardo español: A Case of Misplaced Honour'. Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America 13, no. 1 (1993): pp. 65–75.
Johnson, Carroll B. 'El arte viejo de hacer teatro: Lope de Rueda, Lope de Vega, y Cervantes'. *Cuadernos de Filología* 3, nos. 1–2 (1981): pp. 247–59.
López Alfonso, Francisco José. '*La entretenida*, parodia y teatralidad'. *Anales Cervantinos* 24 (1986): pp. 193–205.
Maestro, Jesús G. 'El triunfo de la heterodoxia. El teatro de Cervantes y la literatura europea'. *Theatralia: Revista de Teoría del Teatro* 5 (2003): pp. 19–48.
Maestro, Jesús G. *La escena imaginaria: poética del teatro de Miguel de Cervantes* (Madrid; Frankfurt: Iberoamericana-Vervuert, 2000).
Maravall, José Antonio. *Culture of the Baroque: Analysis of a Historical Structure* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986).
Mariscal, George. *Contradictory Subjects: Quevedo, Cervantes and Seventeenth-Century Spanish Culture* (Ithaca; London: Cornell University Press, 1991).
Mariscal, George. 'Woman and Other Metaphors in Cervantes's *Comedia famosa de La entretenida*'. *Theatre Journal* 46, no. 2 (1994): pp. 213–30.
McKendrick, Melveena. 'Writings for the stage'. In *The Cambridge Companion to Cervantes*, edited by Anthony J. Cascardi (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 131–59.
Pedraza Jiménez, Felipe B. 'El teatro mayor de Cervantes: Comentarios a contrapelo'. In *Actas del VII coloquio internacional de la Asociación de Cervantistas*, edited by José Ramón Fernández de Cano y Martín (El Toboso: Ayuntamiento de El Toboso, 1999), pp. 19–38.
Reed, Cory A. 'Cervantes and the Novelization of Drama: Tradition and Innovation in the *Entremeses*'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 11, no. 1 (1991): pp. 61–86.
Rey Hazas, Antonio. 'Las comedias de cautivos de Cervantes'. In *Los imperios orientales en el teatro del Siglo de Oro, Actas de XVI Jornadas de Teatro Clásico, Almagro Julio de 1993*, edited by Felipe B. Pedraza Jiménez and Rafael González Cañal (Almagro: Universidad Castilla-La Mancha y Festival de Almagro, 1994), pp. 29–56.
Rey Hazas, Antonio. *Poética de la libertad y otras claves cervantinas* (Madrid: Ediciones Eneida, 2005).
Robbins, Jeremy. *The Challenges of Uncertainty: An Introduction to Seventeenth-Century Spanish Literature* (London: Duckworth, 1998).

Rosales, Luis. *Cervantes y la Libertad*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Instituto de Cooperación Iberoamericana, 1985).

Ruiz Pérez, Pedro. 'Dramaturgia, teatralidad y sentido en *La casa de los celos*'. In *Actas del II Coloquio de la Asociación de Cervantistas* (Alcalá de Henares, 6–9 de noviembre de 1989), (Barcelona: Anthropos, 1991), pp. 657–72.

Spadaccini, Nicholas. 'Cervantes and the Spanish *comedia*'. In *Ideologies and Literature. Plays and Playhouses in Imperial Decadence*, edited by Anthony Zahareas (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1985), pp. 53–67.

Spadaccini, Nicholas and Jenaro Talens. *Through the Shattering Glass: Cervantes and the Self-Made World* (London; Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993).

Stapp, William A. 'Dichoso por confiado'. *Anales Cervantinos* 25 (1987): pp. 413–52.

Syverson-Stork, Jill. *Theatrical Aspects of the Novel: A Study of* Don Quixote (Valencia: Albatros, 1986).

Taddeo, Sara. 'De vox extremada: Cervantes's women characters speak for themselves'. In *Women in the Discourse of Early Modern Spain*, edited by Joan F. Cammarata (Gainesville, Florida: University Press of Florida, 2003), pp. 183–98.

Talens, Jenaro, 'Narrating Theatricality'. In *Ideologies and Literature. Plays and Playhouses in Imperial Decadence*, edited by Anthony Zahareas (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1985), pp. 87–101.

Thacker, Jonathan. *A Companion to Golden-Age Theatre* (Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2007).

Trambaioli, Marcella. 'Una protocomedia burlesca de Cervantes: *La casa de los celos*, parodia de algunas piezas del primer Lope de Vega'. In *Cervantes y su mundo*, vol. 1, edited by Eva Reichenberger and Kurt Reichenberger (Kassel: Reichenberger, 2004), pp. 407–38.

Valbuena Prat, Ángel. 'Las *Ocho comedias* de Cervantes'. In *Homenaje a Cervantes*, edited by Francisco Sánchez-Castañer (Valencia: Mediterráneo, 1950), pp. 257–66.

Vega, Lope de. *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias en este tiempo*, edited by Juana de José Prades (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1971).

Wardropper, Bruce. 'Cervantes' Theory of the Drama'. *Modern Philology* 52, no. 4 (1955): pp. 217–21.

Wardropper, Bruce. 'Comedias'. In *Suma cervantina*, edited by J. B. Avalle-Arce and E. C. Riley (London: Tamesis, 1973), pp. 147–69.

Weimar, Christopher B. 'Going to extremes: Barthes, Lacan, and Cervantes' *La gran sultana*'. In *Gender, Identity and Representation in Spain's Golden Age*, edited by Anita K. Stoll and Dawn L. Smith (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2000), pp. 47–60.

Zimic, Stanislav. 'Cervantes frente a Lope y a la comedia nueva: Observaciones sobre *La entretenida*'. *Anales Cervantinos* 15 (1976): pp. 19–119.

Zimic, Stanislav. 'El gran teatro del mundo y el gran mundo del teatro en *Pedro de Urdemalas* de Cervantes'. *Acta Neophilologica* 10 (1977): pp. 55–105.

Zimic, Stanislav. *El teatro de Cervantes* (Madrid: Castalia, 1992).

Zimic, Stanislav. 'Sobre el arte dramático de Cervantes en *El rufián dichoso*'. In *Cervantes 1547–1997: Jornadas de Investigación Cervantina*, edited by Aurelio González (Mexico: Colegio de México, Fondo Eulalio Ferrer, 1999), pp. 87–101.

Zimic, Stanislav. 'Sobre la técnica dramática de Cervantes en *El gallardo español*'. *Boletín de la Real Academia Española* 54 (1974): pp. 505–18.

CHAPTER 17

THE IGNOMINIES OF PERSUASION IN CERVANTES'S *ENTREMESES* (1615)

An Overview of Cervantine Farce

CAROLYN LUKENS-OLSON
Saint Michael's College, Vermont

Introduction

With his finely wrought *entremeses*, farces that figure among 'the most beguiling things' he ever wrote, as Edwin Honig[1] describes them, Cervantes brought life and relevancy back to a tired, outmoded, and ill-regarded genre of Spanish theatre. In fact, Cervantes stands as a luminary of early modern Spanish theatre thanks to these dramatic interludes, which are brilliant, though simple in design, and grand, though few in number and brief in length. There are only eight *entremeses* collected in Cervantes's *Ocho comedias, y ocho entremeses, nunca representados* and a handful of attributions, one of which, *Los habladores*, is discussed here.[2] Turning his attention to the well-worn *entremés,* Cervantes gave the least-esteemed genre of Spanish theatre a much-needed revitalization by updating its themes, expanding its repertoire of characters, and deepening its considerations of human nature. In fact, Cervantes's interludes are as imaginative, ironic, funny, and modern as his *Don Quixote* and perhaps written during

[1] Honig, *Interludes*, p. ix.

[2] See Chapter 22 for a study of works attributed to Cervantes.

the same period.[3] Nevertheless, that Cervantes would be a key figure in Spanish literature without *Don Quixote* comes as a surprise to many. A further surprise is Cervantes's attraction to the *entremés*, the humblest of dramatic genres in every way.

The *entremés* before Cervantes

The Spanish *entremés*—from the French *entremet*—is a brief farce aimed at entertaining an audience between the acts of a serious, full-length play, just as culinary *entremeses* are served between the principal courses of a banquet. The use of the term has fluctuated; in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, *entremés* was used freely to refer to various forms of entertainment, not always limited to farce or even theatre, and later used by Juan de Timoneda as an alternative for *paso.* Lope de Rueda, the father of the Spanish *entremés,* was the first to distinguish it from the *paso*, which was derived from Biblical performances. Lope de Rueda's *entremeses* set the stylistic parameters for the next few decades, and by the end of the sixteenth century, the *entremés* as a genre was codified.

The *entremés* is characterized by its limitations: the staging is simple, the length is minimal—covering one act—and the mode, popular. With few exceptions, the characters are unsophisticated, if clever, and usually associated with rural life in all manners of attitude, action, and speech. The humour and interest of the *entremés* come from the antics and language of the mostly stock characters who rarely venture beyond well-known views, transcribed modes, and predictable actions, all within the parameters of the genre. A closer review of the features of the *entremés* before Cervantes—beginning with a consideration of staging and ending with a look at characters and themes—will provide a context in which to understand his innovations more fully.

As a one-act representation outside the dramatic space of the full-length play in which it is embedded, the *entremés* is hurriedly assembled. Accordingly, the props, scenery, and costumes are kept to a minimum. All is stylized, with select details, for example, establishing the gender, age, and profession of the characters: a white beard signifies an old man, a tattered uniform, a soldier, and so on. Evolved as it was from travelling theatre with few actors (all of whom were required to play multiple parts) and mobile sets, the *entremés* does not stray much from its roots as far as staging is concerned. These are the features of the *entremés* that Cervantes notes in the prologue to his *Ocho comedias, y ocho entremeses, nuevos*, where he comments that all the props, mostly beards and wigs, of theatre director Lope de Rueda could fit into one sack and that the set consisted of little more than a hanging blanket. In the same text, Cervantes describes

[3] For a discussion of similarities between the *Entremeses* and *Don Quixote*, see Spadaccini's Introduction to his edition, where he describes the *Entremeses* within the context of the socio-economic crisis of Spain throughout the first decades of the seventeenth century; see also Spadaccini, *Through the Shattering Glass*…

later stage developments associated with the Spanish *comedia*. Such developments, however, are not seen in the *entremés*, which continues to rely primarily and humorously on the spectator's active imagination, a feature appropriate to the genre and one undoubtedly attractive to Cervantes.

Character and action in these *entremeses* are shaped also by the strict limitations of time, with little room for development of either. Thus, stock characters and their well-known ways are used and reused. In this regard and others, Spanish *entremeses* share something with the sixteenth-century Italian *commedia dell'arte*, whose characters, in accordance with their fixed comic parts—the rich old merchant, the saucy servant, and the boastful soldier, among others—speak and act strictly in character, making use of their ample reserves of tricks, *topoi*, and memorized jokes. Spanish *entremeses* are similarly populated by stock characters with their perennial peccadilloes, such as the jealous old man, the miserly *petits-bourgeois*, the officious sacristan, the braggart soldier, the scheming student, and the ignorant alderman. Spectators knew what to expect when these characters, many of whom come from the familiar public spectacles of carnival, made their appearances.

No small amount of the humour of these *entremeses* comes from the language of the characters. Unlike the rhymed verse of the *comedias*, *entremeses* are written in prose, allowing for some flexibility and spontaneity from actors, such as in the *commedia dell'arte*. Furthermore, the language of these *entremeses* is unsophisticated by design, the lines of the country folk written mostly in what is called *rústico*, or *sayagües*, in its features much like the language of Bottom and the other 'hempen homespuns' in *Midsummer's Night Dream*. *Sayagües* is marked by the widespread use of proverbs, frequent expressions of folk wisdom, and an abundance of highly inventive euphemistic expressions that are used to sidestep sacrilege. Archaic words, verb forms, and constructions are also common, reflecting the slow evolution of language in nonurban areas. Add to this mix distortions and misuse of Latin words and phrases as well as linguistic deformations, including misspoken vowels and inverted adjacent consonants, such as *pelra* instead of *perla*.[4] In sum, all that points to a lack of urbanity and education seems to make its way into *sayagües*, especially in circumstances requiring more precise language than that which the characters are able to muster, and therein lies much of the immediate humour of the *entremeses*. As the alderman Benito says in *El retablo de las maravillas*, 'Siempre quiero decir lo que es mejor, sino que las más veces no acierto' ['I always mean to say what's right but most times get it wrong'].[5]

The *entremeses* from the second-half of the sixteenth century are humorous works that poke fun primarily at country folk and a handful of often-targeted professions, including lawyers, sacristans, and servants. The farces by convention end with mock floggings or other forms of entertaining reckonings as public atonement for the deeds of

[4] For more on language in the *Entremeses*, see García Valdés (pp. 149–50) and Lukens-Olson's Introduction to her edition of the *Entremeses* (pp. 15–21).

[5] Cervantes, *Entremeses*, p. 146. All quotations from the *Entremeses* have been translated by the author of this chapter.

the characters. Furthermore, current events and local scandals were brought into play. Moreover, though these *entremeses* were in demand—no full-length play was shown without them—at that time they were not sources of pride for their authors, who sold or distributed them anonymously. In his prologue to the *Novelas ejemplares*, Cervantes writes that his may be found among works that 'andan por ahí descarriadas, y quizá, sin el nombre de su dueño.' ['have gone astray, maybe without their author's name'].[6] Some of those were undoubtedly *entremeses*.

Cervantes's innovations

Working well within the generic confines of the *entremés*, Cervantes nevertheless managed to improve them, implementing a few key innovations that had considerable impact. Eugenio Asensio describes three areas of innovation: language, characters, and resolution, all examined here, beginning with Cervantes's changes in the language of the *entremés*.[7] With language being most everything in these plays, Cervantes's innovations of this kind have several dimensions.

Language

The first dimension regarding language is that of style; Cervantes made the move from prose to full verse in two interludes, *La elección de los alcaldes de Daganzo* and *El rufián viudo llamado Trampagos*, writing them either in *endecasílabos sueltos*, eleven-syllable unrhymed verses, or alternatively, in *heptasílabos sueltos*, seven-syllable unrhymed verses. Elsewhere, Cervantes incorporated a wide variety of verse types and genres of poetry, namely *octosílabos*, *redondillas*, *cantares*, *quintillas*, *canciones*, *romances*, and *romancillos*. This formal leap, apart from beautifying the language with cadence and rhyme, also assured precision since the tight syllabic schemes left little chance for improvisation on behalf of the actors. Furthermore, poetic verse in the mouths of the characters of the *entremeses* creates the occasion for much humour. Consider those of the pimp Trámpagos at the funeral of his favourite girl, where he describes how golden her locks of hair were (so well tinted from silver), how well she was loved by him (and by the whole town council), and in what state she left this world (with no way of knowing where she ended up). Bad verse is as revealing of character as good verse, not to mention funny.

The broad rhetorical background of Cervantes's *entremeses* is the second dimension related to language. On the one hand, Alonso López Pinciano, the most notable literary scholar in Spain during Cervantes's time and whose work Cervantes

[6] Cervantes, *Novelas ejemplares*, p. 51.

[7] Asensio, *Entremeses*, pp. 11–14.

knew, associates farce and rhetoric exactly as we encounter it in Cervantes's *entremeses*. In the ninth epistle of his *Philosophía Antigua Poética*, Fadrique, a reliable spokesperson for the author, says that the comic poet will find devices for laughter in rhetoric; rhetoricians use their arguments for persuasion, and comics use them for humour.[8] Fadrique continues with a detailed list of the rhetorical devices used by comic poets, and offers many concrete examples, ranging from the use of particular words, figures, and tropes to larger considerations regarding the place of humour and irony. On the one hand, as shown above, López Pinciano's work on rhetoric may be associated with Cervantes's, and, on the other, a rhetorical import to the *entremeses* is probable, given Cervantes's notable and extensive attention to rhetoric in his other works, as discussed by various critics. Scholars of law, such as Rodolfo Batiza, have documented Cervantes's skill in forensic rhetoric. Rhetoric seeks to discover the available means of persuasion in a given case, where there is always an audience and always a purpose, developing not only in the contexts of law but also those of politics and ceremony (respectively forensic, deliberative, and epideictic rhetoric). We see examples of all three types in the *entremeses*.

In the discourses of Don Quixote, the enchanting songs of Preciosa the Gypsy and Feliciana of the Voice, and the mesmerizing speeches of Persiles, to name a few, we see the effects of words and the sway of speeches. As indicated above, this is not merely a penchant for well-told stories, but the fundamental humanist principle that words, more than anything else, move human beings to understanding and to action. In Cervantes's *entremeses*, repeatedly we observe the rhetorical guiles of the greedy, the pusillanimous, the incompetent, the lusty, and the bumbling as they make their best efforts to persuade other people to go along with their wishes and schemes.

A final related point about language is that not only does its use and abuse permeate the *entremeses*, but also its imagery abounds. Scattered throughout the corpus are mentions of magic words, duplicitous language, the devil's hold on the tongue, the 'sharpening' of the tongue, lies, gossip, slander, whispers, magic spells, supplications, adulation, insults, promises, complaints, and related terms and phenomena, with each interlude averaging somewhat more than two dozen such references. A quick glance, for example, reveals around thirty in *La cueva de Salamanca* and sixty in the attributed *Los habladores*.

Characters

The second of Asensio's observations, that Cervantes nearly doubles the number of characters in each *entremés*, is another innovation with several dimensions. One takes us back to the matter of language, since the expansion of characters was not only in number but also in the repertoire of character types with their various modes of

[8] López Pinciano, p. 45.

speaking. To be precise, Cervantes not only populated his stage with more characters but also introduced a new urban group of characters with urban ways and urban ways of speaking. In fact, most of his *entremeses* are situated in cities, primarily in Madrid, and in those plays the language is not much different from that of Madrid today. To some extent, this is also true regarding *germanía*, the dialect spoken by Madrid's underworld street figures, a marginal group broadly represented in these *entremeses*.

Of course, these urban characters not only have different language practices than their rustic counterparts but also different day-to-day challenges, realities that Cervantes incorporates into his plays. Thus, the more we look into the context, broad and narrow, of this period in the history of Spain—and Madrid more precisely—the more factual concerns, details, and incidents we recognize informing the plays. In the introduction to his edition of the *Entremeses*, Nicholas Spadacinni describes the contemporary framework of the interludes, drawing out the socioeconomic transformations and crises of the first fifteen years of the seventeenth century, in a period that left many Spaniards in the social and economic margins of society.[9] These marginalized characters populate the *Entremeses*. Cervantes's expansion of character types made for more complicated relationships, thickened plots, and richer language variety reflecting no longer the tired stuff of sleepy villages. but rather, the quotidian challenges of contemporary urban life; in Cervantes's hands, the genre retains the same ancient broad strokes of farce, but the sensibility and details correspond closely to his times. In effect, Cervantes ushered the *entremeses* into modernity.

Resolution

The third and final of Cervantes's innovations in his *entremeses* lies in their resolutions, which Asensio describes as a substitution of traditional carnivalesque rounds of insults and blows with reciprocal harmony followed by song and dance.[10] Earlier *entremeses* and *pasos* before them characteristically ended, as Asensio writes, in some sort of personal abuse, usually a symbolic light flogging. These mock floggings served as public atonements for the various peccadillos as everyone, fellow characters as well as audience members, had a laugh at the expense of the isolated individual whose weaknesses were exposed for all to see. Such a crude knockabout conclusion to a play manages to be simultaneously silly and cruel, the kind of ending associated with carnival spectacles, *commedia dell'arte*, and Punch-and-Judy farce.

Cervantes's resolutions are of another order. They are, in quick and sure strokes, intimations of the perennial complexities of human life conscientiously left intact, not swatted away with slapstick or flattened with an *estanca* or *matapecados* like Mr Punch's club. In his *entremeses,* Cervantes replace the physical humour of a wallop with

[9] Spadacinni, Introduction, p. 20.

[10] Asensio, Introducción crítica, p. 12.

something smarter and more complex. If it is harmony, as Asensio describes it above, it is imposed, not organic, and it is seriously hampered by brevity, lasting perhaps barely to the end of the play. It is also tempered by irony, which, in a spectacle of song and dance, replaces the club as the new characteristic feature with which to end the show. The Cervantine resolution to his *entremeses* is a wobbly limbo, where the only harmony comes in the singing and the only sure-footedness in the dancing. All is vaguely uneasy, and the fragile steadiness only underlines an unresolved situation. There is always a hint of trouble just over the horizon, even as clergy, police, soldiers, and all manner of authority ineffectually rush in to re-establish a lost order, or perhaps establish one that was never there in the first place.

We may add to the three areas listed and described by Asensio, those of character, language, and resolution, yet one more: Cervantes's concern with the functional aspect of rhetoric and persuasion, which in the *entremeses* is a consistently ignominious mode, as I will describe. In fact, one can separate the *entremeses* of *Ocho comedias, y ocho entremeses, nunca representados* into two groups according to the function of the rhetoric employed; the first four, following Cervantes's list from his *Ocho entremeses*, may be seen to feature rhetoric in its defensive function whereas the second four employ rhetoric in its offensive function. An examination of each of the plays illustrates the two distinct natures of persuasion in each group.

The Plays

In the first play, *El juez de los divorcios*, unhappy couples crowd into a people's court to make their various cases for divorce, delivering amusing and exaggerated harangues against their spouses. One wife complains that her husband is too old for her and has bad breath, and another calls her husband a *leño* [block of wood] who does not bring home enough money to keep her from prostitution. Another husband responds to the judge's request for proof of incompatibility with his wife 'Qué más pruebas, sino que yo no quiero morir con ella, ni ella gusta de vivir conmigo' ['What proof do I need other than that I don't want to die with her and she doesn't want to live with me?'], to which the judge responds 'Si eso bastase para descasarse los casados, infinitísimos sacudirían de sus hombros el yugo de matrimonio' ['If that were enough to undo married couples, infinite numbers would shake off their shoulders the yoke of matrimony'].[11] In case after case, accuser and accused speak, and neither is able to better the argument of the spouse. Naturally, in the end not a single divorce is granted. The judge's brief and official comment with which he denies the divorces—that he finds no reason—summarily shuts down the court. A troupe of gypsies, in town to celebrate a wedding, breaks into song, and the mood is temporarily transformed by the merriment. The chorus of the closing song is '[V]ale el peor concierto más que el divorcio mejor' ['The worse concert is better

[11] Cervantes, *Entremeses*, p. 42.

than the best divorce'].[12] Everyone dances together in a merry but fragile restoration of familial order, one that will last at least for the duration of the song.

The second play, *El rufián viudo llamado Trampagos* features characters of *el hampa*, Madrid's underworld, here a lively and inventive group of prostitutes and pimps. Trámpagos, the leader of the group, gathers everyone together to eulogize Pericona, his preferred prostitute, his girl, who has just passed away. He begins his plaint, mentioned earlier, '¡Ah Pericona, Pericona mía/Y aun de todo el concejo!' [Oh Pericona, my Pericona/and even of the whole city council!'].[13] In this *planctus*, which is traditional—at least in form—Trámpagos praises Pericona's skills and ability to make money, making it clear to all present that he takes care of those who serve him well. Trámpagos then announces a contest to find his new favourite, and several girls line up to make their cases, imitating Trámpagos's mode of praise with veiled references to their particular wiles and skills. The king of the *hampa*, Escarramán, who has just escaped from the police, makes an appearance and sings a ballad of his recent feats, outdoing them all in self-promotion, and they all dance together to celebrate Trámpagos and his newly chosen favourite. Theirs is a kind of marriage, or at least union, of convenience openly based on sexual prowess and economic venture, lasting potentially until death, authorized and fêted, if not blessed, by the most honoured authority of the Madrid underworld. The merry wedding, again, is fragile and ironic; according to their arrangements, soon she will be with other men, perhaps even the whole town council, and making money for Trámpagos, her pimp.

La elección de los alcaldes de Daganzo is the third play of this group. Here a group of rustic aldermen meets to select a new mayor for their village. An oral exam will be the test, since they are looking for a mayor skilled in jurisprudence, and the candidates come forth one by one to make their cases, mirroring the competition from the previous play. Their country way of speaking is, as always, funny, as are their perverted attempts to show erudition. The features that the candidates share about themselves commending them for the position include a drunk describing his skills as a wine taster, a hunter telling what a good shot he is, and an 'old Christian' proving his piety with a few memorized prayers. When a group of gypsies comes in dancing and singing a somewhat lewd song popular in the day, a sacristan enters the boisterous scene and tries to end the fun. Pedro Rana, one of the candidates, who is quick with his tongue, upbraids the meddling sacristan with these words:

> Dime, desventurado: ¿qué demonio
> se revistió en tu lengua? ¿Quién te mete
> a ti en reprehender a la justicia?
> ¿Has tú de gobernar a la república?
>
> [Tell me, unlucky one, what devil
> took hold of your tongue? Who are
> you to reprimand the justice?
> Should you be governing the republic?][14]

[12] Cervantes, *Entremeses*, p. 45.
[13] Cervantes, *Entremeses,* p. 48.
[14] Cervantes, *Entremeses*, p. 92.

Pedro Rana's quick reaction and rhetorical finesse here impress the aldermen; Rana, who silences the sacristan trying to intervene in public affairs, will be selected as the new mayor.[15] They all gather to toss the sacristan in a blanket as punishment, and Rana, who incites the punishment, convinces them to leave him in peace. The last line of the play says of Pedro Rana that 'No solamente canta, sino encanta' ['He not only sings but enchants'].[16] They revel in the results of their election, but there are questions about Rana already in the air. Is Rana a good choice, a prudent *vir bonus dicendi peritus* who represents the concerns and interest of the town well, or is he a manipulative demagogue in the making who will cause trouble with his slick tongue?

In the final play of the first group, *La guarda cuidadosa*, a shabby soldier with trace characteristics of Don Quixote does his best to make his case as a desirable husband to a scrubmaid named Cristina. He stands vigil outside Cristina's house pronouncing to her and to everyone passing by his virtues, which he tries to support with many types of evidence that only have in common the fact that they do not add up to much. He tries lofty rhetoric and Petrarchan poetics, he proffers documents and witness accounts of his military feats, and he makes efforts to show his physical strength. In the end, the unimpressed Cristina goes off with a sacristan who at least has a little money. Sadly, nothing the soldier has to offer is of value.

In the first set of four plays, *El juez de los divorcios*, *El rufián viudo llamado Trampagos*, *La elección del alcaldes de Daganzo*, and *La guarda cuidadosa*, the characters defend themselves, make their cases, and talk themselves into or out of situations, employing a variety of measures and with varying outcomes. The basic mode is the apology, *apologia*, an oral self-defence of an individual. An *apologia* is a direct appeal to interlocutors for a charitable hearing and positive judgment. The *apologia* is associated with forensic rhetoric in that it is delivered to a *foro*, public forum. Some are short, others long; some end in favourable outcomes, others do not. Many are to strangers and new acquaintances, fewer are to friends and family. Everywhere the *apologia* appears in Cervantes's works it is shown as a fundamental human gesture, and, accordingly, prized when resulting in a positive and just outcome. As we have seen, this gesture of self-defence is featured and highlighted repeatedly in these *entremeses*, giving a shared rhetorical motif to each of the plays. Following in particular Spadaccini's view that Cervantes's *entremeses* reflect the crisis of early seventeenth-century Spain, we find that those characters engaged in self-defence are precisely from the socioeconomic strata undergoing most transformations and duress at that time; these include, but are not limited to, women, peasants, and soldiers.

The next four *entremeses*, *El vizcaíno fingido*, *El retablo de las maravillas*, *La cueva de Salamanca*, and *El viejo celoso* feature rhetoric used in an offensive rather than defensive function. The first two plays are tightly orchestrated swindles, both requiring the

[15] That this was a real issue in the early seventeenth century is indicated by Antonio Carvalho's treatise published in Madrid in 1626 titled *Un discurso sobre si conviene que los predicadores reprehendan príncipes y ministros* [*A Discourse on the Appropriateness of Preachers Admonishing Princes and Ministers*].

[16] Cervantes, *Entremeses*, p. 93.

creation of different kinds of illusions and both requiring people capable of making others doubt themselves. They are persuaded to doubt what they see and to doubt what they know to be the truth, and for different reasons in each case.

In *El vizcaíno fingido*, two men from Madrid, Solórzano and Quiñones, turn the tables on a pair of high-class prostitutes, Cristina and Brígida, who scheme to gain the favours, and then the money, of a wealthy, generous, and naïve Basque, or *vizcaíno*, who does not take his drink well. Quiñones plays the Basque, a stock character, by acting tipsy and garbling his syntax, and Solórzano plays the role of his chaperone. Cristina and Brígida deceitfully present themselves as well-educated young ladies, but between themselves they discuss their greedy intentions. The women talk about the fact that times have been especially difficulty for them in Madrid since the passing of the law forbidding them from moving around the city veiled, a law that was a historical reality.[17] The somewhat desperate women fall quickly into the charade of the pretend Basque, a 'bait and switch' scheme involving a gold chain. At the end, the men apologize for their little joke, as Solórzano had planned to do, but the scam has exposed the vulnerability of the women.

In *El retablo de las maravillas*, the sixth play, a group of aldermen permits a travelling theatre troupe into their village to perform at the wedding of the mayor's daughter. The theatre group is directed by Chanfalla, who quickly ingratiates himself with the aldermen and establishes his legitimacy as a theatre director by claiming to be giving performances to benefit the Hospital Brethren of Madrid, another historically factual reference in the *entremeses*. Chanfalla, however, is a confidence man travelling with a few players, a few props, and a musician of sorts, but no play; for his swindle he does not need one. Chanfalla announces that that the marvels of their play are so special that they can be seen by neither bastard nor new Christian (descendants of ancestors who professed a faith other than Christianity), thrusting the town into a state of anxiety. The townspeople's personal racial and social fears render them susceptible to the scam, and they all realize that if they do not see something on the stage they must pretend to do so nonetheless or risk life-changing consequences.

Teresa Kirschner, who describes this interlude as a dramatization of fear, has analysed its exposition, materialization, and personification. Kirschner demonstrates how all the characters in *Retablo*—the *perseguidos* [persecuted] as well as the *perseguidores* [persecutors]—manifest a significant degree of apprehension and that the work may be seen to reflect the psychological effects of 'persecutorial fury' of Cervantes's society.[18] The *Retablo*, thus, dramatizes the very capacity to create fear. Specifically, I suggest, it dramatizes the distinct form of fear that may best be described as hermeneutical anxiety. Hermeneutical anxiety is a type of fear associated with interpretation in a public context. It derives from the perception, be it false or true, that one is somehow outside the

[17] An edict of 1611 attempting to control prostitution forbade women to wear veils when travelling around Madrid, either in public or in horse carriages, an offense punishable by a banishment of four years from the city.

[18] Kirchner, p. 826.

hermeneutical circle and thus incapable of making reliable and appropriate interpretations. This perception may lead to a crisis in interpretation and ultimately a fundamental insecurity regarding one's ability to discern the meaning of things. *Retablo* is a perfect dramatic instantiation of the phenomenon of hermeneutical anxiety, and its lead character, Chanfalla, is at the centre of it all. Chanfalla, who is not performing for charity but for mercenary reasons, masterfully converts the villagers' fear of exposure and marginalization into a type of fear associated with interpretation in a public context.

It is a remarkable fact of the play that, as indicated in their very names, the people of the village are clearly a mixed community of 'legitimate', 'illegitimate', new Christians, old Christians, and others, all of whom seem to live together peacefully with little regard for these differences. Now Chanfalla threatens to drive a wedge into their division, and there will be those who can see the miracles and those who cannot; the former will have the status of racial and social legitimacy, and the latter will not be able to claim that status and will be regarded as suffering from 'enfermedades' ['diseases'].[19] Such a scheme is treacherous to the community. There is more; Chanfalla sets up his theatrical 'test' in such a way that no one can disprove it since it only exists in the imagination. Everyone in that village then falls outside the hermeneutical circle as Chanfalla has deceptively drawn it, and everyone must lie—or remain silent—in order to maintain status in the community.

The charade is, of course, absurd. Once Chanfalla begins his show, the audience members make great efforts to demonstrate that they are experiencing what he is describing, dodging rushing waters, shrieking at stampeding mice, and dancing with Biblical figures. Pretending to see what they do not and pretending not to see what they do leads to a chaotic crisis of interpretation in which the villagers end up mistrusting their own judgement, motivations, faculties, and discernment. Such is the state of things in this village when a quartermaster shows up seeking lodging for his squadron headed to the town. The crowd quickly turns on him, calling him a *converso*, when he correctly states that there is nothing at all on the marvellous stage, but before any crisis can explode, gypsy singers and dancers show up for the wedding. As in the other *entremeses*, the music restores harmony in the village, but one anticipates that the harmony will soon be interrupted when the full squadron, which is not far off, arrives to the village. Though this is a comic story, it has a very real background associated with the manipulation of reality through illusion and the ruling of a republic. The play ends with a small military skirmish in progress, a symbolic clash between the villagers and the military, while Chanfalla and his cohorts congratulate themselves for having pulled off another swindle.

In the next *entremés*, *La cueva de Salamanca*, a wily and witty student of Salamanca, another stock character, talks his way into lodging for the night at the home of a woman whose husband is out of town and who is in the midst of an evening of dinner, and whatever follows, with another man. When the husband returns unexpectedly, the student, the wife, and the maid—who also has a male visitor there and for the same reason—con-

[19] Cervantes, *Entremeses*, p. 147.

trive to pull off a charade. Armed with 'spells' from black magic he claims to have learned in the cave of Salamanca, the student convinces the gullible husband that the two visiting men are devils who resemble two of their neighbours. The husband is surprised at the exact resemblances but in the end goes along with the story. To some degree, he is persuaded by all that what he plainly sees and hears and recognizes is not what it appears to be, thus creating mistrust similar to that of *El retablo de las maravillas*. The husband is forced to believe something that he perceives is not true because doing so, in a way, saves him from a lot of trouble. In the end, they all share the dinner together, husband and wife, maid, student, and the two 'devils'.

El viejo celoso is similar to *La cueva de Salamanca* in that a young woman schemes to cuckold her husband, this time a jealous old man, another stock character, who won't let her leave the house. Lorenza, the young woman, is urged on by her maid Cristina and also by a female match-making neighbour Ortigosa who, like the student above, is associated with witchcraft and happy to assist in the deception. Cristina sneaks Lorenza's lover into the house and then into her bedroom by hiding him behind a large unfurled tapestry, which Ortigosa holds on display and whose scenes she describes in order to distract the old man. The tapestry is covered with figures of knight errantry, and Ortigosa's inventive and detailed storytelling keeps the old man's attention on the stories in the tapestry rather than on the action going on behind it.

These final four plays are built around deception and manipulation of others' abilities to discern the truth of the matter and to see what is in plain sight. In *El vizcaíno fingido*, things and people are not what and who they seem to be. In *El retablo de las maravillas*, honest perception and interpretation are impossible for those outside a falsely drawn hermeneutical circle. In *La cueva de Salamanca*, possibilities and figures never dreamed of are conjured up, inserted into everyday life and not revealed so that the status quo is not disturbed. And finally, in *El viejo celoso*, imitative figures draw eyes away from, and thus obfuscate, the realities of life that are there but not seen. In sum, the plays in the second group manipulate the distinction between reality and appearance.

While the first group of *entremeses* may be associated with crises that are socioeconomic in nature, we may associate the second group with the sceptical attitude that modern philosophy takes toward appearance. In that attitude, appearances are to be doubted until confirmed with certainty, and once appearances are disassociated from reality, one loses one's basis for judgement, opening up the space for all varieties of manipulation. In the modern crisis around theories of knowledge and nature, appearances are not to be trusted, and the relationship between *seems* and *is* is confused. This theoretical insecurity defines modernity, and seventeenth-century Spain was no exception. In the *entremeses*, characters are led to doubt both that which they know to be true and that which they see to be real. In the second group of *entremeses*, there is an awareness not only of this insecurity but also a demonstration of how and why it can be easily manipulated by others for any number of less-than-noble reasons. How and why people persuade others to falsely see and falsely believe—or at least act as if they do—is a key concern that is captured in the *entremeses*. This overview focusing in part on the use and abuse of rhetoric in Cervantes's *entremeses* thus reveals a *leitmotiv* associating Cervantes

with those humanist writers of the Renaissance who, as Victoria Kahn words it, 'were frequently less concerned with persuading us to action than with persuading us to consider the nature of persuasion itself'.[20]

Finally, I would like to turn to *Los habladores*—a work widely attributed to Cervantes—that closely corresponds in its rhetorical themes to features seen in his eight known *entremeses*, a fact that supports Cervantes's authorship. In *Los habladores* the protagonist Roldán overhears a conversation between two men, Sarmiento and a man whom Sarmiento has stabbed. Sarmiento offers to pay the man retribution, and Roldán, desperate for money, steps in and offers to take a stabbing from Sarmiento for even less money. Roldán makes a plea and only stops when Sarmiento says, '¡Téngase, que me ha muerto, y pienso que algún demonio tiene revestido en esa lengua!' ['Stop! You're killing me, and I think the Devil has got hold of your tongue!'].[21] Sarmiento rejects the ridiculous proposal, but Roldán's verbosity and his particular way with words give Sarmiento an idea. Sarmiento proposes to Roldán that he take residence at his house for a while to cure Doña Beatriz, his wife, of the same verbal affliction, fighting fire with fire. Though at first Doña Beatriz enjoys Roldán's company, soon she is outdone in the verbal duel and begs her husband to send Roldán away: 'Reviento por hablar' ['I'm dying to speak'].[22] A policeman shows up regarding the stabbing, and Roldán, who turns out to be a wanted man, hides in a rolled-up rug, where he and the rug end up being beaten, in the manner of a dusting, by the women of the house—a remnant gesture from the mock floggings—as he waits for the policeman to leave. He is discovered and arrested, but Sarmiento asks for clemency for Roldán for his having cured the babbling Doña Beatriz, and the policeman proposes that Roldán go to his house to cure his wife of the same disease. Sarmiento allows Roldán to leave only after Doña Beatriz promises to talk less. The song at the end is about being 'sick at one's tongue'.

Endless strings of loosely connected minutiae, jumbles of disparate topics, and errors of logic mark the augmented speech of Roldán and Doña Beatriz in this play. Misused Latin, pseudo-science, and pseudo-theology, all there to give a semblance of veracity to the many ridiculous assertions, make their verbal exchanges further ridiculous. The lengthy and absurd speech of the chattering Doña Beatriz and Roldán exhausts all interlocutors and convinces none. Doña Beatriz and Roldán, a stock character of a rascal student with pretensions of skill, both take their cues from methods of argumentation taught in Book II of Erasmus's *De duplici copia verborum ac rerum commentarri duo* (1512), or *De copia*. *De copia* is a manual for developing a rich oratorical style and was widely used in the education of schoolboys on the continent and in England, including Shakespeare, during the sixteenth century. Cervantes would probably have had his share of this kind of practice as a student of the humanist López de Hoyos, as it is believed he was. *Los habladores* pokes fun at the abuse of rhetorical style and at the fact that Roldán the schemer can talk himself into and out of everything. The play also exposes the pretentious and slavish adherence to rules of style in vogue in certain contemporary cir-

[20] Kahn, p. 28. [21] Cervantes, *Entremeses*, p. 208. [22] Cervantes, *Entremeses*, p. 214.

cles.[23] The thematic focus on rhetoric, language imagery, and this kind of humour strongly suggest that Cervantes is the author of *Los habladores*. Other factors do not, such as the flogging of Roldán and lack of significant irony in play at the end, but those features could be explained by *Los habladores* having been written before Cervantes settled on his innovations.

Conclusion: The Ignominies of Persuasion

Elsewhere I discuss how Cervantes's *Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda* depicts the heroics of persuasion. The *Persiles* poeticizes the powerful role of rhetoric in the world; as the characters make their long and perilous voyage across Europe, the hero Persiles, a *vir bonus dicendi peritus*, skilfully employs rhetoric and always to good ends and to the good of all. Persiles thwarts a continuous flood of potentially violent conflicts as his group confronts pirates, rapists, thieves, and murderous tyrants. Cervantes's *entremeses* depict precisely the opposite; that is to say, in the *entremeses* Cervantes dramatizes not the heroic use of language but, rather, its misuse and abuse.

Indeed, it is no exaggeration to say that deficiencies in persuasion, either or both in its means and its ends, is at the very core of Cervantes's *entremeses*. In the first four plays we see deficient rhetoric used defensively as a means of self-promotion. In *El juez de los divorcio*s, plaintiffs line up to make their risible cases in court, and in *Trampágos*, prostitutes present their skills and wiles in a contest to be the pimp's new favourite. *La guarda cuidadosa* features an ignored soldier who competes with a *sacristan* for the love of a young scrubmaid; and, finally, *La elección de los alcaldes de Daganzo* presents unqualified aspirants to political office delivering ridiculous campaign speeches. In the second four plays, we see manipulative rhetoric used offensively: in *El vizcaíno fingido*, where ill-behaved men trick a pair of opportunistic prostitutes, in *La cueva de Salamanca*, *El retablo de las maravillas*, and *El viejo celoso*, where self-serving deception is the intent in each case, either for romance, money, or the thrill of the swindle.

Solórzano, one of the characters in *El vizcaíno fingido*, qualifies jokes, just as they are getting ready to play one on the prostitutes, by saying that 'no son burlas las que redundan en desprecio ajeno' ['jokes that result in contempt for others are not jokes'].[24] This comment captures Cervantes's charity with the characters of the *entremeses*, whose foibles are exposed but who never suffer greatly. The exploits of the marginalized characters in Cervantes's *entremeses*, while ignominious, are fully comprehensible and thoroughly enjoyed; they make their best efforts to defend themselves and improve their lots in their lives as do all, regardless of status or station. Cervantes draws laughter at

[23] See Lukens-Olson ('Cervantes's Attributed…') where *Los habladores* is discussed as a satire of Erasmus's *Ciceronianus*, itself a satire of Ciceronian rhetoric.

[24] Cervantes, *Entremeses*, p. 119.

their efforts and even their base motivations, but farce in Cervantes's hand is never cruel: no one is excoriated, no one beaten, a noteworthy counterpoint to the genre of the *comedia*, in which the *entremeses* are embedded as plays within plays. In the Spanish *comedia*, the plays of the rich, the educated, and the powerful, the motivations for the actions of the characters and means of achieving them are never quite as funny, the outcomes always more severe, the characters expected to be and to do better given all that they have.

Works Cited

Asensio, Eugenio. '*Entremeses*'. In *Suma Cervantina*, edited by Juan Bautista Avalle-Arce and E. C. Riley (London: Tamesis, 1973), pp. 171–97.

Asensio, Eugenio. Introduction to *Entremeses* by Miguel de Cervantes (Madrid: Castalia, 1986), pp. 7–49.

Batiza, Rodolfo. *Don Quijote y el derecho: Cultura jurídica de don Miguel de Cervantes* (Mexico: Librería de Manuel Porrúa, 1964).

Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de. *Entremeses*, edited by Carolyn Lukens-Olson (LinguaText: Newark, Delaware, 2010).

Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de. *Novelas ejemplares*, vol. I, edited by Harry Sieber (Madrid: Cátedra, 1997).

García Valdés, Celsa Carmen. Introduction to *Entremeses* by Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra (Madrid: Santillana, 1997).

Honig, Edwin. Introduction to *Interludes* by Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra (New York: New American Library, 1964).

Kahn, Victoria. *Rhetoric, Prudence, and Skepticism in the Renaissance* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985).

Kirschner, Teresa J. '*El retablo de las maravillas*, de Cervantes, o la dramatización del miedo'. In *Cervantes: Su obra y su mundo*: *Actas del I Congreso Internacional sobre Cervantes*, edited by Manuel Criado de Val (Madrid; Edi-6, 1981), pp. 819–27.

López Pinciano, Alonso. *Philosophía Antigua Poética* (Madrid: Fundación José Antonio de Castro, 1998).

Lukens-Olson, Carolyn. 'Cervantes's Attributed *Los habladores* and Erasmus's *Ciceronianus*: Satire and Emulation'. In *On Wolves and Sheep: Exploring the Expression of Political Thought in Golden Age Spain*, edited by Aaron M. Kahn (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011), pp. 51–72.

Lukens-Olson, Carolyn. 'Heroics of Persuasion in Cervantes's *Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda*'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 21, no. 2 (2001):pp. 51–72.

Spadaccini, Nicholas. Introduction to *Entremeses* by Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra (Madrid: Catédra, 1997), pp. 9–87.

Spadaccini, Nicholas. *Through the Shattering Glass: Cervantes and the Self-Made World* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992).

Wardropper, Bruce. 'Ambiguity in *El viejo celoso*'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 1 (1981): pp. 19–27.

Ynduraín, Francisco. 'El tema del vizcaíno en Cervantes'. *Anales Cervantinos* 1 (1961): pp. 337–43.

CHAPTER 18

CERVANTES AND THE *COMEDIA NUEVA*

MOISÉS R. CASTILLO
University of Kentucky

An attention to stagecraft overflows in Cervantes's work, basically in every way he created fiction.[1] It is known that Cervantes wanted, above all things, to be successful on the Golden Age stage and to become a famous playwright. But the characteristics of his generation's theatre—what Stefano Arata refers to as 'The Lost Generation' of the 1580s[2] and which included Lupercio Leonardo de Argensola, Cristóbal de Virués, Francisco de la Cueva, Cristóbal de Mesa, Juan de la Cueva, Gabriel Lobo Lasso de la Vega, and Andrés Rey de Artieda, among others—along with his elaborate theatrical designs and Lope de Vega's rising popularity, led Cervantes to give up his aspirations to the stage and focus on his prose. However, unlike any other author during this period, Cervantes continued to breathe theatricality into that prose. Structures, themes, characters, and settings shift constantly between distinct genres, unveiling details about Cervantes's life and worldview. Moreover, at times the line between theatre and prose seems to mix or blur, for instance, in *El coloquio de los perros* or in numerous episodes of *Don Quixote* that demonstrate the dramatic imagination in Cervantes's works. Additionally, the fact that Cervantes's writing emphasizes dialogue is of no surprise, as it is infused with a profound humanism, often of Erasmian roots. This was likely due to the influence of important sixteenth-century humanistic dialogues with which Cervantes would have been familiar, as Américo Castro, Marcel Bataillon, and Antonio Vilanova have suggested.

In his 'Adjunta al Parnaso', Cervantes claims to have thought about publishing six *comedias* along with his new *entremeses* with the intention 'para que se vea de espacio lo que pasa apriesa y se disimula, o no se entiende, cuando las representan'[3] [that people

[1] This essay is in part an extension and re-elaboration of two articles published in Spanish in 2004 and 2012.

[2] Arata, p. 9.

[3] Cervantes, *Obras completas*, p. 645; all citations from Cervantes's theatrical works come from this edition unless otherwise noted.

may see at their leisure or in detail what happens hurriedly, inaccurately, surreptitiously, and often unintelligibly when acted on the stage].[4] This is a clear critique of Lope de Vega's new art of *comedia nueva*, which exemplifies the Baroque spectacular that essentially bewildered and entertained the masses, moulding, in most cases, an acritical spectator. Cervantes's theatre, on the contrary, would use this spectacular nature, this artificiality, to highlight its very meta-theatrical character. Thus, it would be a theatre that turns in on itself, that gazes inward, and whose purpose is twofold: on the one hand, it denudes the scaffolding of artistic creation, revealing the multiple stages of theatrical crafting, and on the other hand, it denounces the ideological inconsistencies that went unnoticed in Lope's spectacular *comedia* of the masses, where one did not have time to see or judge 'slowly and in detail what happens so rapidly'. In other words, Cervantes uses his theatre to expose the contradictions and fatuous ideals, such as a code of honour or blood purity, rooted in and propagated by seventeenth-century Counter-Reformation Spain. His objective is to awaken readers to the aforementioned rigid myths, to provoke a reflexive reading, thereby forcing his audience to adopt a critical position towards that which is presented to them, either in the text or on the stage. With these tools in hand, Cervantes would not only make the reading or theatrical public feel like they are in on the joke so that his 'reader' ('lector mío') becomes a co-artificer in his artistic work, but would also influence the public towards a mode of conduct, an ethic that would lead to virtue and honourable behaviour [buen obrar].

In the prologue to the *Ocho comedias, y ocho entremeses nuevos, nunca representados*, Cervantes claimed to have written twenty or thirty plays during his lifetime yet only a third of these have actually been found. In stark contrast to the focus on central action seen in Lope's theatre, Cervantes's plays focus on concepts. In other words, they explore ideas, not moments of action.[5] This is, perhaps, what impedes critics from creating universal models of interpretation for Cervantes's theatre, whether it is because they see it as too episodic or because they believe it has a lack of dramatic unity. Additionally, and due mostly to those traits, there has been a polemic among critics over whether Cervantes intended for his theatre to be read, as opposed to seen. I agree with Kenneth Stackhouse when he contends that, although Cervantes wanted his plays to be performed, he did not expect they would be. This provoked a sense of artistic freedom in his writing and theatrical innovations in staging.[6] These traits of Cervantes's theatrical craft not only defied the dramatic conventions of his time, but questioned popular ideological beliefs. Definitively, Cervantes was concerned about mass culture, and the commodification of the Spanish stage, as is evidenced by the fact that 'las comedias se han hecho mercadería vendible' [*comedias* have become goods for sale],[7] and he advocated for a critically responsive reader or public who would be resistant to media manipulation.

And yet, how has Cervantes's theatre been viewed over time? How do we see his attitudes on theatre and the *comedia nueva* exemplified within the works themselves?

[4] All quotations have been translated by the author of this chapter.
[5] See Friedman and Zimic, 'Sobre . . .'.
[6] Stackhouse, pp. 22–4.
[7] Cervantes, *Don Quijote* I.48, p. 626.

What is at the core of his innovations with regard to stagecraft and ideology? As critics have noted, Cervantine theatre was initially rejected: it was dismissed in the seventeenth century, criticized harshly in the eighteenth,[8] and only slightly appreciated by nineteenth-century German Romantics who focused primarily on *Numancia*'s tragic patriotism. It is only in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries that we have seen a reclamation and revaluation of Cervantes's theatrical contributions in serious monographic studies and performances dedicated in his honour. [9]

Regarding Cervantes's thoughts on the *comedia nueva* and the theatre of his time, it is important to take note of the few passages in which the playwright speaks more directly about his dramatic works. To begin with, there are Don Quixote's words, often interpreted as his author's confession: 'porque desde muchacho fui aficionado a la carátula, y en mi mocedad se me iban los ojos tras la farándula' [because ever since I was a youngster I have been a fan of the mask of the theatre, and in my youth my eyes were drawn to the spectacle].[10] Next, there is Cervantes's admiration for his predecessor, the 'Great Lope de Rueda', as he declares in the prologue to *Ocho comedias*. Here, Cervantes also mentions that he wrote up to thirty works 'que todas ellas se recitaron sin que se les ofreciese ofrenda de pepinos' [that all of them were staged without a single cucumber offering].[11] Lastly, there is the partial list of *comedia* titles in his 'Adjunta al Parnaso', the majority of which Cervantes claims not to remember.

Cervantes establishes a unique dialogue with the *comedia nueva* in works such as *Pedro de Urdemalas* and *El Rufián dichoso*. Yet, perhaps passages from *Don Quixote* I.48—in several different conversations between the knight-errant, priest, and canon—reveal most clearly Cervantes's ethical and aesthetic opinions regarding Lope's—and his

[8] In 'Aprobación', the prologue to Blas Antonio Nasarre Férriz's 1732 edition of Avellaneda's *Quixote*, both he and Agustín Montiano Luyando indicate that this apocryphal text offered more literary value than the second part of Cervantes's *Don Quixote*. Additionally, they classified Cervantine theatre as a premeditated mockery of Lope that sought to point out his works' countless defects, absurdity, and nonsense. In the Introduction to his edition of *Comedias and Entremeses of Miguel de Cervantes* (1749), Nasarre is the first to praise Cervantes's drama for more closely resembling the neoclassical precept than the works of Lope and Calderón, whom he refers to as corruptors of the genre. However, what he presents as praise is in fact a criticism of Cervantes's theatre, pointing out its untapped potential and lamenting its suffocation at the hands of his famous contemporaries who excluded it from the stage by imposing their own theatrical aesthetic. According to Nasarre, Cervantes was the best of these dramatists. And yet, because he was marginalized, he decided not to write as he knew how to; rather, he used irony to mock and denigrate his fellow playwrights, Lope in particular. In this sense, he writes: 'staging the same foolishness, Cervantes skillfully revealed, like painters of the hideous and the atrocious do, the chaos, the ridiculousness, and the utter lack of art, invention, and authenticity, or good morals, that the people, deceived, took for things to be admired' (Nasarre, quoted in Rey Hazas and Muñoz Sánchez, p. 51). Moratín dismissed Cervantine theatre as well. See Sánchez and Aguilar Piñal.

[9] It is worth mentioning the studies by Díaz de Escobar; Cotarelo Valledor; Schevill and Bonilla's editions of Cervantes's works; Casalduero; Marrast; Yndurain; Valbuena Prat; Canavaggio, *Cervantès dramaturge*…, *Cervantes*…; Friedman; Sevilla Arroyo and Rey Hazas's edition of Cervantes's theatre; Zimic, *El teatro*…; Maestro, *La escena*…, *El teatro*…; Gómez Canseco's edition of Cervantes's theatre.

[10] *Don Quixote* II.11, p. 105.

[11] Cervantes, *Obras completas*, pp. 144 and 145. All quotations from Cervantes's theatrical works come from this edition.

followers'—rise to success. Cervantes, along with other members of his theatrical generation, imbued with humanistic training, sought to surpass the preceding theatre by dignifying it.[12] That is to say, they infused it with a certain personal and social ethical content. Its purpose was to illustrate and disseminate ideas without discarding its spectacular nature, which, according to Agustín de la Granja, 'is what provided the base for Cervantes's theatre, in its early years'.[13] The effort to infuse a greater sense of the ethical in the spectacular, a 'poetics of freedom', nevertheless found itself inevitably subordinated to the *comedia*'s aesthetic quality, governed by artistic precepts, classical or not.[14] This poetic freedom is what led Cervantes to experiment regularly and why his dramatic works do not fit neatly into a single mould. Thus, his theatre, more than any other Cervantine text, displays the author's humanism clearly and directly, his concern over expressing the authentic, complex, and precarious realities of life.[15] As Rey Hazas and Muñoz Sánchez have noted, Cervantes 'ridiculed and mocked Lope's—and his disciples'—theatre at every opportunity, particularly for their excessive use of stereotypes and purely theatrical clichés, removed from the realities of everyday life, which he deemed a crime against art'.[16] We are faced, therefore, with a playwright who, 'rather than "representing" the world, projects the world itself as a representation'.[17]

The rest of this essay explores examples of how Cervantes deploys his humanism and offers ethical solutions in his *comedias* of captivity, dramas in which he deals with the Other, and the vision this Other has of us. We focus on these plays because, perhaps more than in any others of his production, Cervantes displays his aesthetic innovations aimed at exposing the contradictions and vacuous ideals imposed by the absolutist monarchical ideology, which were very often propagated by Lope de Vega's theatre for the masses [teatro para el vulgo]. These *comedias* include: *El trato de Argel*, *Los baños de Argel*, *La gran sultana doña Catalina de Oviedo*, and *La conquista de Jerusalén por Godofre de Bullón*, which Stefano Arata discovered in the late 1980s.

In these four plays, in which Cervantes outlines his vision of the Other, the reader is brought face to face with a contradiction between a defence and a criticism of Christian orthodoxy; in other words, a contradiction implicit in the deployment of multiple passages of a marked Christian orthodoxy in which dialogues are inserted that are not only inconsistent with it, but actually subvert it. In my opinion, the reason for these moments of contradiction, these vacillations, is related to Cervantes's plan of bringing to the surface and dismantling, through his use of irony, various fatuous ideals such as honour, purity of blood, and exaggerated religious orthodoxy, which are imposed by the dominant

[12] Sánchez, pp. 29–30, and Ojeda Calvo, pp. 69–71.

[13] Granja, p. 226.

[14] Rey Hazas, 'Cervantes…', p. 44, p. 48.

[15] I concur with Jesús Maestro's observation that Cervantine theatre, including Cervantes's tragedy and *entremeses*, 'expresses convincingly the complexity and authenticity of real life, giving specific attention to the human experience during decisive moments of its evolution' (*La escena*…, p. 12). Maestro also argues that, underlying Cervantes's treatment of language, characters, and action, there are certain formal and functional characteristics that are considered foundations of contemporary dramaturgy (*La escena*…, p. 18).

[16] Rey Hazas and Muñoz Sánchez, p. 51.

[17] Spadaccini and Talens, p. 170.

ideology. Cervantes carries out his plan by contrasting the discourse on honour and excessive religious orthodoxy with the hypocrisy of human behaviour. Moors are seen through the eyes of Christians, and Christians through the eyes of Moors, eliciting a kind of 'vertigo' that, as pointed out by David R. Castillo, ends up destabilizing any assumption of a Christian cultural centrality.[18] Notions of cultural essentialism are based on rigid myths, such as a code of honour or blood purity, which cannot be kept in practice. In fact, the actual existence of relations between Christian females and Muslim males, or Muslim females and Christian males, cancels the value and viability of such myths. In effect, as these four plays show, it is impossible to act in compliance with the strictures of honour, or to maintain a religious or racial scrupulousness, without sometimes falling into incongruity or ridicule. In areas of cultural contact such as Algiers, Constantinople, or Jerusalem the social fantasy of a radically intrinsic difference between the One and the Other cannot be maintained.

On first impression, one might argue that these plays represent the moral superiority of Christians over the irreverence and lawlessness of the Moors,[19] as well as the hardships endured by captive Christians to defend their own faith in the lands of infidels. It is also clear that in these texts the Moors are accused of being naive, simpleminded, false, dishonest, cruel, sodomitic, and worshippers of heavenly bodies—the moon—like the Amerindians. Yet the question is not so simple, as illustrated by Johnson and Wardropper, since Cervantes creates ambivalences that arise from the juxtaposing of contrasting ideas. Bruce Wardropper stresses this notion when he points out that Cervantes 'scrupulously presents both sides of any question'.[20] Likewise, Carroll B. Johnson's approach to *La Numancia* emphasizes the intentional 'ambiguity' of Cervantine representation, and thereby the impossibility of a unique or definite interpretation: 'A "correct" reading, in the sense of definitely establishing the pre-eminence of one interpretation over the other, is thus rendered impossible. Precisely, I believe, as Cervantes wished it to be.'[21] In my view, this is a kind of ambiguity or ambivalence that Cervantes hopes the reader to surmount so that he can form his own opinion, one that may elicit judgments with repercussions in the world. Cervantes would thus be taking the Latin *sapere aude*—the 'dare to think' on your own that exercised so much influence during the Enlightenment—beyond the area of knowledge and over to the sphere of responsibility and ethics. By this I do not mean to suggest a Cervantes with notions proper to the Enlightenment, in the sense rejected by Mariscal, but rather a convinced Christian humanist with certain rationalist overtones. Cervantes strives to question the foundation of ethics and individual identity in concepts such as blood purity, honour, or nation, imposed by the political system as if they were part of a veritable Christian revelation. In its place, he proposes an ethics of virtue based on rationality and shared values.

In this sense, Cervantes breaks with the vision that Lope's plays of 1596–1603 seem to have of the Moors as blinded creatures driven by the devil and therefore unredeemed, inferior, incomplete in the religious sense, though not in the noble-chivalrous one.

[18] Castillo, David R., p. 122.
[19] See Casalduero, Friedman, and Rey Hazas, 'Las comedias . . .'.
[20] Wardropper, p. 218.
[21] Johnson, p. 316.

This is the case in such plays by Lope as *El hijo de Reduán*, *El hidalgo bencerraje*, *El remedio en la desdicha*, *El cerco de Santa Fe*, *La divina vencedora*, *El sol parado*, and *El cordobés valeroso*. The Moors in the above plays by Lope, and later the Indians as well in plays such as *El Nuevo Mundo descubierto por Cristóbal Colón* and *Arauco domado*,[22] are presented as distinguished, courageous, and noble; yet on the other hand they are incomplete, barbarous beings lacking a God. Cervantes destroys this dichotomy, showing the complexity of relations between Christians and the Other, and in doing so he dismantles through irony the vain ideals on which the identities of both—as well as their hatred and differences—are founded.

In Cervantes, the human aspect takes pre-eminence over everything else, and this is reflected in a constant preoccupation with the issue of honesty, as well as a fine defence of individual virtue. A good example of this humanism appears in *La gran sultana* in the exchange between two renegades, and another one in *Los baños* when showing the relations between Christians and Jews. At the beginning of *La gran sultana*, when Salec and Roberto talk with each other about their situation and the fact they have renounced their faith, Salec ends up by saying: 'que, si va a decir verdad, / yo ninguna cosa creo' [that, if truth be told, / I believe in nothing]. Roberto replies: 'Fino ateísta te muestras' [You are revealing yourself a fine atheist]. And Salec concludes:

> sólo sé que he de mostrarte,
> con obras al descubierto,
> que soy tu amigo, a la traza
> como lo fui en algún tiempo
> [all I know is that I will show to you
> with plain deeds
> that I am still your true friend
> as much as I was before.][23]

In other words, beliefs matter less than deeds, and this is why Cervantes shows empathy towards some of those renegades. He believes that among them there are souls that can still, with some effort, be recovered for Christendom—let us remember the sermons of Sayavedra in *El trato*. At the same time, he thinks these are human beings who, in many cases, have been drawn to change faith due to political and economic circumstances.

Regarding the way Jews are presented, while the Jew in *La gran sultana* defends against the perversity and insults of a Christian, calling him in turn 'bárbaro' [barbarous] and 'demonio' [devil],[24] Cervantes highlights in *Los baños*, in a burlesque tone, the evil nature of the Christian in contrast to the humility, submission, innocence, and sometimes servility of the Jew. The latter describes the other as 'Cristiano honrado' [honest Christian],[25] 'Buen cristiano' [Good Christian], and 'señor',[26] while the Spaniard

[22] On how the Amerindian is represented in the *comedia* of the Golden Age, see Castillo, Moisés R., *Indios en escena*.

[23] Cervantes, *La gran sultana*, I.190–7.

[24] Cervantes, *La gran sultana* I.443, 456.

[25] Cervantes, *La gran sultana*, II.1672.

[26] Cervantes, *La gran sultana* II.1289, 1299.

replies by calling him 'puto judío' [damned Jew] and 'hideputa' [son of a whore].[27] Thus in these plays we can detect the deeply rooted hatred that the Spaniard has always felt for the Jew, despite the fact that in the land of infidels, the Christian is a captive while the Jew is one among many free immigrants. This is perhaps the reason for the tolerance that the Muslims show toward the Jews, even though they consider the latter less worthy than Christians and therefore they treat them less fairly when applying the law. In *Los baños*, Jews appear as 'gente afeminada' [effeminate people],[28] guilty of everything because of their refusal to acknowledge the divinity of Christ, something they also stand accused of in *La gran sultana*. However, Cervantes subtly acknowledges his appreciation of the Jews in this environment, to the extent that they are the least hypocritical and the most perseverant in the defence of their own faith. Djadri has made this clear with the following words:

> In conclusion, both Christians and Muslims reproach the Jews their eternal damnation. The former do so ruthlessly; the latter more or less leniently. And perhaps Cervantes appreciates the attachment that Jews show for their religion as something exemplary, since he himself reproaches some Christians for the weakness of their beliefs, and blames Muslims for their scant faith.[29]

Cervantes's humanism is therefore reflected, in jocular but genuine fashion, in *Los baños*, when the Jew pays the ransom to free his worst enemy, the sacristan, even though the latter has been constantly insulting him, stealing from him, and mistreating him in various ways.

La gran sultana

Perhaps the most fascinating part of *La gran sultana* is the dialogue between the Turkish king and the pious Spanish captive Catalina de Oviedo. In this exchange, the Moor expresses his desire to mix his blood with that of the Christian woman, arguing that this should ennoble the Turk and give him a 'mayor ser' [greater being]:

> No habrá descubierto el sol,
> en cuanto ciñe y rodea,
> no, quien pase, que igual sea
> a un otomano español
>
> [The sun will have never seen,
> among everything it encircles and surrounds,
> anyone that can match
> a Spanish Ottoman.][30]

[27] Cervantes, *La gran sultana* III. 2542, 2544. [28] Cervantes, *La gran sultana* II.1291.
[29] Djadri, p. 137. [30] Cervantes, *La gran sultana*, II.1209, 1214–17.

There is even talk of the sons—'hermosísimos leones' [most beautiful lions][31]—they will have together. Cervantes's story line is thus made explicit; while she stubbornly defends her Christian orthodoxy with an arrogant, almost naive determination, the Moor, driven by lust, appears much more tolerant, understanding, laxer, and less intransigent, as he expresses his desire to marry her without any need for her to renounce her Christian faith. All of this while we know that Muslims are not allowed to marry Christians, much less if the marriage is not performed under Muslim law. At the beginning of the second act, the great Cadí, who is the judge-bishop of the Turks, emphasizes this very point when he sentences Madrigal to death if the latter, who has had sexual relations with a Muslim woman, does not convert to Islam and agrees to marry her. However, Madrigal's ruse and Cadí's laxness in applying the law end up saving his life. In the third act it will be Cadí, the religious and political leader himself, who, although feeling uncomfortable about it, does not prevent the marriage of the great Turk with the captive Catalina, even when he learns that the Muslim allows her to continue to practice her Christian religion.

Cervantes, in his plays, departs from the prejudices we have of the Moor as a blind and intolerant being. It would seem that Cervantes is making fun of the culture of honour and exaggerated orthodoxy when he creates in his play a Moor who is as lustful as the Spaniard, but more reasonable, and perhaps less hypocritical. The Turk, much more respectful toward the Christian woman, argues that he is not God and cannot force her to become a Muslim:

> ¿Tengo yo a cargo tu alma,
> o soy Dios para inclinalla,
> o ya de hecho llevalla
> donde alcance eterna palma?
> Vive tú a tu parecer
>
> [Am I in charge of your soul,
> or am I God that I can sway it,
> or indeed carry it
> where it may reach eternal reward?
> Live according to your own beliefs.][32]

The Turkish king of *La gran sultana* keeps a freer relation with the Christian woman because he does not feel bound by the code of honour and lives less pressured by blood purity. Besides, not only does he not mind that the Christian woman prays to God and the Virgin, but he even encourages her to do so because the hybridity that occurs in places like Constantinople or Algiers momentarily breaks the boundaries between Christians and Moors. The appearance of hybrid characters in religious and cultural terms, people who have been one thing or the other, or both at the same time—a Christian who became a Moor, a Moor who became a Christian, a renegade; and the use of a common language that 'ni es morisca, ni castellana, ni de otra nación alguna, sino

[31] Cervantes, *La gran sultana*, II.1221.

[32] Cervantes, *La gran sultana*, II.1242–6.

una mezcla de todas las lenguas, con la cual todos nos entendemos' [is neither Moorish nor Castilian, nor from any other nation, but rather a mixture of all the languages with which we all understand one another][33]—makes the relations more complex between the different communities that share this space.

Up to this point, I have mainly been discussing Cervantes's portrayal of the Turks, but how are Christians represented in these plays? Cervantes's strategy consists of confronting the reader with the contradiction implicit in the deployment of multiple passages of a marked Christian orthodoxy in which dialogues, behaviours, and circumstances are inserted that are not only inconsistent with said orthodoxy, but actually subvert it. In my opinion, with these vacillations and ambivalences, Cervantes tries to disarticulate, through irony, the vane ideals imposed by the absolutist monarchical ideology: honour, blood purity, and excessive religious orthodoxy. As we will see in these four plays, the idea is to try to counter such ideals with the crude reality of life or with the hypocrisy of human behaviour. In this sense, this kind of theatre allows for Christians to see themselves as the Other might see them: deceitful, arrogant, and hypocritical.

Already, from the beginning of *La gran sultana*, Cervantes makes fun of the blood purity ideology and the excessive Christian zeal exhibited by Madrigal (*gracioso*/jester) when he states that he is Spanish 'sin duda' [without a doubt], meaning pure-blooded Christian, and then adds: 'Y soylo, y soylo / lo he sido y lo seré mientras que viva, / y aun después de ser muerto ochenta siglos' [And so I am, and so I am; / and so I've been and I will be so long as I live, / even after I've been dead for eighty centuries].[34] But the ambiguities and ambivalences to which I have been referring are best shown in the attitude of characters like the sultana, Zayda, and Zelinda. While for the entire play we have seen a constant refusal by the sultana Catalina de Oviedo to mix her Christian blood with the Turk, which has led her to consider very seriously the possibility of becoming a martyr, we suddenly find her embellishing herself so that the 'abominable infidel' can enjoy her charms. Her father reproaches her saying that it is not good Christian behaviour to accept the marriage offer from the Turk—especially without torture—and that doing so would be a 'pecado mortal' [mortal sin].[35] She replies stating that at least she has the consolation of the fact that the infidel has allowed her to remain a Christian.

However, after all this insistence on orthodoxy, we may wonder if it would not have been more Christian to refuse such relations, keeping her blood purity, and die as a true martyr if need be, as in fact does another character in *Los baños* when he refuses to renounce his faith? This is definitely not possible, because the dilemma is as follows: Catalina cannot escape, and she cannot commit suicide because, as her father tells her, this would be counter to God's law. Nor is she allowed to die as a martyr for her faith, since the Sultan is not going to kill her even if she does not agree to his proposals, determined as he is to enjoy her. Her only alternative, therefore, is to marry the sultan and keep her honour and her faith. Thus Cervantes has orchestrated everything so that Catalina remains alive, keeps her Christian faith, marries the Moor, and is able to give

[33] Cervantes, *Don Quijote* I.41, p. 546.
[34] Cervantes, *La gran sultana*, I.522–4.
[35] Cervantes, *La gran sultana*, III.2012.

him a 'Spanish Ottoman'. This child, as Mariscal argues, is a head-on attack against the notion of blood purity, dogma, and the idea of nation that the absolutist state is trying to promote:

> [It] strikes at the very heart of ideologies of purity. In a single stroke it problematizes rigid categories of religion, nation, and ethnicity, and proposes a by no means undesirable (in the logic of this particular *comedia*) cultural and genetic synthesis. Cervantes was probably not lobbying for mixed marriages, yet his text forced contemporary readers to think about them as a tolerable fact of life.[36]

With this episode, Cervantes, if not quite promoting racial mixing, suggests it should be accepted and tolerated, and must be seen as a common occurrence not only in Constantinople, but also—like it or not—as something that happens every day in the Iberian peninsula.

Furthermore, in *La gran sultana* Cervantes attacks the forbidding nature of the Spanish code of honour when he has the Turkish king say to her: 'no eres mía, tuya eres' [You are not mine; you are yours].[37] This inversion is not in keeping with the view of Spanish society according to which the authoritarian husband must play the role of safeguard of honour and virtue for both himself and his wife. Moreover, the Turk wishes to make her a 'señora, / por subir el bien de punto' [*señora* / to heighten her honour and standing][38] when he could just enjoy her by force as a slave (and this situation is repeated in *El trato* and in *Los baños*). In this manner he further suggests that the Turk's idea of virtue is very similar to that of a Christian, as illustrated in the following passage: 'el Amor, / . . . / teniéndome por su esclavo / no me deja ser *señor*' [Love, / . . . / by keeping me as his slave, / does not let me be *señor*].[39] Also, the Turk adopts a kind of discourse that is typical of Christian missionaries—and appears for example in *Guzmán de Alfarache*—when he points to the conflict between (liberatory) reason and (enslaving) desire. Therefore, the Moor-Christian roles are inverted, and one can see the former through the eyes of the latter and vice versa, thus breaking any notion of an intrinsic cultural centrality.

El trato de Argel

Already, in *El trato de Argel*, Cervantes criticizes the greed of Muslims who buy and sell and effectively speculate with human lives. But here are the same defects ascribed to Christians, as expressed by Slave 1º in *El trato*:

> [Esclavo] 1º: que mis ancianos padres, que son muertos,
> y un hermano que tengo se ha entregado

[36] Mariscal, p. 201. [37] Cervantes, *La gran sultana*, II.1324.
[38] Cervantes, *La gran sultana*, II.1284–5. [39] Cervantes, *La gran sultana*, III.2222–5.

en la hacienda y bienes que dejaron,
el cual es tan avaro, que, aunque sabe
la esclavitud amarga que padezco,
no quiere dar, para librarme della,
un real de mi mismo patrimonio

[My elderly parents have died,
and a brother of mine is dedicated to
the estate and the assets that they left,
and he is so stingy that, though he knows
the bitter slavery I suffer,
he refuses to give, in order to free me from it,
a single *real* from my own inheritance.][40]

If the Jew in *La gran sultana* is the one who insults the Christian by calling him 'dog' and 'devil' because, according to the emblematic tradition, he spits like a salamander,[41] in *El trato*, the Moorish king insults the Spaniard in Arabic, saying: '¡Cito cifuti breguedi!', i.e. '¡Shut up, you cuckolded Jew!'[42] rather than 'cuckolded Christian' as one would expect. In other words, seeing him as an infidel, the Moor insults the Christian using the same word that the Christian uses to insult the Other Jew. Even though Schevill and Bonilla inform us that these words were often used to refer to any infidel, we could argue, as Castillo and Spadaccini have—following in part De Armas Wilson—that: 'Here Cervantes deploys interlinguistic hybridization to parody the Christian imperialist discourse or master narrative which assimilates Jews, Moors, and Indians into a mythical image of otherness.'[43] The Moor returns the Christian's own prejudices back to him when he asks: '¿Almas tenéis los cristianos?' [So you Christians have souls?].[44] But it is in the next passage where one can most clearly appreciate the corrosive power of Cervantes's irony. The pirate Mamí makes fun of the importance that honour has among Christian Spanish noblemen sailing the Mediterranean when they allow themselves to be caught, robbed, and made captive by pirates in order to avoid the degradation of rowing. Mamí says:

Pero allá tiene la honra
el cristiano en tal estremo,
que asir en un trance el remo
le parece que es deshonra;
y, mientras ellos allá
en sus trece están honrados,
nosotros, dellos cargados,
venimos sin honra acá

[But over there Christians hold
their honour in such esteem

[40] Cervantes, *El trato de Argel*, III, vv. 1545–51.
[41] Cervantes, *La gran sultana*, I.456–8.
[42] Cervantes, *El trato de Argel*, IV.2352.
[43] Castillo and Spadaccini, p. 255.
[44] Cervantes, *El trato de Argel*, I.169.

that taking the oars in need
seems to them a great dishonour;
and while over there they keep
stubbornly full of honour,
we come with shiploads of them
over here, without honour.][45]

The Moor appears to be much shrewder and boasts about not being constrained by such a vacuous and silly notion of social identification as honour. The Mercader 1º (First Merchant) voices his selfish wish that, in the Spaniard

Esa honra y ese engaño
nunca salga de su pecho,
pues nuestro mayor provecho
nace de su propio daño

[May this honour and this deceit
never come out of his bosom,
because our highest profit
comes from its own harm.][46]

Cervantes equates 'honour' with 'deceit' and 'harm'. It is clear for him that this excess or extreme zeal about such notions as honour is rather a deception and leads to inaction. He is therefore documenting the social reality of the victims who suffer in their own selves the pressures of the code of honour. Clearly and categorically, Cervantes is criticizing the code of honour as an alienating mechanism.

Los baños de Argel

In this third part I will mention some examples of this kind of ambivalence in *Los baños de Argel*. *Los baños* stages the captivity of a group of Spaniards and the love vicissitudes of don Lope, a captive from Spain, and Zahara, a Moorish woman, who are the main characters in this play. Cervantes creates a strange series of situations and circumstances that bring forward these paradoxes or ambivalences, and through them he dismantles the sterile constructs that forge the social identity of his time. Here, the Moorish woman is in charge of giving genuine faith lessons to the nobleman don Lope. When he kneels at her feet, like a slave, and asks the infidel to be allowed to kiss her hands, which would initiate an absolutely forbidden relationship, she responds:

'No es bien que se descompongan
con moras labios cristianos.

[45] Cervantes, *El trato de Argel*, II.851–8.

[46] Cervantes, *El trato de Argel*, II.859–62.

Por mil señales has visto
cómo yo toda soy tuya,
no por ti, sino por Cristo;
y así, en fe de que soy suya,
estas caricias resisto

[It is not a good thing to undo
Christian lips with Moorish women.
You have seen a thousand signs
that I am all yours,
not for you, but for Christ,
and thus, to prove that I am his,
these caresses I resist.][47]

The woman indicates that, since she wants to become a Christian, she will accept the love, but not the caresses, of a Christian man, since this would mean making him sin. The irony of the situation is that the Moorish woman sees herself from the point of view of a Christian, and degrades herself. She loves don Lope as a Christian, not as a Moor, and that is the reason she respects him. However, as don Lope insists in wanting to have her hand, Zahara replies: 'No, sino dame tus pies, / que eres cristiano y yo mora' [No, but rather give me your feet, / since you are a Christian and I am a Moor].[48]

The entire passage shows a contradiction between faith and purity of blood: the first has to do with will power, the second with origins. This is to say that from the perspective of faith, she is a Christian, but from the perspective of blood purity, she is a Moor. Therefore, with this example, Cervantes opens a breach and highlights the contradiction within the official discourse, where both notions tend to get confused. Zahara, who ironically has paid don Lope to bring her to Spain to get baptized—in addition to paying for his ransom—is putting herself in the position of an inferior, the position of a slave to the captive Spaniard. Christianity must dominate Islam. But it is frankly surprising that it should be Islam, personified by the Moorish woman, which gives lessons in faith to the Spaniard. Is this not another wink to the reader by Cervantes?

Djadri has expressed it in a different manner, highlighting the tolerance that Moors show toward Christians, both in *Los Baños* and in *La gran sultana*, and emphasizing Cervantes's critique of the notion of blood purity:

> We can see through this perspective that the movement to friendship or love, or even to the opening of new horizons, other men, other lands, is made once again from the Muslim character toward the Christian one… This being so, could we not say that somehow Cervantes is criticizing, in this roundabout fashion, the spirit of caste and blood, the separatist spirit of the Spaniards of his time, completely averse to any opening toward the outside?[49]

[47] Cervantes, *Los baños de Argel*, III.2683–9.
[48] Cervantes, *Los baños de Argel*, III.2753–4.
[49] Djadri, pp. 170–1.

Finally, I will quote the crudest example of Cervantes's critique of orthodoxy and the ideal of blood purity in this play, a case that borders on the absurd. Francisquito has been martyred for refusing to accept Islam and keeping his Christian name. His father, el Viejo, finds him, tied to a pillar and bleeding 'en la forma que pueda mover a más piedad' [in a manner that can move one to the utmost pity].[50] Francisquito then implores his father to untie him so that he can die lying down or sitting 'como es costumbre espirar' [as it is customary to expire].[51] However, his father refuses to do as he asks; he will not help him and untie him because, he says, in this way Francisquito imitates Christ better and will make a better martyr: 'Si vas caminando al cielo, / no has de sentarte en el suelo; / más ligero vas ansí' [If you are walking to heaven, / you must not sit on the floor; / you will go faster this way].[52] When finally his father runs away and gets on a boat for Spain, he carries with him the remains of his son in a bloodied cloth, referring to them as 'reliquias santas' [holy relics].[53] Casalduero thinks that this is a beautiful scene of pity and devotion: 'The Father, embracing the pillar where his Son is dying, is centuplicating in a beautiful gesture the moving power of sacrifice'.[54] However, I interpret the exaggeration present in the episode, based on the crucifixion of Christ, as leading one to understand it in a parodic, almost ridiculous fashion. After the tragedy of his martyrdom, it seems rather outlandish that a father and his son should be found discussing whether or not the latter should die sitting down 'as it is customary to expire'. In other words, by framing such a pious moment in this exaggerated and crude manner, where the father increases his son's pain and quickens his death, the sacrifice is completely trivialized, inspiring almost a sense of mockery rather than devotion. Certainly, examples such as the ones analysed in this work are the ones that Cervantes wished his readers to see 'slowly' and examine them carefully in the reading or representation of his plays.

La conquista de Jerusalén

Along these lines, the second act of *La conquista de Jerusalén* stages an important conflict of faith, along with an insult on blood purity; during a conversation between Boemundo and Tancredo, two of the crusade princes, Boemundo is surprised by Tancredo's tolerance and uncommon restraint while with the beautiful Moorish protagonist Erminia. Tancredo explains solemnly and harshly to Boemundo that honour and faith have restrained his impulse, that is, 'cumplir con lo que debe a caballero / y aquello [a] que le obliga ser cristiano' [to abide by what a gentleman should do / and that which a

[50] Cervantes, *Los baños de Argel*, p. 277; this is the stage direction after III.2554.
[51] Cervantes, *Los baños de Argel*, III.2557.
[52] Cervantes, *Los baños de Argel*, III.2560–2.
[53] Cervantes, *Los baños de Argel*, III.3013.
[54] Casalduero, p. 102.

Christian is obliged to do].[55] He adds that if she were Catholic, he would have had no objection to seducing her:

> Si ella fuera bautizada creo
> que nunca yo mostrara los estremos
> de continencia y liberal que dices;
> mas la pérfida seta que ella guarda
> fue causa [que] de Erminia me guardase
>
> [If she were baptized, I believe
> I would have never shown such extreme
> tolerance and restraint that you speak of;
> but the deceitful sect she holds
> caused me to restrain myself from Erminia.][56]

Nevertheless, the honourable and sanctimonious Tancredo soon will become enamoured of another Moorish girl, in this case the beautiful Clorinda, to whom it seems he shows no restraint. He desires to make her a prisoner of love and war—'la cautivaré' [I'll captivate her]—, and conquer her love with power—'no usaré la cortesía' [I'll exercise no courtesy]—, expressing:

> y allí rindirá el amor,
> con la potencia en que estriba,
> el señor a la cautiva,
> no la cautiva al señor
>
> [and there, love will conquer,
> with its great power
> and a man will captivate her,
> not she will captivate the man.][57]

However, this is not to say the protagonist does not realize or question his irreverent and sinful behaviour '¡Ay, mal nacido deseo' [Oh, cursed desire!].[58] On the contrary, Cervantes shows this through Tancredo's explicit conflict of faith in passages such as the following:

> ¡Deja, miserable, deja
> aquel bien que se te aleja
> más cuanto lo sigues más!
> Su pie por la senda ruin
> de Mahoma va muy listo,

[55] Cervantes, *La conquista de Jerusalén*, II.713–14; quotes from this play come from the edition by Brioso Santos.
[56] Cervantes, *La conquista de Jerusalén*, II.693–7.
[57] Cervantes, *La conquista de Jerusalén*, II.1320–7.
[58] Cervantes, *La conquista de Jerusalén*, II.1290.

el tuyo por la de Cristo.
¡Mira si es contrario al fin:
dame ser los dos temor,
de tan diferentes greyes!
Mas lo que apartan las leyes
suele juntar el amor.

[Stop, wretch, stop
oh goodness that leaves
the more you desire it!
Her foot, on the despicable path
of Mohammed, is ready,
and yours on the path to Christ.
See if she is an enemy in the end:
Oh the fear of both being
from such different flocks!
But that which the law separates
tends to join in love.][59]

As shown in the last two verses, human fragility provoked by desire and love is precisely what is imposed on dogma, a common theme explored in the rest of Cervantes's works of captivity.

Another important example occurs at the beginning of the third act. The soldiers Charles and Fabricio are discussing the crusade and during this exchange, Charles expresses his happiness. When Fabricio asks why he is so overjoyed, the answer is quite revealing: 'El ser esta jornada diferente / de cualquier otra, qu'ésta es santa y justa, / las demás llenas de ambición y envidia' [As this war day is different / from any other, for it's holy and just, / the other [war days] are filled with ambition and envy].[60] Labelling this war as 'the only holy and just one' appears to be an unnecessary exaggeration, although typical of Cervantes, as it plants ambiguity and forces the public to read between the lines. At the very least, it plants doubt surrounding not only this 'holy war', but all of 'the other [wars] fuelled by ambition and envy'. From a critical standpoint, the passage shows, perhaps, distrust in war and postulates a self-criticism with respect to the motivations of the battles Christians have fought up until this point.

In sum, in *La gran sultana*, *El trato de Argel*, *Los baños de Argel*, and *La conquista de Jerusalén* the zones of contact between Moors and Christians become the stages of human dramas that end up revealing the absurd nature of the social fantasies that distance us from the Other. The ambivalence, the ambiguity, the appearance of simultaneously contrary ideas, and the irony that at times show up in Cervantes's plays take us away from the official orthodoxy—in many instances propagated by Lope's *comedia nueva*—by proposing the defence of human integrity, virtue, and understanding. In these dramas, we see intertwined passions, beliefs, and attitudes that range from antipathy to

[59] Cervantes, *La conquista de Jerusalén*, II.1293–303.
[60] Cervantes, *La conquista de Jerusalén*, III.1336–8.

sympathy. Generally, desire is the common denominator, which, if not destroying dogmatic attitudes completely, at least suspends them momentarily. Therefore, as in *Don Quixote*, the point is to move the reader towards a humanism that attacks dogmas and absolute certainties, one that criticizes the short-sightedness of essentialism and denounces religious and cultural intransigence.

Works Cited

Arata, Stefano. '*La conquista de Jerusalén*, Cervantes y la generación teatral de 1580'. *Criticón* 54 (1992): pp. 9–112.

Aguilar Piñal, Francisco. 'Cervantes en el siglo XVIII'. *Anales Cervantinos* XXI (1983): pp. 153–63.

Bataillon, Marcel. *Erasmo y España: Estudios sobre la historia espiritual del Siglo XVI* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1966).

Canavaggio, Jean. *Cervantes* (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1986).

Canavaggio, Jean. *Cervantès dramaturge: un théâtre à naître* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1977).

Casalduero, Joaquín. *Sentido y forma del teatro de Cervantes* (Madrid: Aguilar, 1951).

Castillo, David R. *(A)wry Views: Anamorphosis, Cervantes, and the Early Picaresque* PSRL 23 (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 2001).

Castillo, David, and Nicholas Spadaccini. 'Cervantes and the Culture Wars'. In *Cervantes and His Postmodern Constituencies*, edited by Anne J. Cruz and Carroll B. Johnson, Hispanic Issues 17 (New York and London: Garland, 1999), pp. 248–59.

Castillo, Moisés R. 'Espacios de ambigüedad en el teatro cervantino: *La conquista de Jerusalén* y los dramas de cautiverio'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 32, no. 2 (2012): pp. 123–42.

Castillo, Moisés R. *Indios en escena: La representación del amerindio en el teatro del Siglo de Oro*, PSRL 48 (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 2009).

Castillo, Moisés R. '¿Ortodoxia cervantina?: Un análisis de *La gran sultana*, *El trato de Argel* y *Los baños de Argel*'. *Bulletin of the Comediantes* 56, no. 2 (2004): pp. 219–40.

Castro, Américo. *El pensamiento de Cervantes* (Barcelona: Noguer, 1972).

Cervantes, Miguel de. *Comedias y entremeses*, edited by Rodolfo Schevill and Adolfo Bonilla, 6 vols (Madrid: Bernardo Rodríguez, 1915–22).

Cervantes, Miguel de. *Comedias y tragedias*, edited and coordinated by Luis Gómez Canseco, 2 vols (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 2015).

Cervantes, Miguel de. *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, edited by John Jay Allen, 2 vols (Madrid: Cátedra, 2010, 2003).

Cervantes, Miguel de (atribuida). *La conquista de Jerusalén por Godofre de Bullón*, edited by Héctor Brioso Santos (Madrid: Cátedra, 2009).

Cervantes, Miguel de. *Obras completas III, Trato de Argel, Numancia, Ocho comedias y ocho entremeses, Viaje del Parnaso, Poesía suelta*, edited by Florecio Sevilla Arroyo (Guanajuato: Museo Iconográfico del Quijote, 2013).

Cervantes, Miguel de. *Teatro completo*, edited, introduction, and notes by Florencio Sevilla Arroyo and Antonio Rey Hazas (Barcelona: Planeta, 1987).

Cotarelo Valledor, Armando. *El teatro de Cervantes* (Madrid: Tipografía de la Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos, 1915).

Díaz de Escobar, Narciso. *Apuntes escénicos cervantinos o sea un estudio histórico, bibliográfico y biográfico de las comedias y entremeses escritos por Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra* (Madrid: Librería de la viuda de Rico, 1905).

Djadri, Khadidja Zerroug. *Argel en la obra de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra: Estudio de El trato de Argel, Los baños de Argel, El cautivo (Don Quijote cap. 39–40–41)*, Disertación (Argel: Université d'Alger, 1980).

Friedman, Edward H. *The Unifying Concept: Approaches to the Structure of Cervantes's Comedias* (York, SC: Spanish Literature Publications, 1981).

Granja, Agustín de la. 'Apogeo, decadencia y estimación de las comedias de Cervantes'. In *Cervantes*, edited by Anthony Close et. al. (Alcalá de Henares: Centro de Estudios Cervantinos, 1995), pp. 225–54.

Johnson, Carroll B. '*La Numancia* y la estructura de la ambigüedad cervantina'. In *Cervantes: Su obra y su mundo*, edited by Manuel Criado de Val (Madrid: EDI-6, 1981), pp. 309–16.

Maestro, Jesús G. *El teatro de Miguel de Cervantes ante el IV Centenario*, *Theatralia* 5, (Pontevedra: Mirabel Editorial, 2003).

Maestro, Jesús G. *La escena imaginaria: Poética del teatro de Miguel de Cervantes* (Madrid and Frankfurt: Iberoamericana, Vervuert, 2000).

Mariscal, George. '*La gran sultana* and the Issue of Cervantes's Modernity'. *Revista de Estudios Hispánicos* 28, no. 2 (1994): pp. 185–211.

Marrast, Robert. *Miguel de Cervantès dramaturge* (París: L'Arche, 1957).

Ojeda Calvo, María del Valle. 'Antes del Arte Nuevo: El teatro de Cervantes'. In *XXIV Coloquio Cervantino Internacional. Cervantes dramaturgo y poeta*, edited by Florencio Sevilla Arroyo (Guanajuato: Centro de Estudios Cervantinos, 2014), pp. 57–93.

Rey Hazas, Antonio. 'Cervantes y el teatro'. *Cuadernos de Teatro Clásico* 20 (2005): pp. 21–98.

Rey Hazas, Antonio. 'Las comedias de cautivos de Cervantes'. In *Los imperios orientales en el teatro del Siglo de Oro*, edited by Felipe Pedraza Jiménez and Rafael González Cañal (Almagro: Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 1994), pp. 29–56.

Rey Hazas, Antonio and Juan Ramón Muñoz Sánchez. *El nacimiento del cervantismo: Cervantes y el Quijote en el siglo XVIII* (Madrid: Verbum, 2006).

Sánchez, Alberto. 'Aproximación al teatro de Cervantes'. *Cuadernos de Teatro Clásico* 7 (1992): pp. 11–30.

Spadacinni, Nicholas and Jenaro Talens. *Through the Shattering Glass*: *Cervantes and the Self-Made World* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993).

Stackhouse, Kenneth A. 'Beyond Performance: Cervantes's Algerian Plays, *El trato de Argel* and *Los baños de Argel*'. *Bulletin of the Comediantes* 52, no. 2 (2000): pp. 7–30.

Valbuena Prat, Ángel. *El teatro español en su Siglo de Oro* (Barcelona: Planeta, 1969).

Vilanova, Antonio. *Erasmo y Cervantes* (Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1949).

Wardropper, Bruce. 'Cervantes's Theory of the Drama'. *Modern Philology* 52, no. 4 (1955): pp. 217–21.

Yndurain, Francisco. 'Cervantes y el teatro'. Estudio preliminar a su edición de *Obras de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra. II Obras dramáticas* (Madrid: Atlas, 1962), 'Biblioteca de Autores españoles', no. 156, pp. vii–lxxvii.

Zimic, Stanislav. *El teatro de Cervantes* (Madrid: Castalia, 1992).

Zimic, Stanislav. 'Sobre la clasificación de las comedias de Cervantes'. *Acta Neophilológica* 14 (1981): pp. 63–83.

CHAPTER 19

VERSIFICATION IN CERVANTES'S DRAMA

KATHLEEN JEFFS
Gonzaga University

We know that the author of *Don Quixote* was a captivating storyteller whose works are full of winks and nods, labyrinths, and blind alleys, but was his poetry any good? As Domínguez Caparrós writes, most discussions about Cervantine verse revolve around the question of whether he was a good poet or not, and these comments date to the time of Cervantes's own critics.[1] Critics writing during this period include Fernando de Herrera (*Anotaciones*, 1580), Juan Díaz Rengifo (*Arte poética española*, 1592), Alonso López Pinciano (*Filosofía antigua poética*, 1596), and Gonzalo Correas (*Arte de la lengua española*, 1626). Many writers who praise Cervantes's prose are just as effusive in their criticism of his verse. This negative opinion has led to a dearth of studies of his verse, in comparison to the other aspects of his oeuvre.[2]

But the aficionado of Cervantine writing and its idiosyncrasies need not despair. There is a wealth of ingenuity in his verse, as a fan of his work will expect there to be. His innovations include forms that Domínguez Caparrós terms 'artificiosas'; they may have been invented by Cervantes, or at least he may have composed well-known examples of them.[3] He makes somewhat less use than other playwrights of some forms that may be better known (such as the six mentioned by Lope de Vega in his *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias en este tiempo* [*The New Art of Writing Plays in This Time*]), in that he adheres more closely to the complexities of medieval verse. While the plays of Lope, Tirso, and later, Calderón, modernized their use of verse and kept to the more popular native Spanish and imported Italian verses, Cervantes employs the whole gamut of strophes

[1] Domínguez Caparrós, p. 16. See Schevill, pp. 17–18. Highlights of Cervantine verse are excerpted by Castro.

[2] This study has benefited from the advice of Jonathan Thacker and Victor Dixon, to whom I express my thanks.

[3] Domínguez Caparrós, p. 11.

and *coplas*, including choices like *lexaprén* and *perqué*, *zéjel*, and *canción medieval*, which were somewhat less common with later playwrights[4] (Lope de Vega tended to use the *redondilla* as his foundational form, whereas Calderón's 'basic' form was the *romance*).[5]

This study focuses on the use of polymetric verse in Cervantes's drama. Cervantes wrote both full-length plays and *entremeses*, and published some of them in his *Ocho comedias y ocho entremeses nuevos, nunca representados* of 1615. He also wrote plays that are not included in that collection, two of which survive and which were performed in Madrid: *El cerco de Numancia* and *El trato de Argel*, which was probably his first play. In 1992 Stefano Arata published an edition of *La conquista de Jerusalén*, which is thought to be the third of Cervantes's plays from this time that has survived to the twenty-first century.

A landmark study of Cervantes's dramatic writing was undertaken by Schevill and Bonilla along with an edition of his complete works, which included an analysis with the edited plays (1922). Scholars on the subject of Spanish versification include Navarro Tomás and Baehr, and the works that consider Cervantes's versification include those of Rojas, Blecua, and Domínguez Caparrós.

Golden Age dramatists wrote their *comedias* almost exclusively in polymetric verse. They used the form they judged most suitable to the characters, theme, mood, or tone of each section of their plays. Lope de Vega advised in his *Arte nuevo*:

> [*versos sueltos*]
> Acomode los versos con prudencia
> a los sujetos de que va tratando.
> Las décimas son buenas para quejas;
> el soneto está bien en los que aguardan;
> las relaciones piden los romances,
> aunque en octavas lucen por extremo;
> son los tercetos para cosas graves,
> y para las de amor, las redondillas.[6]
>
> [Suit your verses prudently
> to the subjects that they treat.
> *Décimas* are good for complaints;
> the sonnet suits those who wait alone;
> narratives call for *romances*,
> though in octaves they also shine.
> Tercets are for grave matters,
> and for matters of love, *redondillas*.][7]

This advice was not followed strictly or exclusively, not even by Lope himself, but it is helpful to guide the reader and listener/spectator of Spanish dramatic polymetry in the

[4] These forms are studied by Domínguez Caparrós. [5] Thacker, p. 180. [6] Vega, p. 148.
[7] All translations were completed by the author of this chapter unless otherwise noted.

basics of why and how verse changes occur. The most exciting thing about the way Cervantes employed the medium is the variety of forms he was able to use for different effects. In his influential 1985 article, Dixon connected the aural and structural functions of verse-change:

> The author would start each new *salida*—with rare exceptions—in a new verse form. But within the *salida* he would often change metres again, *not* (unless coincidentally) at the entry or exit of a character, but to modify significantly… the aural impact of the verse. The successive passages in different metres and stanza forms are indeed, I submit, the true *(sub)-escenas*, *micro-secuencias*, or building-blocks of the play; the poetic structure of a *comedia* coincides with, *is* its dramatic structure, and to clarify one can only illuminate the other.[8]

Recent works by Vitse, Antonucci, and Güell investigate the structural function of verse forms in the plays of Lope de Vega and others.[9] Most studies separate their analysis into two areas: treatments of Spanish verse, including the *romance* [a ballad], the *redondilla*, the *quintilla*, and the *décima*, all of which are written in lines of eight syllables each (Cervantes also wrote in *romancillos*, *octavillas de pie quebrado*, and *seguidillas*, among other Spanish forms); and Italianate verses (normally eleven or seven syllables per line), which were imported in the sixteenth century, take a variety of forms later seen in drama as *tercetos*, *octavas reales*, the sonnet, *versos sueltos*, the *silva*, and the *lira*. Thacker writes, 'Garcilaso de la Vega and Juan Boscán had been encouraged by their friend Castiglione, in the 1520s and 1530s, to experiment in Spanish with forms such as the Petrarchan sonnet, and their poetry was much imitated'.[10] The Italianate lines of eleven syllables carry a stress on either the sixth or on the fourth and eighth. All are used in rhyming patterns, except the *versos sueltos*, although even these may include rhyming couplets [*pareados*], especially at the conclusion of a sequence.

Such patterns are evident to the reader of Cervantes's plays, but, '[w]hat is harder to recover is the Golden Age audience's apparent ability to hear changes in metre and form and thus be sensitive to the shifts of mood and other subtleties that came with them'.[11] The social and educational stratification of the Golden Age theatre-going audience meant that some of the hearers would be attuned to each shift and change, while many others might have been more attracted to the fast-paced plots and cross-dressed actresses showing off their legs in men's breeches. It might be a cliché to say that there was something for everyone in the complex plays on stage during the seventeenth century, but when an actor paused to deliver a sonnet, alone on stage as if giving an aria in an opera, members of the audience would vary greatly in their appreciation of the quatrains, tercets, and philosophical reflections contained in the compact medium of the

[8] Dixon, 'The Uses of Polymetry', pp. 120–1; original emphasis. See also his 'The Study of Versification . . .', pp. 384–402.

[9] All three studies appear in Antonucci.

[10] Thacker, p. 180.

[11] Thacker, p. 179.

sonnet's versification.[12] Cervantes was both an innovator and an imitator during his writing career; some of his versification is unique to him, some of it a tongue-in-cheek parody of his contemporaries. In order to consider Cervantes's dramatic verse, it will be helpful first to look at verse-change in one of his plays, and then to examine several particular examples, following the tradition of studying first the native Spanish verse-forms, and thereafter those imported from Italy.

Analysis of verse-change: *Pedro de Urdemalas*

Pedro de Urdemalas intrigued producers and directors at the Royal Shakespeare Company and was performed in English translation in 2004–5 as part of their Spanish Golden Age season. This play, with a protean trickster as titular character and guide through its episodic structure, offers the reader and spectator a glimpse of Cervantes's polysemic art, as he plays with the boundaries between art, performance, and identity.[13]

Cervantes's play begins with 150 lines of *quintillas*, in which Pedro meets a sighing shepherd and his jealous lady-love, Clemencia.[14] The form shifts to *octavas reales* (151–66) for Clemente to make a lofty declaration of love, before returning to octosyllables for their reconciliation, given in three *redondillas* (167–78). Pedro stays on stage, but new characters enter: a rural mayor and his aldermen speak in *tercetos* (179–209), prepare in *quintillas* (210–89) to hear a dispute between two peasants, and then do so in *endecasílabos sueltos* with a final *pareado* (290–360). When Clemente returns with Clemencia, now veiled, to appear before the court, the metre shifts to *octavas reales* (361–75), but to tell the tale of their love, which has incurred the harsh disapproval of her father, he turns to the six-line *liras* (*sextetos alirados*) of the most common type, aBaBcC, in seven and eleven syllables (376–435). Pedro dips into the Mayor's hood to extract the sentence, reading out a *pareado* (436–7); the pair are permitted to marry. Only now it is revealed, in four *octavas reales* (438–69), that the mayor himself is Clemencia's father.

[12] Dixon, *El perro* . . . , p. 55.

[13] This play serves as an example of Cervantes's reaction to Lopean dramaturgy, as he undercuts Lope's dominant playwriting styles in several ways. 'Cervantes pointedly ignores Lope's advice in the contemporaneous *Arte nuevo* suggesting the setting up of "el caso" in Act 1, its complication until the middle of Act 3 and then abrupt resolution . . . Instead he builds his play around episodes from the ingenious Pedro's life' (Thacker, p. 59). Additionally, Lope would have organized his plot around a leading lady (*dama*) and gentleman (*galán*), taking three acts to resolve obstacles to the match, whereas Cervantes concludes Act One with a peasant wedding, vaguely associates the gypsy girl Belica as a love match for Pedro that never comes to fruition, and shows the King to be besotted with his niece, all of which belie Lope's complex but ultimately neatly tied-up plots and love stories. 'Love, it emerges, is just one aspect of life, which may be found and may be missed. In the *comedia nueva* it has become the *raison d'être*' (Thacker, p. 59).

[14] All subsequent references to and quotations from *Pedro de Urdemalas* will be by act and line number as given in the edition by Florencio Sevilla Arroyo and Antonio Rey Hazas (Madrid: Alianza, 1998).

The court scene concludes in *quintillas*, but Pedro remains on stage, joined by two new characters, Pascual and a sexton, and though they are also replaced when they leave by another, the gypsy leader Maldonado, that metre remains unchanged (470–599). When Pedro embarks, however, on an autobiographical monologue, it gives way to a passage in *romance* with an unusual assonance in 'i' (600–767). Maldonado listens patiently, then changes the form to ten lines of *endecasílabos sueltos* to lavish praise on Pedro's story and end the scene in a *pareado* (768–77). Back to *quintillas* (778–957) for the sexton to play a trick on Pascual and his lover Benita; Pedro unravels it and provides a solution. Clemente reappears with musicians to celebrate love in a song, 'The Night of St. John', in six-syllable *romancillos* (958–98). Clemente speaks four *quintillas* (999–1018), and Benita, Pascual, and he, in ten lines in *endecasílabos sueltos* ending with a *pareado* (1019–28), call for a different song, a *seguidilla* with a *glosa* (1029–52). In the final scene of the act, given wholly in *quintillas* (1053–232), the location of the action then shifts to the gypsy territory where Pedro meets the gypsy-girl Belica and her companion Inés, and they encounter a rich widow, whom Pedro lays plans to swindle.

Act Two also begins in *quintillas* (1233–317), with the rustic Mayor's plan to introduce an innovation in dancing that is sure to astound all who see it, namely a troupe of twenty-four male dancers dressed as females. But the audience has to wait to see them in action, because first a blind beggar and Pedro (dressed as another) appear beneath the widow's window; they pray and converse in *octavillas de pie quebrado* (1318–49, 1355–94) interrupted by a single *quintilla* (1350–4) in which Pedro introduces his repertoire of prayers. The widow then appears and Pedro persuades her in *quintillas* (1395–534) that payments to an emissary from Purgatory will ensure the liberation of her relatives there. They clear the stage, replaced by Maldonado and Belica, and the *quintillas* continue for a further 200 lines (1535–734) as the action proceeds with the King and his hunting-party, where the King is struck with admiration for Belica's beauty. The location then changes for the royal court's visit to the country, given in an extended passage of *redondillas* (1735–2126).

Cervantes begins Act Three yet again in *quintillas* (2127–371), in which Pedro, disguised as an old hermit, carries out his elaborate plan to trick the widow into giving him her well-guarded savings. The location and verse-form then shift for the Queen's conversation with a courtier, Marcelo, given in five *redondillas* (2372–91), in which she shows him some jewels, which he recognizes as having belonged to her brother, and in a narrative monologue in *romance* with assonance in 'o-a' (2392–551), he explains how they passed to that brother's baby daughter, who has been brought up by gypsies. The metre shifts to *redondillas* (2552–659) when the Queen brings in Belica, and she is declared to be a long-lost member of the royal family. The location then shifts to the street as Pedro, now dressed in student garb, discusses his changeable luck and re-invents himself once again (*redondillas*, 2660–91). With the assistance of an acting troupe that happens to pass by, Pedro swindles a farmer out of his chickens in a passage of *quintillas* (2692–871). The protean trickster Pedro then gives a remarkable speech about the nature of acting in a conversation with the theatre troupe, held in *redondillas* (2872–959). When their company's leader appears, Pedro offers his services (having

claimed convincingly to know what it takes), and they are summoned to perform at court. The *redondillas* continue, as they will for the rest of the action (2960–79, 2996–3159), interrupted only by a song (about the King's infatuation with Belica, and the jealousy of the Queen) in six-syllable *romancillos* (2980–95). All, of course, is happily resolved, and the actors depart to give their command performance; the offstage audience are not to see it, but Pedro, addressing them in a final set of *endecasílabos sueltos* with a *pareado* (3160–80), promises them a proper *comedia* tomorrow.

We may note that, overall, only a small percentage of the play's lines are Italianate, and that (apart from Pedro's speech to the audience at the end of Act Three) they are used only in Act One (in nine brief passages, for declarations of love, or to suggest the pretentiousness of the rustic officials). Among the (mostly octosyllabic) Spanish verse-forms, *quintillas* account for almost half of the lines overall, and are used to begin every act. *Redondillas* account for a quarter of the total lines used, though for only twelve lines in Act One. The *romance* form is used only twice, for narrative monologues. The verse-form changes eighteen times in Act One, though only five times in Act Two, and nine times in Act Three.

In many Golden Age plays, when the stage clears and new characters enter, a change of verse-form is used to emphasize a shift of place and/or time. In this play, Cervantes adopts that practice on some occasions, but not on others; a new form appears at two such moments in Act One (at lines 778 and 1053), but the stage also empties at lines 244 and 509, when the verse form does not change. The verse changes at two such points in Act Two—1318 and 1735—but not at 1535 or 1803. In Act Three, the stage clears and the verse changes at line 2372, but not at the other times this happens, at lines 2660, 2872, and 2960.

Much can be learned from studying the verse in *Pedro de Urdemalas*. With each change, Cervantes deftly signals new locations and moods, and the verse has the effect of a musical underscore to the action. As Pedro changes costumes, vocal accents, and re-invents himself time and again to serve his particular aims in each scene, so does our playwright apply metres and forms that suit each course of action. There are *octavas* for important appeals and trussed-up magistrates; *liras* for lyrics on love; songs in *romancillos*, and autobiographies in *romance*. The staple forms, the *quintilla* and *redondilla*, do the bulk of the work and make the more unique forms sound even more special by contrast.

Turning to a selection of examples from Cervantes's dramatic writing, more attention can be given to individual forms, and the choices the writer makes in employing each one.

Verse-forms native to Spain: *redondillas*, *quintillas*, and *romance*

A commonly used strophe in the *comedia* of the Golden Age is the *redondilla*. This form, with four-line stanzas of eight syllables, rhymes ABBA and is often used for dialogue and action. Cervantes, with typical self-awareness, has his quintessential actor, Pedro,

address the gypsy-girl-turned-noblewoman, Belica, creating a moment of theatre in just four lines:

> [*redondillas*]
> PEDRO Yo, farsante, seré rey
> cuando le haya en la comedia,
> y tú, oyente, ya eres media
> reina por valor y ley.[15]
>
> [PEDRO I an actor shall be king
> when I perform one in a scene;
> you, watching me, are half a queen,
> by your worth and by your breeding.][16]

Cervantes compresses the essential elements of theatre into those lines: the actor, the audience, and their shared complicity in the pretence. By linking his actor's trade with the lady's newfound high social station, he also makes a jibe at the constructed nature of lineage and hierarchy, a theme in which his characters and contemporaries are steeped.

Cervantes used eight-syllable lines throughout his plays for many different dramaturgical purposes. Essentially a five-line *redondilla*, another regularly used form is the *quintilla*, or *copla real*, which Rengifo referred to as the *copla redondilla* until the name *quintilla* came to be used to distinguish them. Domínguez Caparrós identifies a *quintilla* (*copla redondilla*) by its rhyme pattern, which can vary: *ababa*, *abaab*, *aabab*, *abbab*, and *aabba*, and there are sometimes variations.[17] The *copla real* in Cervantes is a pair of two *quintillas* that often rhyme *ababa:ccddc* or *aabba:cddcd*, and it is used in *La Galatea*.[18]

Cervantes's use of the *quintilla* and the *copla real* is frequent in *Pedro de Urdemalas*, such as in the very opening lines:

> [*quintillas*]
> CLEMENTE De tu ingenio, Pedro amigo,
> y nuestra amistad se puede
> fiar más de lo que digo,
> porque él al mayor excede,
> y della el mundo es testigo;
> así, que es de calidad
> tu ingenio y nuestra amistad,
> que, sin buscar otro medio,
> en ambos pongo el remedio
> de toda mi enfermedad.
>
> [CLEMENTE Ingenious Pedro, between us two

[15] Cervantes, *Pedro de Urdemalas*, III.3040–3.

[16] Cervantes, *Pedro the Great Pretender*, p. 114. In this translation, Osment uses polymetric forms that nearly match the Spanish rhyme schemes, so the reader can get a sense of what those forms sound like in English. For an account of his translation methods, see also Osment, pp. 89–99.

[17] Domínguez Caparrós, p. 86; Thacker, p. 182.

[18] Navarro Tomás, p. 249; Domínguez Caparrós, pp. 22, 86, and 89.

exists a friendship that won't die;
there is a wiliness in you,
on which I'm sure I can rely;
the whole world knows this to be true!
Your wit and our friendly relations,
how high they rank in my estimation!
And so on them I place my trust
as in my present state I must
to be my succour and salvation.][19]

While they are similar in purpose to their close cousin the *redondilla* in that they allow scenes to flow rapidly with a regular rhyme and rhythm, *quintillas* are also occasionally used within other forms, as in this case in the second act of the play of a single *quintilla* inserted in the midst of a passage of *octavillas de pie quebrado*:

[*octavillas de pie quebrado*]
CIEGO ¿Es vistoso, ciego honrado?
PEDRO Estoy desde que nací
en una tumba encerrado.
CIEGO Pues yo en algún tiempo vi;
pero ya, por mi pecado,
nada veo,
sino lo que no deseo,
que es lo que vee un desdichado.
¿Sabrá oraciones abondo? [*quintillas*]
PEDRO Porque sé que sé infinitas,
aquesto, amigo, os respondo,
que a todos las doy escritas,
o a muy pocos las escondo.
Sé la del *Ánima sola*, [*octavillas de pie quebrado*]
y sé la de *San Pancracio*,
que nadie cual ésta viola;
la de *San Quirce* y *Acacio*,
y la de *Olalla española*,
y otras mil,
adonde el verso sotil
y el bien decir se acrisola;
[BLIND MAN You've a whole sight of tricks maybe,
honoured Blind Man?
PEDRO I've been entombed
since birth in dark obscurity.
BLIND MAN Once I had sight but I was doomed
to lose it, God has punished me.
Now I can't see a thing,
unless it's something displeasing

[19] Cervantes, *Pedro de Urdemalas*, I.1–5; p. 15.

which is what the accurséd see.
You know a lot of prayers, do you?
PEDRO So many prayers I can recall,
this is no boast, I swear it's true:
I give out copies to one and all,
and those I hide them from are few;
I know one for the spirit and there's
St Pancras's prayer, efficacious
in warding off rape; I know prayers
of Saints Quirce and Acacious,
and Spanish Eulalia, where
the verse is sublime,
and the expression so divine,
they've refinement beyond compare].[20]

In terms of language, the intervening *quintilla* here allows for a break in the sound, a key change as it were, which allows the Blind Man to change his tone when asking Pedro if he knows any good prayers that might be efficacious in their situation of what he believes is shared blindness. When he changes the subject of his conversation from how he was sighted at one time but is now blind, to the matter of doing something about it, '¿Sabrá oraciones abondo?', Pedro seizes the opportunity to tee up his list of prayers and uses a simple *quintilla* to give him time to invent the list. The *quintilla* is a placeholder, a rhetorical pause, while the trickster puts the names together to best impress the blind man he intends to dupe.

The *romance* is a traditional ballad form that goes back to medieval times, and is widely used in popular works, often those that tell a narrative planted firmly in the national imagination. Cervantes's intriguing play, *La gran sultana*, like many plays of the age, includes a passage in this assonant form near the beginning. The play begins with a descriptive dialogue, in forty-nine lines of Italianate *tercetos*, between Roberto and a Turk, Salec, towards the end of which the Grand Turk and his entourage pass by. The pair comment on his splendour in two *quintillas*, but in a third, they agree that Roberto will continue a narrative that he began the previous day. He then does so in eighty-eight lines of *romance* (with an e-o assonance), after which they discuss the situation in the same free-flowing metre until they exit forty-eight lines later. The change from *quintillas* to *romance* reinforces the moment of transition from dialogue to narrative.

A striking example of the use of *romance* for narrative comes with Pedro de Urdemalas's autobiographical monologue that he delivers as a kind of set-piece to impress the gypsy chief. He includes many of his exploits and adventures, including that a gypsy fortune teller once predicted that he would join them:

[*romance*]
PEDRO Y, aunque yo no le doy crédito,
todavía veo en mí
un no sé qué que me inclina

[20] Cervantes, *Pedro de Urdemalas*, II.1342–62; p. 59.

a ser todo lo que oí;
pues, como deste pronóstico
el indicio veo en ti,
digo que he de ser gitano,
y que lo soy desde aquí.
[PEDRO And although I don't believe him,
still I sense deep down inside,
an inclination to become
all that I heard prophesied.
His prediction may be fiction
but it's manifest in you,
I declare, from this time forth,
I'm going to be a gypsy too.][21]

Readers will note that the translator, Osment, made a choice with this speech not to strictly follow the assonance of the original, but to rhyme internally and on alternate lines, and he explains: 'I decided to give this more the quality of a rap with internal rhyming to draw attention to Pedro's interest in playing with words and meaning. In speaking these lines John Ramm, who played Pedro in the Royal Shakespeare Company production, found ways of using the internal rhymes to illustrate Pedro's ironic view of life, his wit and his intelligence.'[22]

Forms imported from Italy: the *octava real*, *tercetos*, *versos sueltos*, and *pareados*

An elegant form that appears in the *comedia* is the *octava real*. This form has a tradition of use for bucolic poetry, such as that of Boscán. It is used by Cervantes in his 'Canto de Calíope', and he praises its formal qualities in his *Viaje del Parnaso*. The full-length play *La casa de los celos* begins with 200 lines of *octavas reales*, which are eleven-syllable lines in stanzas of eight lines, rhyming ABABABCC. This form is associated with national 'epic poetry (such as Ercilla's *La Araucana*) and was popular with the quasi-tragic playwrights of the 1580s, such as Cueva, Virués, and Cervantes, who used it heavily in *El cerco de Numancia*'.[23] A contemporary, cultured listener would think of lines written in this form by Garcilaso, one of the most accomplished poets of the Golden Age, and expect a heightened situation or aristocratic speaker.[24] The lengthened lines allow for a sense of heightened language and provide room for elaborate phrases and rhetorical flourishes.

Octavas reales can be used to emphasize the gravity of a situation, or the stateliness of the speaker. In the first act of Cervantes's play *El cerco de Numancia*, the character of

[21] Cervantes, *Pedro de Urdemalas*, I.760–77; p. 38. [22] Osment, p. 94.
[23] Thacker, p. 184. [24] Dixon, *El perro* . . . , pp. 55–6.

personified Spain, crowned with towers and carrying a castle, laments her suffering under the Romans, who are increasingly oppressive:

[*octavas reales*]
ESPAÑA ¡Alto, sereno y espacioso cielo,
que con tus influencias enriqueces
la parte que es mayor deste mi suelo,
y sobre muchos otros le engrandeces,
muévate a compasión mi amargo duelo;
y, pues al afligido favoreces,
favoréceme a mí en ansia tamaña,
que soy la sola desdichada España![25]

[SPAIN Lofty, serene, and spacious Heaven above!
Who with your starry influence and love
enrich the greater part of this, my earth,
and over all the rest exalt its worth.
Be moved to pity by my bitter grief,
you, who to the afflicted bring belief,
O favour me in this, my so-great pain,
who am the lonely and unlucky Spain!][26]

The effect of the verse form is to allow for a vast and sweeping scope to the appeal from Spain to Heaven, and it furthers Spain's objective to move her all-powerful listener to compassionate action. But they also can be used for contrapuntal effect. The form can also give the speaker an air that may surpass dignity and edge into arrogance and self-aggrandizement.[27] Conversely, if they are used by a peasant, it may show noble qualities not typically associated with the low-born. This is the case in Cervantes's *Pedro de Urdemalas* with the sighing-shepherd Clemente, who initiates a change from *redondillas* to *octavas reales* as he attempts to win back the object of his affections, the shepherdess Clemencia; these are the last four lines of the first octave:

[*octavas reales*]
CLEMENTE si siempre sobre el cerco de la luna
no has sido por mi lengua levantada,
cuando quiera decirte mi querella,
mudo silencio el cielo infunda en ella;

[CLEMENTE if my tongue has ever failed to raise you
way beyond the circle of the moon,
may I be silenced by the heavens above,
when next I come to make complaints of love.][28]

[25] Cervantes, *La Numancia*, I.353–60, p. 26.

[26] Cervantes, *The Siege of Numantia*, p. 13; note that the translator replaces the rhyme scheme of the *octavas reales*, ABABABCC, with rhyming couplets, AABBCCDD.

[27] Güell, p. 116.

[28] Cervantes, *Pedro de Urdemalas*, I.155–8; pp. 19–20. See also Jeffs, p. 145.

Three-line stanzas of eleven syllables, each in a variety of rhyming patterns, are known as *tercetos*. *Los baños de Argel* opens with twenty-two lines in *tercetos encadenados*, eleven-syllable lines arranged in three-line 'linked' stanzas that relate to one another. They do this by linking the rhymes, i.e. ABA, BCB, CDC, for any number of repetitions, and often ending with two couplets, YZYZ.[29] This pattern is used in the first few stanzas of *Los baños de Argel*, which opens with an exchange between the Captain of Algiers, Cauralí, and a renegade, Yzuf. The three-line stanzas allow for quick exchanges and set the scene clearly. The tone is not as formal as the heavily patterned *octavas reales*, yet the hendecasyllabic line heightens the language, which raises the stakes in a tense, active scene that opens *in medias res*.

Endecasílabos sueltos and *pareados*

Unrhymed hendecasyllables in the Italianate style are not rare in the *comedia*, since this is a useful and versatile form that offers a higher register without the bounded regularity of rhyme. Navarro Tomás mentions three instances of their use by Cervantes in *La entretenida*, *Pedro de Urdemalas*, and the *entremés El rufián viudo*.[30] Another instance is in *El rufián dichoso*, which opens with seventy-two of these lines, only the last pair of which rhyme.[31] Cervantes often employs low-born characters drawn from *la hampa* [an underworld], and here their language reflects their status as 'ruffians'. The lengthened lines allow the speakers room to give their exposition and draw both their onstage and auditorium hearers into the story 'poco a poco' [little by little], all the while getting accustomed to the slang of their world, as they vie for position and describe celebrated ruffians whom they admire.

Endecasílabos sueltos are found regularly in works of the period, indeed they are the form in which Lope de Vega wrote his *Arte nuevo*. Given without rhyme except for the occasional couplets, they offer an opportunity for vacillation between high ideals, poetic expression within the metre, and basic human interaction in dialogue. A charming passage in *sueltos* in the first act of *Pedro de Urdemalas* that incorporates typically Cervantine comic wordplay, and which will remind the reader of Sancho Panza's stint as a mayor in *Don Quixote*, includes this country mayor Crespo's verbal flubs:

> [*versos sueltos*]
> HORNACHUELOS ¿Es aquesto verdad, buen Lagartija?
> LAGARTIJA Verdad; pero yo hallo por mi cuenta,
> o que yo soy un asno, o que Hornachuelos
> me queda a deber cuatro.
> ALCALDE ¡Bravo caso!

[29] Domínguez Caparrós, p. 22.
[30] Navarrio Tomás, p. 241.
[31] Cervantes, *El rufián dichoso*, I. 71–2, p. 156.

LAGARTIJA No hay más en nuestro pleito, y me rezumo
en lo que sentenciare el señor Crespo.
REDONDO Rezumo por *resumo*, allá va todo.
ALCALDE ¿Qué decís vos a esto, Hornachuelos?
HORNACHUELOS No hay qué decir; yo en todo me arremeto
al señor Martín Crespo.
REDONDO Me *remito*,
¡pese a mi abuelo!
ALCALDE Dejadle que arremeta;
¿qué se os da a vos, Redondo?
REDONDO A mí, nonada.

[CRESPO Good Lagartija now, is this the truth?
LAGARTIJA True. However on my account I find,
that either I'm an ass or Hornachuelos
does owe me four.
CRESPO A fascinating case!
LAGARTIJA That's the sum of our dispute and I'll concuss
with any sentence that the mayor shall give.
REDONDO Concuss and not concur, it makes no odds.
CRESPO What have you to say now, Hornachuelos?
HORNACHUELOS There's nothing more to say, I'll convalesce
with Señor Crespo.
REDONDO Oh my giddy aunt!
It's acquiesce!
CRESPO Let him convalesce,
what's it to you, Redondo?
REDONDO To me? Nothing!][32]

There is a comic contrast here between the lengthened, Italianate form, and the mock-learned language that peppers the conversation. The malapropisms of Crespo and his rustic complainants and their inability to try the case with any degree of decorum are even more ridiculous because the exchange takes place within a spate of formal verse.

Special forms: the *lira* and the sonnet

Cervantes's play *El laberinto de amor* offers the reader a number of passages in the *lira* form, which 'is most commonly a six-line mixture of seven- and eleven-syllable lines, of which the sixth must be hendecasyllabic and must rhyme with the fifth. (The form that Garcilaso had introduced to Spanish was in fact a five-line one).'[33] The rhyme scheme is often *abbacC*, but for all of the passages in this form in *El laberinto de amor*, they are

[32] Cervantes, *Pedro de Urdemalas*, I.306–17; p. 25.

[33] Thacker, p. 184.

aBaBcC. The *lira* is, as its name implies, a lyrical form, which is often 'accompanied by the diction and imagery typical of Petrarchan-style love poetry'.[34] Yet on the surface it is a more or less pedestrian dialogue about a bird and the destination of some travellers. In that passage, there are twelve eleven-syllable lines and twelve seven-syllable lines. The form of the *lira* allows for an intriguing contrast between form and content, and an invitation for the reader to pay close attention to the identities of the speakers.

In *Pedro de Urdemalas*, the shepherd, Clemente, uses *liras* in sextets to describe his love for Clemencia, who appears veiled in order to conceal her identity from her disapproving father:

> [*sextetos alirados*]
> CLEMENTE Sus rayos se imprimieron
> en lo mejor del alma, de tal modo,
> que en sí la convirtieron:
> todo soy fuego, yo soy fuego todo,
> y, con todo, me yelo,
> si el sol me falta que me eclipsa un velo.
>
> [CLEMENTE Her rays impressed themselves
> upon the best part of my heart that they
> transformed my heart to rays:
> I'm all afire and fire is all I am
> and yet withal I freeze
> since by my sun's eclipse a veil is all I see.][35]

The language, with its contradictions typical of *conceptismo* and the love poetry of Petrarch, is suited to its form, the *lira*.[36] As the lines roll back and forth between seven and eleven syllables, so can the dialogue offer dips and crests of meaning and embellishment.

Sonnets, imported into Spain from the Italian tradition, are a formal mode of expression and in drama indicate a moment of heightened thought, often of rumination on a single idea or image. Because they are solo pieces that normally represent the thought process of one character, they function often like an aria in an opera, allowing a pause in the dramatic action.[37] In most cases the sonnets are Petrarchan, with hendecasyllabic lines rhyming ABBA, ABBA, CDC, DCD, or alternatively with the final two tercets rhyming CDE, CDE. There are other variations on the rhyming of the tercets. Cervantes preferred the version that rhymes ABBA, ABBA, CDE, CDE, the style used by Garcilaso, Herrera, and Góngora, whereas Lope de Vega often rhymed the final tercets CDC, DCD, as did Quevedo and Calderón de la Barca.[38] The prose works of Cervantes contain many sonnets, such as those in *Don Quixote*, *La Galatea*, and *La ilustre fregona*. Cervantes is innovative with his use of sonnets, such as in two instances mentioned by Navarro

[34] Thacker, p. 185.

[35] Cervantes, *Pedro de Urdemalas*, I. 382–7; p. 27. Note that here Osment uses the line lengths of the *lira* but not the rhyme scheme.

[36] See Cervantes, *La entretenida* . . . , p. 153, n. 42.

[37] See Dixon, Introduction to *El perro del hortelano*, p. 56.

[38] Navarro Tomás, pp. 233–4.

Tomás: the sonnet divided up into a dialogue between Babieca and Rocinante in *Don Quixote* and the sonnet interrupted by other lines of dialogue in *La entretenida*.[39] *La entretenida* contains five sonnets, two of which have a special feature called *estrambote*, or three extra lines at the end:[40]

[*soneto con estrambote*]
DON AMBROSIO Por ti, virgen hermosa, esparce ufano, contra
el rigor con que amenaza el cielo,
entre los surcos del labrado suelo,
el pobre labrador el rico grano.
Por ti surca las aguas del mar cano
el mercader en débil leño a vuelo;
y, en el rigor del sol como del yelo,
pisa alegre el soldado el risco y llano.
Por ti infinitas veces, ya perdida
la fuerza del que busca y del que ruega,
se cobra y se promete la vitoria.
Por ti, báculo fuerte de la vida,
tal vez se aspira a lo imposible, y llega
el deseo a las puertas de la gloria.
¡Oh esperanza notoria,
amiga de alentar los desmayados,
aunque estén en miserias sepultados![41]

[DON AMBROSIO For you, beautiful virgin, the poor peasant,
in spite of the sky's menacing severity,
happily scatters the rich grain
between the furrows of the soil he has worked.
For you the merchant ploughs the waters
of the ancient sea in a fragile sailing ship,
and in the harshness of the sun and snow
the soldier contentedly treads peaks and prairies.
For you so many times,
when he who seeks and pleads has lost his strength,
victory has been promised and demanded.
For you, the sturdy staff of life,
perhaps one aspires to the impossible,
and desire arrives at the gates of glory.
Oh famous Hope, you raise our flagging spirits,
although they may be entombed in misery.][42]

The *estrambote* adds the apostrophe to *esperanza*, to hope, which elevates and clarifies the entire sonnet. This poetic feature was admired in the Golden Age, and Cervantes

[39] Navarro Tomás, p. 234. [40] See Buceta.
[41] Cervantes, *La entretenida*…, II. 1269–85; pp. 69–70.
[42] Cervantes, *The Diversion*. O'Neill's translation does not follow the verse pattern of the sonnet.

himself says of the *estrambote*, that those that are 'cantados encantan, y escritos suspenden' ['sung are enchanting, and written are breathtaking'].[43]

Verse in the *entremeses*

Cervantes, ever the innovator, wrote short, comic plays in a variety of styles. He admired Lope de Rueda's *pasos*, short dramatic pieces which form part of larger plays often published alongside them. Writers of *entremeses*, separate 'interludes' performed in between the acts of full-length *comedias* and that in this period are sometimes unrelated or only tangentially related to the main action, include Juan del Encina, Lope de Rueda, Francisco de Quevedo, and Luis Quiñones de Benavente.[44] Cervantes's *entremeses* are written mostly in prose, which was the mode of the early writers of short pieces, with only two of the eight written in verse: *El rufián viudo* and *La elección de los alcaldes de Daganzo*. Verse later became the standard form as the *comedia* took shape and was performed with interludes, farces, and dances in between the acts of the play.

Entremeses in prose with occasional verse

Cervantes's use of occasional verse in the plays written mostly in prose includes songs at the end. *El juez de los divorcios* is in prose, apart from a song at the end in twenty octosyllabic lines of *canción medieval*.[45] His comic play *La guarda cuidadosa* is a mix of prose and verse, with a few little songs and rhymes thrown in. Cervantes's language is witty and particularly full of innuendo in this play, such as his passage of prose which delights in a fray of words between a soldier and a sexton.[46] *El vizcaíno fingido* is mostly in prose, apart from a song in assonant form with a repeating *estribillo*, or little chorus, in this case one line 'o sabe poco, o no nada'.[47] *El retablo de las maravillas*, Cervantes's race-relations version of the story of 'The Emperor's New Clothes', is in prose. *La cueva de Salamanca* is also mostly in prose, apart from eight lines of *arte mayor* rhyming ABBAACCA, and thirty-six lines of *romance consonante*, a form that is relatively rare. In this case it is the job of the Sacristán to find words to rhyme with the Barbero's chiming in with the word 'Salamanca' at the end of each stanza.

[43] *Don Quixote*, II.38; quoted in Fuente Fernández.

[44] A panoramic view of the development of the *entremés* is given by Thacker, pp. 156–62. See also Asensio.

[45] The form of *canción medieval* normally rhymes 'abbacddcabba' (Domínguez Caparrós, p. 130). However, the passage is 'abbacddcabbaeffeabba' with the underlined lines functioning as an *estribillo* at the end (p. 40).

[46] Two different translations of that passage are analyzed by Smith, 'Transformation and Fluidity . . .'.

[47] Cervantes, *Entremeses*, pp. 129–30, original emphasis.

El viejo celoso is also in prose, but contains twenty-six lines of *villancico*, which is a form usually used for songs, normally appearing in six or eight syllables per line, and is structured into the chorus (*estribillo*), the *estrofa* or *pie*, which itself divides into two sections: first four verses that separate into two *mudanzas*, and a *vuelta*. The *villancico* in *El viejo celoso* is the song 'El agua de por San Juan' in consonantal rhyme:[48]

CAÑIZARES Señores, no quiero música: yo la doy por recebida.
MÚSICOS Pues aunque no la quiera.
[*villancico*]
MÚSICOS El agua de por San Juan
quita vino, y no da pan.
Las riñas de por San Juan
todo el año paz nos dan.
Llover el trigo en las eras,
las viñas estando en cierne,
no hay labrador que gobierne
bien sus cubas y paneras;
mas las riñas más de veras,
si suceden por San Juan
todo el año paz nos dan.
[CAÑIZARES Gentlemen, I don't want any music. I shall consider your duties already discharged.
MUSICIANS Well, even though you don't want it… *They sing*.
The rain that falls on Midsummer's Day
Weakens the wine and spoils the hay.
Quarrels in June at the Feast of St John
The rest of the year are forgotten and gone.
When wheat is golden, full and fine,
The grapes are scanty on the vine,
The farmer's barns may overflow
While yet his casks in wine are low.
A quarrel that seems bound to grow,
If it falls in June at the Feast of St John
The rest of the year is forgotten and gone.][49]

Entremeses written in verse

El rufián viudo is mostly in eleven-syllable unrhymed lines (*sueltos*) and concludes in *romance*, which assonates with repeating 'a' sounds on alternate lines. In this passage in

[48] Domínguez Caparrós, p. 120.
[49] Cervantes, *Entremeses*, pp. 188–9, original emphasis; *Eight Interludes*, p. 143. Note the translation does not follow the verse pattern of the *villancico* but does display some of its other poetic features.

sueltos, Trampagos, the 'widowed pimp', praises the faithfulness of his best prostitute, Pericona, who has recently died:

> [*versos sueltos*]
> TRAMPAGOS Quince cuaresmas, si en la cuenta acierto,
> pasaron por la pobre desde el día
> que fue mi cara, agradecida prenda,
> en las cuales, sin duda, susurraron
> a sus oídos treinta y más sermones,
> y en todos ellos, por respeto mío,
> estuvo firme, cual está a las olas
> del mar movible la inmovible roca.
>
> [TRAMPAGOS Fifteen times the Lenten season came,
> deafening her with countless pious sermons,
> throughout them all she kept her faith in me,
> unflinching, like the steadfast rock that stands
> against the pounding of the restless sea.][50]

The parody of the bucolic eclogues of Garcilaso de la Vega is clear here, as in those writings 'shepherds become enamoured of nymphs and lament the sad death of one of them. Cervantes's Interlude turns this Vergilian image upside-down, substituting prostitutes and pimps for nymphs and shepherds'.[51] Smith notes that Cervantes 'also uses the same metrical measure as Garcilaso, while replacing the traditional pastoral imagery with ribald and irreverent allusions'.[52] Cervantes is fond of those; here he refers to the clerical practice of delivering sermons directly to prostitutes on Good Friday, imploring them to repent, and Trampagos describes, teary-eyed, how she withstood those and remained faithful to her pimp.

The second verse interlude is *La elección de los alcaldes de Daganzo*, mixing forms with syllable lengths ranging from six to twelve per line. Included among those forms are the *seguidilla* (which varies in length) and the *romancillo*, which resembles a *romance* but is in six-syllable lines instead of eight. The final example here is in characteristically Cervantine meta-dramatic style, as the verses are then commented upon by the onstage hearers:

> MÚSICOS ¡*Vivan de Daganzo los regidores*,
> *que parecen palmas, puesto que son robles*!
> *Bailan*.
> JARRETE ¡Brava trova, por Dios!
> HUMILLOS Y muy sentida.
> BERROCAL Éstas se han de imprimir, para que quede

[50] Cervantes, *Entremeses*, p. 43; *Eight Interludes*, p. 31. The translation is given more or less in pentameters.

[51] Smith, Introduction, p. 23.

[52] Smith, Introduction, p. 23.

memoria de nosotros en los siglos
de los siglos. Amén.
BACHILLER Callen, si pueden.
[MUSICIANS Councillors, may you live many days,
solid as oak and worthy of praise.
(*They dance.*)
KNUCKLEKNEES What excellent verses!
PUFF So deeply felt!
CLOD They should be published as a fitting monument
to us for all the ages yet to come.
BACHELOR HOOF I wish they'd stop their chatter and be quiet!][53]

Conclusion

In the preface to his *Ocho comedias y ocho entremeses nuevos, nunca representados*, Cervantes wrote of his intention to publish his plays and that he was resigned to the fact that this might be in place of their performance:

> [M]e dijo un librero que él me las comprara si un autor de título no le hubiera dicho que de mi prosa se podía esperar mucho, pero que del verso, nada; y, si va a decir la verdad, cierto que me dio pesadumbre el oírlo.
>
> [[A] bookseller said that he would have bought them if a licensed actor-manager had not told him that, although much could be expected of my prose, my poetry was worthless. I must confess that this caused me much grief.][54]

The notion that Cervantes's plays were consigned to the page because no one wanted to perform them is disappointing to his readers who imagine them playing out with distinctiveness on the stage, offering playgoers an alternative to Lope's mode of playwriting, dominating the playhouses of the time. Cervantes wrote in polymetric verse, as did his contemporaries, yet his versification and language are bounded only by his own style. His dramatic works' innate performativity and theatricality is heightened by the metrics, rhyme, and form of the language. In this study, an analysis of the verse in *Pedro de Urdemalas* and examples from his other plays has given rise to the following contention: with each line Cervantes winks at his readers and invites them to play in his gymnasium of language, toying with the boundaries of form. As form interacts with style, so his verses speak to readers and audiences of a writer whose colourful personal history plays out in every twist of plot and turn of phrase.

[53] Cervantes, *Entremeses*, p. 79; original emphasis; *Eight Interludes*, p. 51.
[54] Cervantes, *Entremeses*, pp. 14–15; *Eight Interludes*, p. 5.

Works Cited

Antonucci, Fausta, editor. *Métrica y estructura dramática en el teatro de Lope de Vega* (Kassel: Reichenberger, 2007).

Arata, Stefano. '*La conquista de Jerusalén*, Cervantes, y la generación teatral de 1580'. *Criticón* 54 (1992): 9–112.

Asensio, Eugenio. 'Entremeses'. In *Suma cervantina*, edited by J. B. Avalle-Arce and E. C. Riley (London: Tamesis, 1973), pp. 171–97.

Baehr, Rudolf. *Manual de versificación española*, translated by K. Wagner and F. López Estrada (Madrid: Gredos, 1970).

Blecua, José Manuel. 'La poesía lírica de Cervantes'. In *Sobre poesía de la edad de oro*, edited by Blecua (Madrid: Gredos, 1970), pp. 161–95.

Buceta, Erasmo. 'Apuntaciones sobre el soneto con estrambote en la literatura española'. *Revue Hispanique* LXXII (1928): pp. 460–74.

Castro, Adolfo de, editor. *Poetas líricos de los siglos XVI y XVII* (Madrid: Atlas, 1951).

Castro, Adolfo de. *The Diversion*, translated by John O'Neill. http://entretenida.outofthewings.org/text/diversion/princeps/I-3.html.

Cervantes, Miguel de. *Eight Interludes*, translated by Dawn L. Smith (London: J. M. Dent, 1996).

Cervantes, Miguel de. *El rufián dichoso*. In *Cervantes completo*, vol. 14, edited by Florencio Sevilla Arroyo and Antonio Rey Hazas (Madrid: Alianza, 1998).

Cervantes, Miguel de. *Entremeses*. In *Cervantes completo*, vol. 17, edited by Florencio Sevilla Arroyo and Antonio Rey Hazas (Madrid: Alianza, 1998).

Cervantes, Miguel de. *La entretenida; Pedro de Urdemalas*. In *Cervantes completo*, vol. 16, edited by Florencio Sevilla Arroyo and Antonio Rey Hazas (Madrid: Alianza, 1998).

Cervantes, Miguel de. *La Numancia*. In *Cervantes completo*, vol. 3, edited by Florencio Sevilla Arroyo and Antonio Rey Hazas (Madrid: Alianza, 1996).

Cervantes, Miguel de. *Pedro the Great Pretender*, translated by Philip Osment (London: Oberon, 2004).

Cervantes, Miguel de. *The Siege of Numantia*, translated Roy Campbell. In *The Classic Theatre*, edited by Eric Bentley (New York: Doubleday, 1959), pp. 97–160.

Díez Echarri, Emiliano. *Teorías métricas del Siglo de Oro* (Madrid: Gráficas menor, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1949).

Dixon, Victor. *El perro del hortelano: A Critical Edition* by Lope de Vega (London: Tamesis, 1981).

Dixon, Victor. 'The Study of Versification as an Aid to Interpreting the Comedia'. In *The Golden Age Comedia: Text, Theory and Performance*, edited by Charles Ganelin and Howard Mancing (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 1994), pp. 384–402.

Dixon, Victor. 'The Uses of Polymetry: An Approach to Editing the *Comedia* as Verse Drama'. *Michigan Romance Studies* 5. *Editing the Comedia* (1985): pp. 104–25.

Domínguez Caparrós, José. *Métrica de Cervantes* (Alcalá de Henares: Centro de Estudios Cervantinos, 2002).

Fuente Fernández, Francisco Javier. 'Reivindicando a Cervantes poeta'. https://literaturayotrosmundos.wordpress.com/2013/07/25/reivindicando-a-cervantes-poeta-ii-el-soneto-con-estrambote-mas-famoso/. Accessed 8 January 2016.

Güell, Monica. 'Usos dramáticos y estéticos de la versificación en *El perro del Hortelano*'. In *Métrica y estructura dramática en el teatro de Lope de Vega*, edited by Fausta Antonucci (Kassel: Reichenberger, 2007), pp. 109–32.

Jeffs, Kathleen. 'Mellifluent Influence: *Octaves reales* in Translation in the Royal Shakespeare Company's Golden Age Season'. In *Connecting Past and Present: Exploring the Influence of the Spanish Golden Age in the Twentieth and Twenty-First Centuries*, edited by Aaron M. Kahn (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015), pp. 133–57.

Navarro Tomás, Tomás. Métrica española*: Reseña histórica y descriptiva* (New York: Las Américas, 1966).

Osment, Philip. 'The Rhyme and the Reason: On Translating *Pedro de Urdemalas*'. In *The Spanish Golden Age in English: Perspectives on Performance*, edited by Catherine Boyle and David Johnston, with Janet Morris (London: Oberon, 2007), pp. 89–99.

Rojas, Ricardo. *Cervantes* (Buenos Aires: La facultad, 1935).

Schevill, Rodolfo. *Obras completas de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra*, *Comedias y Entremeses*, vol. 6, 'Introducción' (Madrid: Gráficas reunidas, 1922). Electronic text by Fred F. Jehle (Fred F. Jehle and Purdue Research Foundation, 1999) http://users.ipfw.edu/jehle/CERVANTE/CEFJ6.HTM. Accessed 19 August 2016.

Smith, Dawn. 'Transformation and Fluidity in the Translation of Classical Texts for Performance: The Case of Cervantes's *Entremeses*'. In *The Comedia in English: Translation and Performance*, edited by Susan Paun de García and Donald R. Larson (Woodbridge, Tamesis: 2008), pp. 95–107.

Smith, Dawn L. Introduction to *Eight Interludes* by Miguel de Cervantes, translated by Smith (London: J. M. Dent, 1996).

Thacker, Jonathan. *A Companion to Golden Age Theatre* (Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2007).

Vega, Lope de. *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias*, edited by Enrique García Santo-Tomás (Madrid: Cátedra, 2006).

Vitse, Marc. 'Polimetría y estructuras dramáticas en la comedia de corral del siglo XVII: nueva reflexión sobre las formas englobadas (el caso de *Peribáñez*)'. In *Métrica y estructura dramática en el teatro de Lope de Vega*, edited by Fausta Antonucci (Kassel: Reichenberger, 2007), pp. 169–205.

SECTION 5

CERVANTES'S POETRY AND OTHER WRITINGS

CHAPTER 20

CERVANTINE POETRY

History and Context

ADRIENNE L. MARTÍN
University of California, Davis

In Chapter Four of his *Viaje del Parnaso* Cervantes proclaims that 'Desde mis tiernos años amé el arte/dulce de la agradable poesía' ['From my earliest years I loved/the sweet art of pleasant poetry'].[1] And as this mock epic in tercets confirms, Cervantes wrote poetry until the end of his days. Moreover, throughout his prose works he refers consistently to the function, the value, and the qualities that this 'sweet art' should possess. From *La Galatea* to *Don Quixote*, in the exemplary novels *La gitanilla*, *El licenciado Vidriera*, *La ilustre fregona*, and *El coloquio de los perros*, and in his posthumous Byzantine romance *Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda* he returns somewhat obsessively to the topic. His poetic elucubrations culminate with the text from *Viaje del Parnaso* that accompanies the fictitious letter from Apolo Délfico to Cervantes, dated 22 July 1614. Those comic 'Privilegios, ordenanzas y advertencias que Apolo envía a los poetas españoles' ['Privileges, ordinances and cautions that Apollo sends to Spanish poets'] compose Cervantes's ironic-burlesque farewell to the topic. Curiously enough, and in spite of poetry's significance to Cervantes, studies of his lyric verse continue to lag behind those of his prose and dramatic works.

During Cervantes's own time, the opinions of his contemporaries about his poetry, which are outlined by Bonilla y San Martín, tend to be conflicting and generally negative. In the nineteenth century several critics misinterpreted an (in)famous tercet from the *Viaje del Parnaso* in which Cervantes declares: 'Yo, que siempre trabajo y me desvelo/por parecer que tengo de poeta/la gracia que no quiso darme el cielo' ['I who constantly labour and struggle/to attain the poetic grace/that Heaven denied me'].[2] Both Fernández de Navarrete and Fitzmaurice-Kelly in their biographies (and even Bonilla y San Martín

[1] Cervantes, *Viaje del Parnaso*, p 103. All translations from the original Spanish are by the author of this chapter.

[2] Cervantes, *Viaje del Parnaso*, p. 54.

and Cernuda later on) failed to recognize the ironic nature of these verses, took them at face value, and quoted them as proof that Cervantes himself knew he was no poet. Others, such as Adolfo de Castro, staunchly defended him as a great poet.[3]

A selection of the critical corpus of studies on Cervantes's poetry, from the mid-nineteenth through the first decades of the twenty-first centuries, includes the following in chronological order: Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo, 'Cervantes considerado como poeta' (1873); Ricardo Rojas, 'De Cervantes considerado como poeta lírico', the introduction to his compilation *Poesías de Cervantes* (1916), and *Cervantes (Cervantes, poeta lírico. Cervantes, poeta dramático. Cervantes, poeta épico)* (1948); José Manuel Blecua, 'Garcilaso y Cervantes' (1947) and 'La poesía lírica de Cervantes' (1947); Gerardo Diego, 'Cervantes y la poesía' (1948); Luis Cernuda, 'Cervantes, poeta' (1964); Juan Luis Alborg, 'La poesía de Cervantes' (1966); Ángel Valbuena Prat, 'Cervantes, poeta' (1968); Elias L. Rivers, '«Viaje del Parnaso» y poesías sueltas' (1973), 'Cervantes y Garcilaso' (1981), and 'Cervantes, poeta serio y burlesco' (1995). The purpose of many of these studies is to reassess and vindicate Cervantes as a poet of talent. Several were written by poets of the Spanish Generation of 1927, such as Luis Cernuda, Vicente Aleixandre, Manuel Altolaguirre, Gerardo Diego, and Rafael Alberti, who were looking back to their forefathers who wrote during the Golden Age of Spanish poetry, not without a certain 'anxiety of influence' and a desire to recuperate classical forms.[4] It is not until several decades later that the focus will shift from 'Cervantes, poeta' to more complex analyses of his verse.

In the 1970s and 1980s, critics broaden their perspective to analyse the verse and individual poems incorporated into Cervantes's prose and dramatic works. Among the following, several can be considered landmark studies: María Banura Badui de Zogbi, 'El valiente Escarramán. De la jácara al entremés' (1977); Francisco Márquez Villanueva, 'La buenaventura de Preciosa (1978–79); Vicente Gaos, 'Cervantes, poeta' (1979); Adriana Lewis Galanes, 'Cervantes: el poeta en su tiempo' (1981) and 'El soneto "Vuela mi estrecha y débil esperanza": texto, contextos y entramado intertexual' (1990); Andrés Amorós, 'Los poemas del *Quijote*' (1981); Mary Gaylord Randel, 'La poesía y los poetas en los *entremeses* de Cervantes' (1982) and 'The Language of Limits and the Limits of Language: The Crisis of Poetry in *La Galatea*' (1982); José Miguel Caso González, 'Cervantes, del Manierismo al Barroco' (1983); Daniel Eisenberg, 'The *Romance* as Seen by Cervantes' (1984); José Luis Fernández de la Torre, 'Cervantes, poeta de festejos y certámenes' (1984) and 'Historia y poesía: algunos ejemplos de la lírica "pública" en Cervantes' (1987); Pedro Ruiz Pérez, 'El manierismo en la poesía de Cervantes' (1985) and 'Contexto crítico de la poesía cervantina' (1997); Francisco Ynduráin, 'La poesía de Cervantes: aproximaciones' (1985); Adrienne L. Martín, 'El soneto cervantino a la muerte de Herrera: texto y contexto' (1985), 'La *sonetada* o los problemas de una escondida poesía bufonesca' (1990) and *Cervantes and the Burlesque Sonnet* (1991); Antonio

[3] See Profeti and Sáez (Cervantes, *Poesías*, p. 11–19) for updated discussions of the ironic nature of these verses.

[4] See Díez de Revenga on Cervantes's reception by the poets of the Generation of 27.

Prieto, 'Cervantes poeta' (1987); Leopoldo de Luis, 'Apuntes para dos sonetos de Cervantes' (1987–8); and Jenaro Talens, 'Poetry as Autobiography: Theory and Poetic Practice in Cervantes' (1988).

Since roughly the 1990s, a substantial number of convincing articles and, infrequently, books have been published in Spanish, English, and other languages addressing Cervantes's poetry. Furthermore, in the twenty-first century we have entered a new age with renewed impetus on the exegesis of his poetic practice, with essays by such established Golden Age scholars as Ignacio Arellano, Francisco Javier Díez de Revenga, Jaime Fernández, Gaspar Garrote Bernal, Mary Gaylord, Carlos Mata Induráin, Antonio Rey Hazas, Aurora Egido, José Luis Fernández de la Torre, Isaías Lerner, José Ignacio Díez Fernandez, Mercedes Alcalá Galán, Isabel Colón, Rodrigo Olay Valdés, Álvaro Alonso, Julia D'Onofrio, José Montero Reguera, and Pedro Ruiz Pérez. A selection of these essays follow or are included in the bibliography.

Aurelio González, 'Cervantes y los temas del Romancero nuevo' (1993); L.E. Hens Pérez, 'Aspectos a revisar en la poesía de Cervantes: las poesías sueltas' (1993); Monique Joly, 'En torno a las antologías poéticas de *La gitanilla* y *La ilustre fregona*' (1993); Jean Canavaggio, 'Garcilaso en Cervantes: "¡Oh dulces prendas por mi mal halladas!"' (1994); Gaspar Garrote Bernal, 'Intertextualidad poética y funciones de la poesía en el *Quijote*' (1996); J. Ignacio Díez Fernández, 'El soneto del rufián "arrepentido" (en dos series)' (1997); Mercedes Alcalá Galán, 'Teoría de la poesía en Cervantes: Poesía citada en la novela' (1999); José Lara Garrido, 'Sonetos epicédicos en homenaje del "Divino" Herrera. El rastro tenue de una fama póstuma' (1999) and 'Cervantes en un soneto, o el prodigio de la mirada marginal' (2006); Fernando Romo Feito, 'Cervantes ante la palabra lírica' (2001), 'Cervantes ante la palabra lírica: El teatro' (2007), and 'Cervantes ante la palabra lírica: el *Quijote*' (2012); José Domínguez Caparrós, *Métrica de Cervantes* (2002); Jaime Fernández, 'La verdad del epitafio para la tumba de don Quijote' (2005); Carlos Mata Induráin, 'Los dos sonetos a la pérdida de la goleta (*Quijote*, I, 40) en el contexto de la historia del capitán cautivo' (2007); Steven Wagschal, 'Digging up the Past: The Archeology of Emotion in Cervantes' «Romance de los celos»' (2007); and José Montero Reguera, 'Los poemas carmelitanos de Miguel de Cervantes' (2007), 'Poesías para un poeta' (2008), 'Heterodoxias poéticas cervantinas (Prolegómenos para una edición crítica de la poesía de Miguel de Cervantes)' (2011), 'Trayectoria del epitafio en la poesía cervantina' (2012), '*La gitanilla*: una rei-vindicación de la poesía' (2013), and 'La poesía. Hacia una nueva edición' (2013); Rodrigo Olay Valdés, 'Reconsideración de la poesía cervantina: los defectos métricos y estilísticos de Cervantes' (2013); and Julia D'Onofrio, '«fuese y no hubo nada». Cervantes frente a la manipulación y la dilapidación simbólica' (2014).

This listing, which is neither comprehensive nor complete, does provide a representative overview of the variety of critical exegesis on Cervantine poetry contained in other works or independent from them, and brings evolving analytical tendencies to light. Viewed as a critical corpus, the earliest of these essays (clustered from the mid- to late twentieth century) tended to brevity and rendered valuable, yet partial, results regarding Cervantes's talents as a poet; as mentioned before, they are often characterized by a

particular focus and concomitant lack of consensus on the quality of his verse. Since then the fruitless but long-standing debate regarding whether or not Cervantes was a (good) poet has largely been laid to rest. That said, as far back as 1873 Menéndez Pelayo had already vindicated him as a poet; apparently, Fernández de Navarrete was the guilty party who first enshrined the error of comparing Cervantes's verse to his prose, instead of to the poetry written by his contemporaries.[5]

Any attempt to compare Cervantes's poetry favourably to the superb and stylistically unique narrative found in *Don Quixote* and the *Novelas ejemplares* is doomed to fail since his verse (as well as that of countless other poets of his age) is bound to suffer from the comparison. Be that as it may, however, we cannot fully assess Cervantes's significance within Golden Age literature without taking into account the poetry included in *Don Quixote*, the *Novelas ejemplares*, *La Galatea*, *Viaje del Parnaso*, his dramatic works written in verse, and, of course, his uncollected verse, of which surely only a part has been conserved. As Romo Feito reminded us at the turn of the new century, Cervantes's poetic vocation is undeniable; he wrote verse his entire life, and his poetic output is superior in quantity to that of many whose reputation as poets is indisputable.[6] As a matter of fact, Cervantes's poetic corpus is more extensive than that of such consecrated early modern poets as Jorge Manrique, Garcilaso de la Vega, San Juan de la Cruz, Fray Luis de León, and many other poets of his generation and beyond. As Romo Feito affirms, for the interpretive canon today, it is a given that Cervantes is a poet, and a great one, although certainly different from the majority of his contemporaries.[7]

In recent years, the most innovative work on Cervantine poetry is emerging from a team of scholars at the University of Vigo, led by José Montero Reguera. Montero Reguera and Romo Feito in particular have published a series of path-breaking articles, a selection of which are contained in the bibliography. Moreover, Montero Reguera's research group is in the process of preparing the first modern, truly critical edition and study of Cervantes's complete poetic works, of which a preliminary version can be found in Montero Reguera's chapter in *Los textos de Cervantes*.[8] Early editions of Cervantes's poetry such as Bonilla's, Rodríguez Marín's, and Rojas's have been out of print for decades, and Vicente Gaos's two-volume edition is incomplete since it does not include Cervantes's dramatic verse. All previous editions fall far short of what is needed and Montero's becomes even more essential to meet the demands of contemporary research on Cervantine poetry. Moreover, Montero Reguera's chapter includes a useful chronological index of Cervantes's poetic works, as well as an extensive bibliography of editions and critical studies; this study is indispensable for all readers and interpreters of Cervantes's poetry. Most recently, Adrián J. Sáez has published a well-annotated collection of Cervantes's poetry that includes the uncollected verse, *Viaje del Parnaso*, the

[5] See Rojas, *Poesías de Cervantes*, González, and Romo Feito, 'Cervantes ante…' on Fernández de Navarrete's opinion.

[6] Romo Feito, 'Cervantes ante…', p. 1066.

[7] Romo Feito, 'Cervantes ante…', p. 134.

[8] Regarding this edition in progress, see Montero Reguera et al., 'La edición…'.

'Canto de Calíope' from *La Galatea*, and attributed poems, but not the verse from his novels and plays.

It is clear that today critical exegesis of Cervantes's lyric poetry is being taken into new directions and examined as an essential part of his literary output. Many twenty-first century studies are excellent, and those from the United States continue to apply new theoretical approaches to illuminate Cervantes's works. Steven Wagschal, for example, utilizes cognitive theory to explore the workings of emotion in the famous ballad on jealousy. Nonetheless, it is disappointing that to date, only three full-length studies have been published on Cervantine poetry: my *Cervantes and the Burlesque Sonnet*, José Domínguez Caparros's *Métrica de Cervantes*, and Emiliano Álvarez's *La poesía, señor hidalgo . . . Funciones de la poesía en el* Quijote.[9] Thus, a significant critical lacuna remains in Cervantes studies, one that needs to be remedied with more monographic analyses. At the conclusion of this essay I suggest several avenues of future research on Cervantes's poetry in the hope that new generations of scholars will take up the challenge.

Cervantes, one must reiterate, excels in several poetic genres, particularly the ballad, which deserves comprehensive attention. Although a good number of articles have been written on individual ballads, and on the influence of the *romancero viejo* on *Don Quixote*, no all-encompassing study of Cervantes's original ballads exists, even though he wrote in Chapter Four of the *Viaje del Parnaso*: 'Yo he compuesto romances infinitos/y el de los celos es el que más estimo/entre otros que los tengo por malditos' ['I have composed an infinite number of ballads/and the one on jealously is the one I regard the most/amongst others that I find damnable'].[10] Because of this, the ballad can be used as a case study for remedying the comparative lack of global scholarship on Cervantine poetry, even at a time when much is being made of the world literature links between him and Shakespeare.[11]

We further intuit that Cervantes was prominent during his time as a writer of satirical ballads because of the following anecdote related by Bonilla y San Martín, Rivers, and other critics. A witness during Lope de Vega's 1588 trial for writing libellous ballads against Elena Osorio and her family reported that don Luis de Vargas said the following regarding a satirical ballad that was read aloud in the playhouse on Madrid's Calle del Príncipe: 'Este romance es del estilo de cuatro o cinco que solos lo podrán hacer: podrá ser de Liñán, y no está aquí, y de Cervantes, y no está aquí; pues mío no es, puede ser de Vivar o de Lope de Vega' ['This ballad is written in the style of the four or five poets who could do it: it could be by Liñán, and he isn't here; or by Cervantes, and he isn't here; since it's not mine, it could be either by Vivar or Lope de Vega'].[12]

We should keep in mind that, as Montero Reguera asserts, for his contemporaries in 1588, when the *romances nuevos* or new ballads were at the peak of their popularity, Cervantes was one of their leading practitioners.[13] Consequently, given his reputation

[9] Similarly, Ellen Lokos's monograph is still the only book-length study on *Viaje del Parnaso*.
[10] Cervantes, *Viaje del Parnaso*, p. 103.
[11] On Cervantes's ballads, see González. On the ballads in *Don Quixote*, see Altamirano's articles.
[12] Quoted in Rivers, '«Viaje del Parnaso» . . .', p. 121.
[13] Montero Reguera, 'Heterodoxias poéticas . . .', p. 246.

as a master of balladry, and setting aside the typical Cervantine irony that characterizes the *Parnaso*, where are those 'infinite ballads' that he claims to have written? Even if we assume he was exaggerating, by my count he published at least fifty-three *romances*: eight in the *Novelas ejemplares*; six in *Don Quixote*; twenty-nine in his plays; eight in his interludes; and two uncollected ones. If to that sum we add the poems he wrote in *coplas redondillas*—that were sometimes called *romances en redondillas* and were often used in poetry written in underworld slang (*poesía germanesca*)—plus the old ballads he mentions or otherwise refashions in *Don Quixote*, the number is considerably larger than fifty-three and far from insignificant.

Because the ballad is conventionally used to narrate, as Lope de Vega stipulated in his 1609 *Arte Nuevo de hacer comedias en este tiempo*, and Cervantes was a master storyteller, it is logical that he excelled in this poetic genre that privileges anecdote over emotion. A few of the better-known examples are the malicious and ingeniously erotic 'buenaventura de Preciosa' ['Preciosa's fortune-telling'] from *La gitanilla*, Altisidora's insulting poem to the knight in *Don Quixote* II.57, and the songs in ballad form that appear in the interludes, especially the 'ballad of Escarramán' from *El rufián viudo llamado Trampagos*.[14]

The interludes are brief, satirical and burlesque, and a perfect location for ballads whose short verses advance the action at a rapid pace. Moreover, six of the eight ballads in Cervantes's interludes are lively songs and dances that conclude the playlets.[15] We should remember that interludes customarily end in songs, dances, or brawls; Cervantes's are no exception, and he often includes songs in ballad meter. Besides being perfectly in keeping with the comical nature of the interludes, the *romances* add atmosphere, movement, rhythm, grace, and in a certain way authenticity to his depiction of the lower classes.

Cervantes's ballads also tend to be highly literary, or textual. As we know, the interludes included in his 1615 collection of *Ocho comedias, y ocho entremeses nuevos, nunca representados* were not staged during his lifetime, and contrary to most drama, they were likely written to be read. A good example of Cervantine lyricism and literariness is the ballad sung by Quevedo's mythic ruffian, the *jaque* Escarramán, who bursts onto the scene during Trampagos and Repulida's wedding at the end of *El rufián viudo*: 'Ya salió de las gurapas/el valiente Escarramán' ['Escarramán the brave/is out of the galleys'].[16] These lines integrate the underworld heroes who had already been immortalized in famous comic *romances* on the experiences of *jaques*, called *jácaras*. Cervantes's song telescopes Escarramán's adventures in the galleys and shipwreck in the Mediterranean, his enslavement by Turks, and escape to Spain. His tale has obvious resonances of Cervantes's own life, although told from a comic point of view.[17]

[14] On Preciosa's ballad see Márquez Villanueva.

[15] On the function of ballads in Cervantes's interludes, see Randel, 'La poesía…' and Rossi de Castillo.

[16] *Gurapas* is an underworld slang term for galleys, to which criminals were condemned to row as punishment for their crimes. See the episode of the galley slaves in *Don Quixote* I.22.

[17] On this poem and its antecedents, see Badui de Zogbi. On the etymology of the term and the general characteristics and development of the *jácara*, see Pedraza Jiménez.

As is to be expected, Cervantes is also a master of burlesque rhyme. An exceptional example is provided by the linguistic pirouettes he performs to compose a comically dissonant consonant rhyme scheme in '-anca' for the refrain 'Salamanca' in the ballad sung by the barber and sexton in the interlude *La cueva de Salamanca*. Cervantes is practiced in composing this type of humorous, inharmonious verse when he wants to and the context requires it; one only has to read the poems that frame Part I of *Don Quixote* for impeccable examples of this process.[18] To create such purposefully dissonant verse is aesthetically challenging and only a good poet can be as adept at it as Cervantes. Moreover, Cervantes's ballads reveal a master's hand in controlling decorum and expressivity in the creation of expert narrative verse.

Given the foregoing, a monograph on Cervantes's *romances* is long overdue, as is another on his serious sonnets, since Cervantes was also an expert and prolific sonneteer. The same can be said of the tercets in *Viaje del Parnaso*. Montero Reguera comes to many of the same conclusions as I and calls for studies of Cervantes's lexicon; use of poetic tropes such as synecdoche, metonymy, and paronomasia; and analyses of his symbolic language and versification. Until such monographs are published and Cervantes's poetic corpus is established, our understanding of his verse remains partial and fragmentary.

I conclude by reiterating what every Cervantes scholar knows and suggesting possibilities for future research projects. As mentioned above, Cervantes wrote poetry throughout his whole life, starting with his first attempts under the tutelage of López de Hoyos up to the 1614 *Viaje del Parnaso* and finally, *Persiles y Sigismunda*. This posthumous novel includes one of his best lyric compositions, the remarkable sonnet in chapter nine 'Mar sesgo, viento largo, estrella clara' ['Calm sea, fair wind, bright star'][19] that Isabel Lozano-Renieblas has analysed. Cervantes indeed wrote all types and forms of poetry: academic, serious, love, elegiac, burlesque, satirical, heroic, theatrical, narrative, and pastoral. He also used most of the know meters of his day, in both Italianate and popular Spanish forms, and excelled at sonnets, ballads, and tercets, among other meters and strophes. In sum, he published over 15,000 lyric verses, excluding his theatre; this represents a gold mine for scholars who might find any of the following projects compelling:

1. An annotated critical edition of Cervantes's complete poetic works, including his theatre. As mentioned, José Montero Reguera and his team at the University of Vigo are currently preparing such an edition.
2. Studies of metrics and prosody that examine Cervantes's particular rhyme schemes and poetic style.
3. Studies of lexicon to determine the singularity of his poetry within its historical and literary context.

[18] I study these poems and Cervantes's skill in creating deliberately bad verse in *Cervantes and the Burlesque Sonnet*.

[19] Cervantes, *Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda*, p. 96.

4. Analyses of his symbolic system, metaphorical structures, language, and themes.
5. Studies of particular strophes: sonnets, ballads, octaves, tercets.
6. A re-evaluation of his place among the poets of his generation.
7. Contextualization and in-depth examination of the poetry contained in other works.

The hallmark of all Cervantine literature is the author's profound critical and intellectual depth, his seriousness of purpose, and engagement with the principles of superior literature and writing, as well as his on-going preoccupation with the intrinsic value of poetry. The complexity of his verse reveals the same concern, as in his prose and drama, with the ultimate meaning and function of literature to entertain and elevate both the reader and the art of literature. This conceptual richness is matched by a unique lyric style whose exegesis is still overdue and crucial so that his poetry can take its proper place in the Cervantine canon.

Works Cited

Alborg, Juan Luis. 'La poesía de Cervantes'. In *Cervantes* by Alborg (Madrid: Gredos, 1966).

Alcalá Galán, Mercedes. 'Teoría de la poesía en Cervantes: Poesía citada en la novela'. *Calíope* 2 (1999): pp. 27–43.

Alonso, Álvaro. 'La Canción desesperada de Cervantes: cancioneros, modelos italianos y sensibilidad romántica'. *Cervantes y su tiempo*, edited by Juan Matas Caballero and José María Balcells Doménech (León: Universidad de León, 2008): pp. 109–21.

Alonso Asenjo, Julio '*Quijote* y romances. Uso y funciones'. In *Historia, reescritura y pervivencia del Romancero. Estudios en memoria de Amelia García Valdecasas*, edited by Rafael Beltrán (Valencia: Universidad de Valencia, 2000), pp. 25–61.

Altamirano, Magdalena. 'El romancero en la primera parte del *Quijote*'. *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica* 45 (1997): pp. 321–36.

Altamirano, Magdalena, 'El romancero en la segunda parte del *Quijote*'. In *Actas del XV Congreso Internacional de la Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas*, edited by Beatriz Mariscal, Blanca López de Mariscal, and María Teresa Miaja (México: UNAM, UAM and El Colegio de México, 2006), pp. 15–31.

Álvarez, Emiliano. *La poesía, señor hidalgo . . . Funciones de la poesía en el* Quijote. (Guanajuato: Universidad de Guanajuato, 2019).

Amorós, Andrés. 'Los poemas del *Quijote*'. In *Cervantes, su obra y su mundo: Actas del I Congreso Internacional sobre Cervantes*, edited by Manuel Criado de Val (Madrid: EDI–6, 1981), pp. 707–15.

Arellano, Ignacio. 'Visiones y símbolos emblemáticos en la poesía de Cervantes'. *Anales Cervantinos* 34 (1998): pp. 169–212.

Badui de Zogbi, María Banura. 'El valiente Escarramán. De la jácara al entremés'. In *Cervantes, Góngora y Quevedo. II Simposio Nacional Letras del Siglo de Oro Español. 5, 6 y 7 de octubre de 1995* (Mendoza: Universidad Nacional de Cuyo, 1977), pp. 115–25.

Blecua, José Manuel. 'Garcilaso y Cervantes'. *Cuadernos de Ínsula, I. Homenaje a Cervantes* (Madrid: Ínsula, 1947): pp. 141–50.

Blecua, José Manuel. 'La poesía lírica de Cervantes.' In *Sobre poesía de la Edad de Oro* (Madrid: Gredos, 1970). Originally published under the pseudonym J.M. Claube in *Cuadernos de Ínsula, I. Homenaje a Cervantes* (Madrid: Ínsula, 1947), pp. 151–87.

Bonilla y San Martín, Adolfo. '¿Qué pensaron de Cervantes sus contemporáneos?'. In *Cervantes y su obra* by Bonilla y San Martín (Madrid: Francisco Beltrán, 1916), pp. 163–84.

Canavaggio, Jean. 'Garcilaso en Cervantes: «¡Oh dulces prendas por mi mal halladas!»'. In *Busquemos otros montes y otros ríos. Estudios de literatura española del Siglo de Oro dedicados a Elias L. Rivers*, edited by Brian Dutton and Victoriano Roncero López (Madrid: Castalia, 1994), pp. 33–42.

Caso González, José Miguel. 'Cervantes, del Manierismo al Barroco'. In *Homenaje a José Manuel Blecua*, edited by Dámaso Alonso (Madrid: Gredos, 1983), pp. 141–50.

Castro, Adolfo de. 'Cervantes ¿fue o no poeta?'. *Semanario Pintoresco Español* 45 (9 noviembre 1851): pp. 354–5.

Cernuda, Luis. 'Cervantes, poeta'. In *Poesía y literatura, II* by Cernuda (Barcelona: Seix Barral, 1964).

Cervantes, Miguel de. *Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda*, edited by Juan Bautista Avalle-Arce (Madrid: Castalia, 1970).

Cervantes, Miguel de. *Poesías*, edited by Adrián J. Sáez (Madrid: Cátedra, 2016).

Cervantes, Miguel de. *Viaje del Parnaso, Poesías completas I*, edited by Vicente Gaos (Madrid: Castalia, 1973).

Colón Calderón, Isabel. 'Poesía y poetas en La Galatea'. *Dicenda* 14 (1996): pp. 79–92.

Diego, Gerardo. 'Cervantes y la poesía'. *Revista de Filología Española* 32 (1948): pp. 213–36.

Díez Fernández, J. Ignacio. 'El soneto del rufián «arrepentido» (en dos series)'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 17, no. 1 (1997): pp. 87–108.

Díez de Revenga, Francisco Javier. 'Cervantes poeta y su recepción por los poetas de nuestro siglo'. *Boletín de la Biblioteca Menéndez Pelayo* 71 (1995): pp. 25–47.

Díez de Revenga, Francisco Javier. 'Petrarquismo en la lírica cervantina'. In *El Renacimiento italiano. Actas del II Congreso nacional de italianistas, Murcia, 1984* (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1986), pp. 113–21.

Domínguez Caparrós, José. *Métrica de Cervantes*. (Alcalá de Henares: Centro de Estudios Cervantinos, 2002).

D'Onofrio, Julia. '«fuese y no hubo nada». Cervantes frente a la manipulación y la dilapidación simbólica'. *Anales Cervantinos* 46 (2014): pp. 161–78.

Egido, Aurora. 'Los sonetos de Lope y Cervantes a Francisco Díaz, inventor de la uretrotomía interna'. *Anuario Lope de Vega* 16 (2010): pp. 45–67.

Eisenberg, Daniel. 'The *Romance* as Seen by Cervantes'. *El Crotalón. Anuario de Filología Española* 1 (1984): pp. 177–92.

Fernández, Jaime, S.J. 'La verdad del epitafio para la tumba de don Quijote'. In *Actas del XI Coloquio Internacional de la Asociación de Cervantistas. Seúl, 17–20 de noviembre de 2004*, edited by Chul Park (Seoul: Universidad Hankuk de Estudios Extranjeros, 2005), pp. 463–74.

Fernández de la Torre, José Luis. 'Cervantes, poeta de festejos y certámenes'. *Anales Cervantinos* 22 (1984): pp. 9–41.

Fernández de la Torre, José Luis. 'Historia y poesía: algunos ejemplos de la lírica "pública" en Cervantes'. *Edad de Oro* 6 (1987): pp. 115–31.

Fernández de Navarrete, Martín. *Vida de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra* (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1819).

Fitzmaurice-Kelly, James. *The Life of Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1892).

Gaos, Vicente. 'Cervantes, poeta'. *Cervantes. Novelista, dramaturgo, poeta* (Barcelona: Planeta, 1979).

Garrote Bernal, Gaspar. 'Intertextualidad poética y funciones de la poesía en el *Quijote*'. *Dicenda. Cuadernos de Filología Hispánica* 14 (1996): pp. 113–37.

González, Aurelio. 'Cervantes y los temas del Romancero nuevo'. In *Actas del III Coloquio Internacional de la Asociación de Cervantistas* (Barcelona: Anthropos, 1993), pp. 609–16.

Hens Pérez, L.E. 'Aspectos a revisar en la poesía de Cervantes: las poesías sueltas'. In *Actas del III Coloquio Internacional de la Asociación de Cervantistas* (Barcelona: Anthropos, 1993): pp. 601–8.

Joly, Monique. 'En torno a las antologías poéticas de *La gitanilla* y *La ilustre fregona*'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 13, no. 2 (1993): pp. 5–15.

Lara Garrido, José. 'Cervantes en un soneto, o el prodigio de la mirada marginal'. *4 siglos os contemplan. Cervantes y el* Quijote (Madrid: Eneida, 2006): pp. 61–78.

Lara Garrido, José. 'Sonetos epicédicos en homenaje del «Divino» Herrera. El rastro tenue de una fama póstuma'. *Analecta Malacitana, Anejo 26. Relieves poéticos del Siglo de Oro. De los textos al contexto* (Málaga: Universidad de Málaga, 1999): pp. 111–47.

Lerner, Isaías. 'Acerca de la poesía de Cervantes'. In *Lecturas de Cervantes*, by Lerner (Málaga: Universidad de Málaga, 2005): pp. 259–68.

Lewis Galanes, Adriana. 'Cervantes: el poeta en su tiempo'. *Cervantes, su obra y su mundo: Actas del I Congreso Internacional sobre Cervantes*, edited by Manuel Criado de Val (Madrid: EDI–6, 1981): pp. 159–78.

Lewis Galanes, Adriana. 'El soneto "Vuela mi estrecha y débil esperanza": texto, contextos y entramado intertexual'. *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica* 38, no. 2 (1990): pp. 675–91.

Lokos, Ellen D. *The Solitary Journey. Cervantes's* Voyage to Parnassus (New York: Peter Lang, 1991).

Lozano-Renieblas, Isabel. '«Mar sesgo, viento largo, estrella clara» o la metáfora de la *Nave de amor* en el *Persiles*'. *Anales Cervantinos* 36 (2004): pp. 299–308.

Luis, Leopoldo de. 'Apuntes para dos sonetos de Cervantes'. *Anales Cervantinos* 25–26 (1987–8): pp. 269–73.

Márquez Villanueva, Francisco. 'La buenaventura de Preciosa'. *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica* 34 (1978–9): pp. 741–68.

Martín, Adrienne L. 'El soneto cervantino a la muerte de Herrera: texto y contexto'. *Anales Cervantinos* 23 (1985): pp. 213–19.

Martín, Adrienne L. 'Un modelo para el humor poético cervantino: los sonetos burlescos del *Quijote*'. In *Actas del Primer Coloquio Internacional de la Asociación de Cervantistas. Alcalá de Henares 29/30 nov.–1/2 dic. 1988* (Barcelona: Anthropos, 1990), pp. 349–56.

Martín, Adrienne Laskier. *Cervantes and the Burlesque Sonnet* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991).

Mata Induráin, Carlos. 'Elementos religiosos en la poesía de Cervantes'. In *Cervantes y las religiones*, edited by Ruth Fine and Santiago López Navía (Madrid: Iberoamericana/ Vervuert, 2008), pp. 175–98.

Mata Induráin, Carlos. 'Los dos sonetos a la pérdida de la goleta (*Quijote*, I, 40) en el contexto de la historia del capitán cautivo'. *RILCE* 23, no. 1 (2007): pp. 169–83.

Menéndez Pelayo, Marcelino. 'Cervantes considerado como poeta'. In *Estudios y discursos de crítica histórica y literaria I* (1873; Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1942), pp. 257–68.

Montero Reguera, José. 'A partir de dos sonetos del *Quijote*: estructura y ritmo del endecasílabo cervantino'. *Ínsula* 700–01 (2005): p. 35.

Montero Reguera, José. 'Heterodoxias poéticas cervantinas (Prolegómenos para una edición crítica de la poesía de Miguel de Cervantes)'. In *Ortodoxia y heterodoxia en Cervantes*, edited by Carmen Rivero Iglesias (Alcalá de Henares: Centro de Estudios Cervantinos, 2011), pp. 245–71.

Montero Reguera, José. 'La gitanilla: una rei-vindicación de la poesía'. *Ínsula* 799–800 (julio–agosto 2013): pp. 34–6.

Montero Reguera, José. 'Los poemas carmelitanos de Miguel de Cervantes'. In *In labore requies*. Homenaje de la región Ibérica Carmelitana a los padres Pablo Garrido *y* Balbino Velasco Bayón, edited by Fernando Millán Romeral (Roma: Edizioni Carmelitane, 2007), pp. 659–66.

Montero Reguera, José. 'La poesía. Hacia una nueva edición'. In *Los textos de Cervantes*, edited by Daniel Fernández Rodríguez (Madrid: Centro para la Edición de los Clásicos Españoles, 2013), pp. 119–63.

Montero Reguera, José. 'Poesías para un poeta'. In *XVIII Coloquio Cervantino International* (Guanajuato: Museo Iconográfico del Quijote, Fundación Cervantina de México y Centro de Estudios Cervantinos, 2008), pp. 265–99.

Montero Reguera, José. '*Poeta ilustre, o al menos manifico*. Reflexiones sobre el saber poético de Cervantes en el *Quijote*'. *Anales Cervantinos* 36 (2004): pp. 37–56.

Montero Reguera, José. 'Trayectoria del epitafio en la poesía cervantina'. *eHumanista/Cervantes* 1 (2012): pp. 388–410.

Montero Reguera, José, Fernando Romo Feito, Macarena Cuiñas Gómez, Cristina Collazo Gómez and Alexia Dotras Bravo. 'La edición de la poesía de Miguel de Cervantes'. In *Comentarios a Cervantes. Actas selectas del VIII Congreso Internacional de la Asociación de Cervantistas, Oviedo, 11–15 de junio de 2012*, edited by Emilio Martínez Mata and María Fernández Ferreiro (Asturias: Fundación María Cristina Masaveu Peterson, 2014), pp. 124–38.

Olay Valdés, Rodrigo. 'Reconsideración de la poesía cervantina: los defectos métricos y estilísticos de Cervantes'. *Anales Cervantinos* 45 (2013): pp. 293–324.

Pedraza Jiménez, Felipe B. 'De Quevedo a Cervantes: la génesis de la jácara'. *Edad de Oro Cantabrigense. Actas del VII Congreso de la Asociación Internacional del Siglo de Oro (AISO)*, edited by Anthony Close (Madrid: Iberoamericana Vervuert/AISO, 2006), pp. 77–88.

Prieto, Antonio. 'Cervantes poeta'. *La poesía española del siglo XVI, II* by Prieto (Madrid: Cátedra, 1987): pp. 723–36.

Profeti, Maria Grazia. 'Cervantes enjuicia su obra: autodesviaciones lúdico-críticas'. In *Desviaciones lúdicas en la crítica cervantina: Actas del I Convivio Internacional de «Locos amenos»*, edited by Antonio Bernat Vistarini and José María Casasayas (Palma de Mallorca/Salamanca: Universitat de les Illes Balears/Universidad de Salamanca, 1999), pp. 423–42.

Randel, Mary Gaylord. 'La poesía y los poetas en los *entremeses* de Cervantes'. *Anales Cervantinos* 20 (1982): pp. 173–203.

Randel, Mary Gaylord. 'The Language of Limits and the Limits of Language: The Crisis of Poetry in *La Galatea*'. *Modern Language Notes* 97 (1982): pp. 254–71.

Rey Hazas, Antonio. 'Cervantes, Góngora y el *Entremés de los romances*'. In *Poética de la libertad y otras claves cervantinas* by Rey Hazas (Madrid: Eneida, 2005), pp. 83–176.

Rivers, Elias L. 'Cervantes, poeta serio y burlesco'. In *Cervantes*, edited by Anthony Close et al. (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Cervantinos, 1995), pp. 211–24.

Rivers, Elias L. 'Cervantes y Garcilaso'. *Cervantes, su obra y su mundo: Actas del I Congreso Internacional sobre Cervantes*, edited by Manuel Criado de Val (Madrid: EDI–6, 1981): pp. 963–8.

Rivers, Elias L. '«Viaje del Parnaso» y poesías sueltas'. In *Suma Cervantina*, edited by Juan Bautista Avalle-Arce and E.C. Riley (London: Tamesis, 1973), pp. 119–46.

Rojas, Ricardo. *Cervantes (Cervantes, poeta lírico. Cervantes, poeta dramático. Cervantes, poeta épico)* (Buenos Aires: Losada, 1948).

Rojas, Ricardo. 'De Cervantes considerado como poeta lírico'. Introduction to *Poesías de Cervantes* (Buenos Aires: Universidad Nacional de La Plata, 1916).

Romo Feito, Fernando. 'Cervantes ante la palabra lírica'. In *Volver a Cervantes, Actas del IV Congreso Internacional de la Asociación de Cervantistas*, vol. II, edited by A. Bernat Vistarini (Palma de Mallorca: Universitat de les Illes Balears, 2001), pp. 1063–88.

Romo Feito, Fernando. 'Cervantes ante la palabra lírica: el *Quijote*'. *Anales Cervantinos* 44 (2012): pp. 133–58.

Romo Feito, Fernando. 'Cervantes ante la palabra lírica: El teatro'. In *Cervantes y el mundo del teatro*, edited by Héctor Brioso Santos (Kassel: Reichenberger, 2007): pp. 39–69.

Rossi de Castillo, Silvia T. 'Presencia de la lírica tradicional en los *Entremeses* de Miguel de Cervantes'. In *Simposio Nacional Letras del Siglo de Oro Español. Anejo IX, Revista de Literaturas Modernas 26 al 28 de septiembre 1991*. Tomo I (Mendoza, Argentina: Universidad Nacional de Cuyo, 1994), pp. 63–75.

Ruiz Pérez, Pedro. 'Contexto crítico de la poesía cervantina'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 17, no. 1 (1997): pp. 62–86.

Ruiz Pérez, Pedro. 'El manierismo en la poesía de Cervantes'. *Edad de Oro* 4 (1985): pp. 165–77.

Talens, Jenaro. 'Poetry as Autobiography: Theory and Poetic Practice in Cervantes'. In *Autobiography in Early Modern Spain*, edited by Nicholas Spadaccini and Jenaro Talens, Hispanic Issues 2 (Minneapolis: The Prisma Institute, 1988).

Valbuena Prat, 'Cervantes, poeta'. In *Historia de la literatura española*, vol. 2, by Valbuena Prat (Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1968).

Wagschal, Steven. 'Digging up the Past: The Archeology of Emotion in Cervantes' «Romance de los celos»'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 27, no. 2 (2007): pp. 213–27.

Ynduráin, Francisco. 'Estudio Preliminar, Cervantes y el teatro'. In *Obras completas de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, Obras dramáticas II* (Madrid: Atlas, 1972).

Ynduráin, Francisco. 'La poesía de Cervantes: aproximaciones'. *Edad de Oro* 4 (1985): pp. 211–35.

CHAPTER 21

CONFESSING ON THE MOVE

Viaje del Parnaso *and 'Adjunta al Parnaso' (1614)*

ESTHER FERNÁNDEZ RODRÍGUEZ
Rice University

As part of his self-portrait in the prologue to the *Novelas ejemplares*—completed by 1612—Cervantes mentions *Viaje del Parnaso* as a completed seminal work in his literary trajectory:

> Este que veis aquí, de rostro aguileño, de cabello castaño, frente lisa y desembarazada, de alegres ojos y de nariz corva, aunque bien proporcionada…este, digo, que es el rostro del autor de *La Galatea* y de *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, y del que hizo el *Viaje del Parnaso*, a imitación del de César Caporal perusino, y otras obras que andan por ahí descarriadas y quizás sin el nombre de su dueño, llámase comúnmente Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra.[1]
>
> [This man you see before you, with aquiline features, chestnut coloured hair, smooth, unwrinkled brow, bright eyes, and curved though well-proportioned nose… This, then, is a description of the author of *La Galatea* and *Don Quixote de la Mancha*, and the man who wrote *Journey to Parnassus*, which was modelled on the one by César Caporal Perusino, and other works which have gone astray, perhaps without their owner's name upon them. He is commonly known as Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra.][2]

Indeed, Cervantes wrote *Viaje* in 1612, but it is not until two years later, in 1614, that he composed the prose epilogue 'Adjunta al Parnaso'. Even though *Viaje* has been relegated to the status of a minor work within Cervantine literature, in its day it must have had a strong personal significance, and it was well received. Indeed, Cervantes composed

[1] Cervantes, *Novelas ejemplares*, pp. 16–17.

[2] Cervantes, *Exemplary Stories*, p. 3.

Viaje towards the end of his life, a critical moment since not only was he ill and impoverished, he was also trying to complete his *Novelas ejemplares*, the second part of *Don Quixote*, and *Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda*.[3] The fact that he devoted time and energy to complete *Viaje* meant that Cervantes wanted to leave us with a personal testimony of his experience as a writer and a record of his artistic and aesthetic values.

According to Correa, one possible reason for the marginalization of this work in recent literary history is the lack of understanding of the poem by early twentieth-century scholars who tended to narrow their interest and criticism to the list of poets mentioned by Cervantes, the mythological figures, and the negative judgment of the author's poetic abilities.[4] The widespread belief that Cervantes was a bad poet was a judgment that he himself was responsible for disseminating in some of his works. In *Viaje*, for example, the verses, 'Yo, que siempre trabajo y me desvelo/por parecer que tengo de poeta/la gracia que no quiso darme el cielo'[5] [I, who do toil and strain my being whole/to shrew, what Heaven's grace will not allow'][6] were taken quite literally by his contemporaries who, envying his mastery of prose, were eager to disparage his poetic skills.[7]

Although *Viaje* was widely read in its time, it is possible that the negative publicity concerning Cervantes's poetic talent has been the reason for the publication of so few editions in subsequent centuries. Indeed, after the first edition appeared in Madrid in 1614, another is known to have been published in Milan in 1624. Apart from another reprinting in the eighteenth century, we would have to wait until the nineteenth century for *Viaje* to emerge again as a substantial piece thanks to new editions, translations, and critical studies.[8] This resurgence of *Viaje* was accompanied by praise that considered it 'a serious work of criticism' in José Miguel Guardia's words, and the second best work by Cervantes after *Don Quixote* according to Federick Bouterwek and James Y. Gibson.[9] Moreover, in recent decades, it seems that scholars have been more willing to re-evaluate the literary, autobiographical, social, and even dramatic value of *Viaje*, as demonstrated by a whole array of new critical studies, as well as by the first and only staging of a theatrical version, directed by Spanish director Eduardo Vasco for the Spanish National Classical Theatre Company in 2005.

A Literary Journey

Viaje del Parnaso is composed of eight chapters in linked tercets, followed by an epilogue in prose that functions as a kind of summary of the themes discussed throughout the poem. In the first chapter, the protagonist, inspired by the example of Cesare Caporali, leaves a provincial Madrid to seek higher fortune in an imaginary voyage to Mount Parnassus (see Figure 21.1)—the symbolic land of poets governed by Apollo and the Muses. Once he arrives in Cartagena, Apollo's messenger asks Cervantes for help

[3] Lokos, *Models*…, p. 6.
[4] Correa, 'La dimensión…', p. 113.
[5] Cervantes, *Viaje*…, I.25-7.
[6] Cervantes, *Journey*…, p. 11.
[7] Lokos, *Models*…, p. 2.
[8] Rivers, '¿Cómo…?', p. 106.
[9] Correa, p. 114.

FIGURE 21.1 Cervantes begins his journey to Mount Parnassus. Photographer Daniel Alonso. Centro de documentación teatral (CDT), Instituto Nacional de las Artes Escénicas y de la Música (INAEM).

defending the mythological mountain against an avalanche of poetasters. The strategic plan is to recruit an entire army of the best contemporary Spanish poets to face the imminent invasion of bad poetry.

Cervantes then boards an allegorical ship constructed of verses, stanzas, and literary forms. His first duty is to give feedback on a long list of Iberian poets compiled by Apollo and to select the very best ones. The second chapter is entirely dedicated to reviewing the merits of each of the 130 poets, the chosen ones of whom will begin to magically rain from the heavens (see Figure 21.2).

The third chapter begins with the sea voyage to Parnassus. The ship makes a first stop on the Mediterranean coast to pick up four of the very best Valencian poets—Luis Ferrer, Guillén de Castro, Cristóbal de Virúes, and Gaspar Aguilar. Once the ship sets sail again, heading towards Italy, Cervantes refuses to carry a message from Mercury to the Argensola brothers, two of the poets that the Count of Lemos chose as part of his select artistic entourage to Naples—a painful episode with strong personal ties for Cervantes, as we will examine later. Once the ship finally lands, Apollo, the Muses, and the Hours come out to greet the legion of poets who, after drinking and bathing in the Castalian Spring, find their respective seats on Mount Parnassus, all except Cervantes. As a consequence, the fourth chapter starts with the protagonist's lament on the lack of recognition for his literary legacy. True poetry, then, makes her appearance as an allegorical beautiful maid.

FIGURE 21.2 Rain of poets. Photographer Daniel Alonso. Centro de documentación teatral (CDT), Instituto Nacional de las Artes Escénicas y de la Música (INAEM).

The fifth chapter narrates the humorous episode between Neptune and Venus. Whereas Neptune attempts to sink a ship of poetasters approaching Mount Parnassus, Venus intercedes in a seductive attempt to dissuade him from his purposes. Finally, the goddess succeeds in turning the poets into gourds and wineskins to save them from drowning. In Chapter Six, the allegorical character of Vainglory appears to the protagonist as a dream vision that contrasts with the figure of true poetry. Apollo then delivers an inspiring military discourse to persuade his army to initiate the battle against the bad poets that will take place in the next chapter. The various projectiles employed in this poetic war are not bullets, grenades, or bombs, but all sorts of literary materials such as novels, sonnets, and satires, among others. Chapter Eight describes the victory of the good poets who, after bidding farewell to Poetry, fall into a collective slumber induced by Morpheus. Upon awakening, the protagonist finds himself magically carried out to the festivities organized in 1612 by the Count of Villamediana and the Count of Lemos in Naples, and immediately thereafter, he finds himself back in Madrid, exactly where his journey began. The 'Adjunta al Parnaso' brings the journey to an end but expands on the themes presented in *Viaje* as a follow up of the poem.

Intertextual Encounters

The plot outlined above is inspired by a vast array of classical and contemporary sources, which render Cervantes's *Viaje* a rich intertextual piece. The author, for his part, adds to these antecedents a large dose of creativity, which makes him succeed in appropriating a very popular subgenre in Spain and Italy at the time, that of the 'Journeys to Parnassus'. Among the features that distinguish this specific genre, Lokos identifies a set of crucial characteristics: 1) the protagonist's otherworldly objective; 2) the mythological guide and the human disciple; 3) the act of drinking from the Hippocrene fountain as a purification ritual; 4) the visit to the temple of Eternity; and 5) the ascending formal structure of the journey.[10] In theory, this subgenre could potentially follow two opposite styles: the serious version of the Greek and Latin classics or the burlesque style of the Menippean satire that extends back to Seneca,[11] passing through Aristophanes and Lucian of Samosata and up to Cesare Caporali, the direct source for *Viaje*.[12] Cervantes proves himself to be a true connoisseur of this genre, since instead of blindly adhering to its specifics he consciously makes use of them, whether by imitation, subversion, or mindful omission. At this point, it would be possible to put together an exhaustive catalogue of the particularities for each of the stanzas, although that would be beyond the purpose of this study. Therefore, I will limit myself to providing an overview of the

[10] Lokos, *Models*…, pp. 22–8.

[11] Rivers also includes Erasmus's *In Praise of Folly* (1511) as an extension of the tradition of *Ἀποκολοκύντωσις* (Apocolocyntosis) by Seneca and Lucian's *Dialogues* (¿'Como…', p. 114).

[12] Lokos, *Models*…, p. 20.

Italian and Spanish sources of *Viaje* that have received the most thorough examination in Cervantine scholarship.[13]

The most evident Italian precedent is the aforementioned *Viaggio di Parnaso* (1582) by Caporali, as Cervantes himself points out in the very first tercet of the poem:

> Un quídam Caporal italiano
> de patria perusino, a lo que entiendo,
> de ingenio griego y de valor romano,
> llevado de un capricho reverendo,
> le vino en voluntad ir a Parnaso,
> por huir de la corte el vario estruendo.
> Solo y a pie partióse, y paso a paso
> llegó donde compró una mula antigua,
> de color parda y tartamudo paso
>
> [A certain Caporal, as I am told,
> Italian, and by birth a Perusine,
> in wit a Greek, and like a Roman bold,
> led by a whim, a worthy one, I ween,
> to mount Parnassus fain would set his face,
> to flee the court, its turmoil and chagrin.
> Alone, on foot, he slowly reached a place
> where an old mule he brought him for the tour,
> of Steel-grey colour, and of jog-trot pace][14]

Vicente Gaos specifies that Cervantes was most inspired by the appendix in Caporali's poem, entitled 'Aviisi di Parnaso' ['Notices from Parnassus'].[15] This section, specifically, narrates the war by Apollo, which, with the aid of some of the most illustrious Italian poets—Pietro Bembo, Ludovico Ariosto, Francesco Berni, Pietro Aretino, and Giovanni della Casa, among others—defended good poetry against an army of ignorant poets.

Notwithstanding, the main difference between the two works is that Cervantes involves himself at a very personal level in the narration, whereas Caporali remains much more distant and uninvolved throughout his poem, as Rivers has point out:

> The great difference between Caporali's poem and Cervantes's, as Croce suggested long ago and Canavaggio has been the first critic to point out, is that Caporali remains within the limits of a purely burlesque stylization of the Dantesque model: he does not get involved seriously or personally. Cervantes, on the other hand,

[13] It is also important to acknowledge epic poetry as one of the primary sources for *Viaje*; nevertheless, as with other genres, Cervantes uses it in order to subvert it. Indeed, the influence of epic poetry is notable not only in the battle between good poets and poetasters, but in the invocation of the Muse of War, the motive of the journey itself, the description of the storm, and the catalogue of poets (Ruiz Pérez, p. 68).

[14] Cervantes, *Viaje*, I.1-9; *Journey*…, p. 9.

[15] Gaos, p. 33.

> introduces autobiographical data and creates an image of himself as a man and as a poet thinking about poetry.[16]

Indeed, in Caporali's poem, the narrator arrives at Mount Parnassus after travelling by land and sea. Upon his arrival he meets a multitude of poets attempting to climb the sacred mountain. With the help of an allegorical character named Capricho and a commendation from Cardinal Medici, the protagonist is the only one to reach the top. Once there, Poetic License leads him to a palace made of literary forms where a group of famous Italian poets deliberate on whether or not to grant him admission. Once he is finally admitted and about to take a seat, he goes outside to look for his mule and suddenly finds himself alone and once again far away from Parnassus.

Although the influence of Caporali is undeniable, for Lokos, the fact that Cervantes mentions Caporali's *Viaggio* up front should be interpreted as a strategy to conceal a much more complex list of literary predecessors:

> Cervantes would like to convince the average reader, at least initially, that the *Viaje* is just another generic text. In reality, the *Viaje* draws upon many different models and traditions, forming a composite text which radically ruptures the generic equation so closely followed by Caporali. The poem does indeed have a traceable ancestry in the continuum of literary history, however, Cervantes's is much more complicated than he would have us believe.[17]

Among these other possible Italian sources, Lokos thinks that the contemporary model that Cervantes followed more closely was *I Ragguagli di Parnaso* [*News from Parnassus*] (1612) by Traiano Boccalini. This is a satire of contemporary artists as well as a commentary on the essence of true poetry and the nature of poets, two thematic lines that seem obvious in *Viaje*.[18]

If we look further into the past, another Italian antecedent that could have influenced *Viaje* was the 'Carta a Gianiacopo Lionardi' by Pietro Aretino (1536), a satirical text that narrates an imaginary journey to Parnassus.[19] Our author was also undoubtedly aware of Dante's *Divina Commedia* (1472): 'Dantean characteristics found in the *Viaje* are much deeper than one would suppose at first glance'.[20] Beyond, the obvious *terza rima* and the allegorical nature of both works, Dante's 'dark jungle' populated by ferocious beasts finds its parallel in *Viaje* in the image of the poetasters climbing the Mountain and Dante's guide, Virgil, finds his counterpart in Mercury within Cervantes's poem.[21] Rivers also finds a crucial similarity between these two works insofar as they both narrate imaginary trips as an excuse for the two authors to think about their own personal experiences and the social and intellectual milieu that surrounded them. The only major difference is that Dante's tone is serious whereas Cervantes's is highly burlesque:

[16] Rivers, 'Genres…', p. 209. [17] Lokos, *Models*…, p. 12. [18] Lokos, *Models*…, p. 31, 37.
[19] Lokos, *Models*…, p. 19. [20] Maurino, p. 7. [21] Maurino, pp. 7–8.

> [F]ormally speaking, the *Viaje del Parnaso* is a conventional literary fiction, the story of an imaginary trip that the man Cervantes did not take to Parnassus. Yet the author is named Cervantes and so is the narrator and so is the protagonist of the imaginary trip. Our most familiar model for this kind of fiction is Dante's *Divine Comedy*, in which the author writes a poem in which the narrator named Dante, tells how he, Dante, took a trip through Hell, Purgatory and Heaven. But Caporali and Cervantes make a burlesque use of Dante's serious fictional model.[22]

These exploratory journeys through the mythological world are also present in other works of Spanish literature that have been influential for Cervantes. For example, *Viaje de Sannio* [*Sannio's Journey*] (1585) by Juan de la Cueva narrates the trip undertaken by Sannio to visit Jupiter in order to request the recognition he thinks he deserves for his literary merits. Whereas Sannio finally returns to the terrestrial world triumphant and hopeful for his achievements, the return to reality for the protagonist of *Viaje* is much more bitter and disheartening.[23] *El Bernardo*, written by Bernardo de Balbuena around 1610 and published in 1624, was also a possible literary model for the invasion of the mountain lead by bad poets. In this epic poem, the protagonist, Bernardo, defends Mount Parnassus against a besieging army of monsters. Apollo eventually escorts him to the top of the mountain and takes him to a palace, but when water is thrown into his face he suddenly wakes up back in his cave, although his drenched face suggests that his adventure was not just a dream.

In addition to the ascent of Parnassus, the condemnation of artistic mediocrity, and the literary battle, the ship that Mercury uses to transport the poets in Cervantes's *Viaje*—entirely build with verses and literary forms—has a possible source in the tragicomedy *Nao de Amores* [*Ship of Love*] (1527) by Gil Vicente. In this play, the author describes an allegorical ship composed in its entirety of feelings and emotions.[24] Another fantastic galley that may have inspired Cervantes is the poem from the early seventeenth century by Pedro Rodríguez de Ardila, *Baco y sus bodas en España* [*Bacchus and his Wedding Feast in Spain*].[25] In this case, the ship is built entirely of vegetable matter. Lastly, another Spanish source that is clearly identifiable in Cervantes's *Viaje* is *El cisne de Apolo* [*Apollo's Swan*] (1602) by Luis Alfonso de Carvallo, a work that had a broad impact on our author's final creative period. Carvallo's piece is a defence of poetry in the form of a dialogue between Carvallo, the allegorical character Reading, and Zoilo. The three of them discuss a wide array of topics that range from poetic decorum, the purpose of poetry, inspiration, creativity, and patronage, among others. For Geoffrey

[22] Rivers, 'Genres…', p. 209.

[23] In addition to *Viaje de Sannio*, Cueva wrote two other ballads—'Como los Poetas siguieron a la Poesía, y lo que le pasó con ellos…' ['How the Poets pursued Poetry and what became of them…'],'Como los poetas conquistaron el Parnaso, lo ganaron y Apolo y las musas huyeron dél' ['How the Poets Conquered Parnassus, Occupied it and Apollo and the Muses Fled']—as part of *El Coro Febeo de Romances historiales* [*Phoebean Choir of Historical Ballads*] (1587)—which may have inspired the way Cervantes crafted in the concept of poetic mediocrity and the literary battle in his *Viaje* (Gaos, p. 34).

[24] Rodríguez Marín, p. lxx.

[25] Rodríguez Marín, p. lxx.

Stagg, this meticulous analysis of the essence of poetry must have been of profound interest for Cervantes for his conception of *Viaje*.[26]

To summarize, the importance of this expansive network of literary sources demonstrates a rich and complex intertextuality and the ability of *Viaje* to escape categorization within a single genre. Instead its kaleidoscopic nature makes it a work that navigates with fluidity among the different literary traditions and genres:

> The majority of modern critical approaches to the poem pigeonhole it into a narrow generic category, labelling it according to a salient characteristic, though these discussions of particular aspects of the poem are certainly useful, I suggest that this approach of pulling apart the generic fabric of the poem strand by strand in order to separate into its component parts must necessarily yield an insufficient and distorted vision of the whole. A faithful global characterization of the *Viaje* must respect its generic diversity.[27]

Within this framework of multiple sources, I would like to highlight three dimensions tightly interrelated throughout *Viaje* that give us three different points of entry in its interpretation: (1) the social and literary critique, (2) the autobiographical referents, and (3) the mythological satire.

Kaleidoscopic Possibilities and Readings

The first dimension we will examine in *Viaje* is that of literary and social criticism, which Cervantes strategically disseminates throughout his work drawing on satire, irony, and emblematic language. In this sense, *Viaje* becomes a very personal analysis of the essence of true poetry, the different ways to interpret it, and the methods by which the poet should relate to his art and his expectations from it. In order to communicate to the reader what true poetry is, Cervantes resorts to the use of two oppositional allegorical figures that personify and contrast good and bad poetry:

> Esta, que es la Poesía verdadera.
> la grave, la discreta la elegante,
> dijo Mercurio, la alta y la sincera,
> siempre con vestidura rozagante
> se muestra en cualquier acto que se halla,
> cuando a su profesión es importante.
> Nunca se inclina o sirve a la canalla
> trovadora, maligna y trafalmeja,
> que en lo que más ignora menos calla.
> Hay otra falsa, ansiosa, torpe y vieja,
> amiga de sonaja y morteruelo

[26] Stagg, pp. 30–1.

[27] Lokos, *Models*…, p. 72.

que ni tabanco, ni taberna deja.
No se alza dos ni aun coto del suelo,
grande amiga de bodas y bautismos,
larga de manos y corta de cerbelo.
Tómala por momentos parosismos;
No acierta a pronunciar y, si pronuncia
absurdos hace y forma solecismos.
Baco donde ella está su gusto anuncia
y ella derrama en coplas el poleo,
compa y vereda, y el mastranzo y juncia.

[That Poesy the true, the grave, discreet,
the elegant, the lofty, and the pure,
should robe herself in vesture that is meet
for all the actions which her rank become,
for each in turn appropriate and complete;
She never stoops to serve the common scum
of ballad mongers, impudent and mean,
who bawl the loudest when they should be dumb.
There is a false, a base, old, haggard quean,
friend of the drum and timbrel mummery
seldom from bench or tavern to be seen;
Hardly two hand-breaths from the floor springs she,
at weddings and at baptisms she sits,
though huge her fists, her brains but scanty be;
At times she falleth into sudden fits,
cannot articulate, or if she can,
her blundering grammar proves her muddled wits;
Her tastes are those of Bacchus and his clan,
and in her couplets, over mead and wold,
she scatters thyme and mint and gentian.][28]

On one hand, there is the classical, or Horatian poetry, based on the poet's erudition and selfless vocation that promote a spiritual appreciation on the part of the reader.[29] This

[28] Cervantes, *Viaje*, IV.160-80; *Journey*…, p. 117.

[29] A similar description of what true poetry meant for Cervantes can be found in *Don Quixote* II.16. In a conversation with Diego de Miranda, the Knight compares true poetry to an 'innocent young maiden': 'Poetry, Señor, in my opinion, is like an innocent young maiden who is extremely beautiful, and whom many other maidens, who are the other fields of knowledge, are careful to enrich, polish, and adorn, and she must be served by all of them, and all of them must encourage her, but this maiden does not wished to be pawed or dragged to the streets or proclaimed at the corners of the squares or in the corners of palaces. Her alchemy is such that the person who knows how to treat her will turn her into purest gold of inestimable value; the man who has her must keep her within bounds and not allow her to turn to indecent satires or cruel sonnets; she should never be in the marketplace except in heroic poems, heartfelt tragedies, or joyful, witty comedies; she should not be allowed in the company of scoundrels or the ignorant mob incapable of knowing or appreciating the treasures that lie within her. And do not think, Señor, that when I say mob I mean only humble, plebeian people; for anyone who is ignorant, even a lord and prince, can and should be counted as one of the mob. And so the man who uses and treats

genuine lyricism contrasts with a poetry that is falsely governed by a poet's zealous vanity and economic success, and consequently, is intended to satisfy rich patrons. That is to say, it represents a sort of superficial poetry in which literary principles are relegated to a secondary status in order to privilege fame, literary prestige, and economic profit.

As Lokos has pointed out, at the heart of this dichotomy lays a veiled criticism of literary academies. Whereas in Italy these academies were real intellectual gatherings, open to constructive criticism and debate to help improving the quality of writers' skills and literary production, the Spanish ones were conceived from a very different angle. Indeed they were merely endogamic social circles at the service of a group of pseudo-poets whose literary production and taste was of questionable quality.[30] It is significant that Cervantes wrote his *Viaje* when three academies were functioning simultaneously in Madrid.[31] In those lines, the fact that Cervantes mentions 130 poets throughout his *Viaje* is no more than an ironic vision of the massive number of bad writers that were circulating among these academies: 'Were there ever 130 poets deserving of the title? This is the fundamental question Cervantes poses to us in his *Viaje del Parnaso* regarding the ephemeral academies where dozens of Madrid residents would read his verses to one another'.[32] This large list of poets has also been interpreted by Lokos as a mockery of encomiastic poetry, a genre whose main objective is to praise illustrious poets and with which Cervantes had previously experimented in 'Canto de Calíope' in the pastoral romance of *La Galatea* (1585). Whereas the normal number of authors named in an encomiastic poem was about thirty, the inclusion in *Viaje* of over four times that number functions as a way to subvert and trivialize the original genre.[33]

Cervantes also includes a veiled criticism of the mediocre quality of poetry that was sweeping the intellectual circles at the time. According to Gaos this is reflected in the repetitive meter of the poem as well as in its apparently chaotic structure. The linked tercets, which critics such as Rodríguez Marín, Schevill and Bonilla so reproached for their lyrical simplicity, function in *Viaje* as a stylistic strategy for denouncing bad poetry and the writers responsible for it: 'The inherent monotony of the linked tercets, as well as the multiple uses of the word *éste*, the disordered enumerations, the common places, and other similar features, all thoroughly expose the general mediocrity of the praised poets'.[34] It should be clear by now that Cervantes interweaves literary and social criticism in both the content and the form of his poem, creating a dense and sarcastic literary

poetry in the requisite ways that I have mentioned will be famous, and his name esteemed, in all the civilized nations of the world' (p. 556).

[30] Lokos, *Models*…, p. 51; on the topic of academies, I refer to the third chapter in Lokos's monograph, *The Solitary Journey* (pp. 101–29).

[31] Cervantes was part of the Parnassus Academy. In the inaugural address at this academy, one of the images described was of an army of poet-soldiers whose main objective was to confront ignorance (Lokos, *Models*…, p. 136).

[32] Rivers, '*Viaje*…', p. 727.

[33] However, there is no doubt that Cervantes was sincere in his praise for some of the poets mentioned in that list such as Quevedo, whose aesthetic influence is clearly felt and honoured in *Viaje*.

[34] Gaos, p. 35; all translations of secondary sources are mine unless indicated otherwise.

fabric that denounces how bad poets are complicit in spreading poetic mediocrity and lowering the standards of one of the highest art forms.

The second dimension of the poem is its autobiographical breadth,[35] strongly connected to the social and literary criticism with which Cervantes infuses his poem from beginning to end. Indeed, Cervantes's frustration arises from a personal disconnection between the intellectual and aesthetic currents of the era that seemed to cause impediments in the understanding his literary achievements, and hence not receiving the well-deserved recognition he expected for his works. In addition, his hopes of returning to Italy around 1608 with the Count of Lemos, recently named Viceroy of Naples, were truncated when Lemos decided not to take Cervantes with him. As a great lover and champion of the arts, the new Viceroy planned to bring with him some of the most prominent writers, and Cervantes was hoping to be one of them. Instead, he chose Antonio Mira de Amescua and the Argensola brothers (Lupercio and Bartolomé), who made it their business to isolate Lemos from any writer who might provide competition.[36] Consequently, Cervantes seeing his hopes exasperated—even though the first part of *Don Quixote* (1605) was an immediate success—felt isolated in an artistic milieu where Horatian and Aristotelian principles were eclipsed by a superficial poetry dictated by favouritism.

At the same time, Lope de Vega had monopolized the theatre industry by the unstoppable popularity of his plays based on the new dramatic principles of the *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias* (1609). Cervantes, therefore, could not find a niche as a playwright. The literary competition between Lope and Cervantes is made obvious in *Viaje* through Lope's 'special' treatment within the long list of mentioned poets: [37]

> Llovió otra nube al gran Lope de Vega,
> poeta insigne, a cuyo verso o prosa
> ninguno le aventaja, ni aun le llega.
>
> [Another cloud rained down that poet grand,
> Lope de Vega, whom in prose or verse
> None can surpass, nor one beside him stand.][38]

[35] For Gaos, exposing the poem to interpretation beyond mere social criticism is what has kept this work vibrant throughout the twentieth century: 'If the *Viaje* were merely a critical and didactic poem, despite its characterization of the poets and observations on poetic art, which are both personal and astute, it would still be far from a great work, poetically speaking. At most, today it would be considered a documentary piece of archaeological interest' (p. 28).

[36] It is worth mentioning that in *Don Quixote* I.48 Cervantes refers to three tragedies by Lupercio de Argensola—*Isabela*, *Filis*, and *Alejandra*—as exemplary plays worthy of admiration. Maybe after the incident with Lemos he might not have complimented Argensola's works with such enthusiasm.

[37] Cervantes was conversant with emblematic language and was no doubt familiar with Andrea Alciato's *Emblematum liber* [*Book of Emblems*] (1531) and *Los emblemas morales* [*The Moral Emblems*] (1610) by Sebastián Covarrubias (Lokos, 'El lenguaje…', p. 64).

[38] Cervantes, *Viaje*, II.388-90; *Journey*…, p. 63.

The majority of critical interpretations of these verses have considered them verbatim, that is to say, as a glorious praise of the playwright, but Lokos perceives in them as a masked criticism. Lope's strategic place on the list, surrounded before and after by bad poets, the detail that he falls from a cloud by himself—an emblematic symbol of ignorance and superficiality—and the fact that he is not mentioned again in the poem, all suggest a slight against Lope's artistic and aesthetic values.[39] While Lope de Vega's mention is a key part of Cervantes's social and literary criticism, it is at the same time profoundly rooted in his sense of personal and professional isolation in Spain, where contemporary literary and aesthetic currents no longer conformed to his artistic ideals.

Even though we could argue that these particularities are framed within the autobiographical dimension, the question remains: can we consider *Viaje* to be an autobiography in the strict sense of the term? Jean Canavaggio analyses the degree to which the poem fits this category. Canavaggio takes as his starting point Philippe Lejeune's theoretical principles on autobiography, starting with its more basic definition: a 'retrospective narrative in prose that a historical being creates about his or her own existence'.[40] Even though *Viaje* is a poem in verse and the visit to Parnassus is no more than an imaginary adventure, these two aspects become secondary in relation to the coincidence of the identity between the author and the narrator, and the narrator and the protagonist. For Canavaggio, Cervantes embodies each of these roles and creates a 'self' endowed with various perspectives, and therefore, a multidimensional presence.[41] Furthermore, no matter how fantastic the visit to Parnassus might seem (see Figure 21.3), the author-narrator-protagonist never abandons entirely the real world, as proven by the specific geographical references, many of which are emotionally charged and consequently locate the poetic 'self' within 'the framework of his daily existence'.[42] Within this autobiographical dimension, Rivers has even identified in *Viaje* certain typical features proper to the picaresque novel. For example, in addition to the first-person narrative, the theme of hunger—the basic motivation for picaresque heroes—has been appropriated by Cervantes from an allegorical perspective:

> Just as Lazarillo counted the hours as he walked the streets of Toledo with his squire, who deliberately avoided the subject of food, Cervantes's narrator-protagonist similarly suffers physiological hunger in the face of the spiritual indifference displayed by Apollo Delphicus, the god of poetry (III.418-23).[43]

This metaphorical mention of hunger framed within the autobiographical narrative is turned in Cervantes's *Viaje* into a reference of literary criticism, intertwining once again the different dimensions in this kaleidoscopic multiperspectivism.

[39] Lokos, 'El Lenguaje…', p. 69.
[40] Quoted in Canavaggio, p. 31.
[41] pp. 31–2. In Vasco's production this multidimensional presence was masterfully achieved at a symbolic level by using a puppet representing Cervantes manipulated by five actors who share the task of the puppeteer to provide a polyphonic aura to the wooden protagonist.
[42] Canavaggio, p. 34. [43] Rivers, '¿Cómo…', p. 114.

FIGURE 21.3 Poets embarked in the ship. Photographer Daniel Alonso. Centro de documentación teatral (CDT), Instituto Nacional de las Artes Escénicas y de la Música (INAEM).

The third dimension to consider in *Viaje* is the mythological satire.[44] Cervantes presents us with a parody of classical mythology in which the gods become human to the point of being transformed into caricatures:

> Cervantes, the new Lucian, takes pleasure in presenting us with some gods who have descended from their majestic pedestals, transformed into common and everyday beings, as well as anachronistic, such that their attire, customs, and language are those of typical Spaniards of the period. Cervantes masterfully describes them in the *Viaje*, just as he does in his prose works. If Don Quixote converts inns into castles, and villagers into princesses, here Cervantes practices a reverse metamorphosis: he reduces Olympic deities to human stature, submitting them to the caricature-like setting that permeates the atmosphere of this work.[45]

Rodríguez Marín follows along the same lines as Gaos but adds a suggestive comparison by equating Cervantes's gods to those portrayed by Velázquez in his mythological paintings.[46] The Sevillian painter subverted mythology in his portraits, as cleverly described by José Ortega y Gasset:

> Velázquez is a giant atheist, a colossal heathen. With his brush he discards the gods as if he were sweeping them away with a broom. In his Bacchanalia, there is not just one Bacchus, but a multitude representing Bacchus. He is our painter. He has prepared the way for our age, exempt of gods; an administrative age in which, instead of Dionysus, we speak of alcoholism.[47]

Although Ortega tends towards an existentialist interpretation of these deities, the objective of Cervantes's parody goes back to literary criticism. By subverting and deforming all learned literature inspired by the mythological world the author denounces the fact that it has become obsolete within contemporary literary parameters.

To prove his point, Cervantes uses a parodic view of mythology, where the excrement of Pegasus becomes a precious medicinal remedy,[48] or the Castalian Spring is transformed into a public bath where the poets can wash their private parts.[49] The humorous

[44] Correa is one of the critics who has focused on the mythological aspects of the *Viaje* from three different perspectives: (1) the allegorical, (2) the metaphorical, and (3) the symbolic.

[45] Gaos, p. 33. [46] Rodríguez Marín, p. lxv.

[47] Ortega y Gasset, pp. 74–5. Gaos includes this quotation in his critical introduction to the *Viaje*, which I consider necessary to include in this study since it perfectly captures the essence of Velazquez's gods and by association, Cervantes's ridiculous deities.

[48] 'Uno sus excrementos recogía / en dos de cuero grandes barjuletas. / Pregunté para qué lo tal hacía. / Respondióme Cilenio a lo bellaco, /con no sé qué vislumbres de ironía: / —Esto que se recoge es el tabaco, /que a los váguidos sirve de cabeza de algún poeta de celebro flaco' ['For some, in two big bags of leather dry,/collect his droppings with the utmost care!/what are they doing?, I enquired, and why?/ Mercury answered me right brusque enough,/and yet with humorous gleamings in his eye:/that which they gather is Tobacco snuff,/which for a poet with a weakly brain,/to cure its giddiness, is rare good stuff!] (VIII.161-8; p. 239).

[49] 'unos no solamente se hartaron, / sino que pies y manos y otras cosas / algo más indecentes se lavaron' ['Some, not content their thirsty mouths to fill, / made eager haste to bathe their hands and feet, / and sundry matters more uncomely still'] (III.370-2; p. 97).

dialogue between Venus and Neptune perfectly illustrates these Gods, particularly Venus, who has lost her magnanimous aura in order to become a ridiculous character lacking all dignity and decorum. Indeed, in order to dissuade Neptune from sinking a ship filled with poetasters, the Goddess uses her feminine wiles in a very crude manner:

> Los dioses que se ven, se respetaron,
> y haciendo sus zalemas a lo moro,
> de verse juntos en extremo holgaron.
> Guardáronse real grave decoro,
> y procuró Ciprina en aquel punto
> mostrar de su belleza el gran tesoro.
> Ensanchó el verdugado, y dióle el punto
> con ciertos puntapiés, que fueron coces
> para el Dios que las vio y quedó difunto.
>
> [The immortals, as they met, to greet were fain,
> and making their salaams in Moorish way,
> expressed their joy at meeting once again;
> With royal gravity their part they play,
> and at this point the Cyprian had a mind
> the cream of all her beauty to display;
> she spread her ample skirts before, behind,
> and with her twinkling toes gave kicks outright
> at the rapt god, who saw them and grew blind.][50]

Márquez Villanueva has read this episode euphemistically, as a rhetorical technique for transmitting the most transgressive aspects of the poem:

> Under these strained necessities, Cervantes not only finds euphemism to be a spontaneous ally for the transgression of his poem but also reduces it to the heritage of a deteriorated cultural apparatus in which it is no longer possible to believe because it has become empty and the time has come to directly confront realities, forever abandoning Parnassus.[51]

For Márquez Villanueva, Cervantes's gods go beyond Velazquez's by anticipating the *esperpénticos* (grotesque and distorted) heroes of Valle-Inclán.[52] The mythological parody derives in literary criticism, showing one more time how *Viaje* spills beyond the three categories examined here—the social and literary criticism, the autobiography, and the mythological satire. This multifaceted dimension of the work is also obvious in the 'Adjunta al Parnaso', which functions as an addendum with which Cervantes concludes his *Viaje*.

[50] Cervantes, *Viaje*, V.115-23; *Journey*…, p. 157.
[51] Márquez Villanueva, p. 697.
[52] Márquez Villanueva, p. 697.

'Adjunta al Parnaso': Back in Madrid

'Adjunta al Parnaso' is a burlesque epilogue that narrates the experience of the protagonist back in Madrid. Cervantes meets with Pancracio de Roncesvalles, a young poet and one of his admirers, who has been looking for him in order to deliver a letter from Apollo. They begin a conversation about the nature of poets and, moreover, about dramatic literature—a dialogue that Cervantes uses to express his opinion and to speak about his depreciated legacy as a playwright. Pancracio then delivers the letter from Apollo, in which the god informs him of what has happened since his departure. This missive includes a set of rules, entitled 'Privilegios, ordenanzas y advertencias que Apolo envía a los poetas españoles' ['Privileges, Decrees, and Warnings, which Apollo Sends to the Spanish Poets'], which the god has written in order to regularize the situation of poets and poetry in Spain.

Just as the poem had its literary sources, the 'Adjunta' also has its own antecedents and could function as an independent work, although, as I have previously mentioned, it is deeply rooted in the same themes and motives as *Viaje*. Caporali's *Viaggio di Parnaso* is again one of the main sources, specifically its 'Appendix' titled 'Avvisi di Parnaso' ['News from Parnassus']. Regarding the section 'Privilegios, ordenanzas y advertencias', Rodríguez Marín finds a possible connection with the first ballad of Part IV of the *Romancero general* [*Universal Ballad-Book*] (1600), which begins with a series of by-laws issued by Apollo.[53]

Another source that can be noted in the 'Adjunta' is the satirical prose of Quevedo, directly related to the description of the attire of the young Pancracio. His outfit is a clear referent to the physical descriptions of some of the characters in *El Buscón*, which, in addition to their burlesque essence, border on the fantastic and the absurd, just as Pancracio's clothes do in the following quote:

> [S]e llegó a mi un mancebo, al parecer de veinte y cuatro años, poco más o menos, todo limpio, todo aseado y todo crujiendo gorgaranes; pero con un cuello tan grande y tan almidonado, que creí que para llevarle fueran menester los hombros de otro Atlante. Hijos deste cuello eran dos puños chatos que, comenzando de las muñecas subían y trepaban por las canillas del brazo arriba, que parecía que iban a dar a asalto a las barbas. No he visto yo yedra tan codiciosa de subir desde el pie de la muralla donde se arrima hasta las almenas, como el ahínco que llevaban estos puños a ir a darse de puñaladas con los codos. Finalmente, la exorbitancia del cuello era tal que en el cuello se escondía y sepultaba el rostro y los puños los brazos.

[53] Rodríguez Marín, pp. lxxiv–xv. These fictional by-laws were a very popular subgenre throughout the seventeenth century, as proven by many works that include them, such as Luis Vélez de Guevara's *El Diablo Cojuelo* [*The Devil upon Two Sticks*] (1641), Jacinto Polo de Medina's *Academias del jardín* [*The Garden Academies*] (1630), and Manuel de León Marchante's *La justa poética con que la Universidad de Alcalá celebró el nacimiento del Príncipe Próspero* [*The Poetic Contest with which the University of Alcalá celebrated the Birth of Prince Próspero*] (1660) (p. lxxv).

> [I was accosted by a youth of some four-and-twenty summers, a few more or less; cleanly withal, and arrayed to the full in garments of rustling silk, but with a ruff so large, and bestarched, that the shoulders of an Atlas seemed needful to bear it. To match this ruff were two flat cuffs, which, beginning with the wrists, went creeping up the brachial bones, as if eager to assail the whiskers. Never have I seen Ivy more ambitious of climbing up its supporting Wall to the topmost battlements, than were these cuffs in their eager desire to come to fisticuffs with the elbows. In short, the enormity of the ruff and cuffs was such, that the face lay hid and buried in the ruff, and the arms in the cuffs.][54]

Overall, the 'Adjunta' has a happier and less embittered tone than the rest of the *Viaje*. Cervantes displays in his prose epilogue a type of picaresque humour similar to that of his *Entremeses*, although he does not hide his frustrations as a playwright. As shown in the dialogue between Miguel and Pancracio—two alter egos of Cervantes himself—the author of *Viaje* seems to have accepted his fate as a failed playwright and the fact that public theatres in Madrid—and in Spain in general—were not ready to appreciate his dramatic talent. Nonetheless, in the 'Adjunta', we glimpse an author who is confident of his dramatic oeuvre and who chooses to publish his *comedias* so they might be better appreciated on the page, thus ensuring his dramatic legacy, as he explains in the following lines: 'Pero pienso darlas a la estampa para que se vea de espacio lo que pasa apriesa, y se disimula o no se entiende, cuando las representan' ['I have thoughts, however, of giving them to the press, that people may see at their leisure what passes hurriedly, inaccurately, and often unintelligibly when acted on the stage'].[55] In addition to this self-evaluation of his work, Cervantes goes back to the demystified mythological world and presents Apollo with headaches and with writer's block:

> No sé si del ruido de la batalla, ó del vapor que arrojó de sí la tierra, empapada en la sangre de los contrarios, me han dado unos vaguidos de cabeza, que verdaderamente me tienen como tonto, y no acierto á escribir cosa que sea de provecho.
>
> [Whether caused by the din of battle or the steaming vapours from the earth soaked with the blood of the slain, I know not, but I feel certain swimmings of the head, which hold me as one distraught, unable to write anything either for pleasure or profit.][56]

This image of Apollo goes hand in hand with the portrait of all the other gods in the poem. There is nothing magnanimous about him; he is reduced to the most earthly and vulgar level.

In the 'Privilegios, ordenanzas y advertencias', a legal satirical document attached to Apollo's letter, the son of Zeus attempts to regulate the masses of poets circulating in Spain. Among the many clauses included, the idea that the quality of the work is what

[54] Cervantes, *Viaje* p. 179; *Journey*…, p. 265, 267.
[55] Cervantes, *Viaje*, p. 183; *Journey*…, p. 227.
[56] Cervantes, *Viaje*, p. 186; *Journey*…, p. 285.

defines the good poet stands out many times as one of the main messages throughout *Viaje*. By including these regulations, Cervantes finds a new opportunity to emphasize the precarious state of contemporary poetry and to criticize the mediocrity of Spanish poets at the time. These ideas—deeply rooted in literary criticism and repeated time and again—become the ideological driving force that brings together all the different dimensions of *Viaje* studied here.

New Directions

Although, according to Gaos, *Viaje* was understood better abroad than in Spain,[57] it nonetheless had an impact within the national literary circles at the time and in subsequent generations, as witnessed by the rise of works that were inspired by it and leaving behind it a prolific legacy in Spanish literary history. Lokos has traced a detailed catalogue of works extending into the nineteenth century that shared obvious characteristics with *Viaje*. A derivative work of *Viaje* during the seventeenth century was *Coronas del Parnaso y Platos de las Musas* [*The Daily Fare of the Salon Muses*] (1635) by Alonso Gerónimo de Salas Barbadillo. In this case, it is a miscellaneous piece that comments on contemporary literature and the different agents that play a part in it. Another work mentioned by Lokos is *El Vejamen* [*Poetic Satire*] (1640) by Jerónimo de Cáncer y Velasco, a parodic discourse in which its author mocks the most illustrious poets of its time.

Turning to the eighteenth century, *Lección poética. Sátira contra los vicios introducidas in la poesía castellana* [*Poetic and Satirical Lesson against the Vices Introduced in Castilian Poetry*] (1782) and *La derrota de los pedantes* [*The Defeat of the Pedants*] (1789), both by Leandro Fernández de Moratín, closely follow the allegorical motif of the literary battle and the protest against bad poetry, respectively. From the nineteenth century, *Exequias de la lengua castellana* [*Exequies of the Castilian Language*] (1871) by Juan Pablo Forner and *Apolo en Pafos* [*Apollo in Paphos*] (1887) by Leopoldo Alas 'Clarín' share with *Viaje* the satirical tone and the attack against mediocre poets.[58]

Although it is important to emphasize the legacy of Cervantes's *Viaje* throughout the centuries, it is also of interest to take into account the way in which this work relates to the rest of the author's oeuvre. Gaos, for example, has described *Viaje* as a 'small *Quixote* in verse'.[59] In addition to its parodic texture—which is undoubtedly the most obvious connection with Cervantes's masterpiece[60]—critics have found other parallels on narrative

[57] Gaos, p. 36.

[58] Lokos mentions all these derivatives on pp. 205–6 of her study, *Models, Genres, and Meanings of Cervantes' Viaje del Parnaso* and goes on to mention non-Spanish works that also share characteristics with Cervantes's *Viaje*, such as *Les Satires* [*Satires*] (1657) and the heroic-comedy poem entitled, *Le lutrin* [*The Lectern*] (1674) by Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux; and *Battle of the Books* (1704) and *Epistle to Dr Arbuthnot* (1734) by Jonathan Swift and Alexander Pope, respectively.

[59] Gaos, p. 32.

[60] Cervantes's novel mocks chivalry books whereas *Viaje* parodies classical mythology (Talens, p. 236).

and thematic levels. Lokos, for example, has identified irony, humour, and suspense at the conclusion of Chapters One, Three, and Four of *Viaje*, as well as the mixing of different genres in both works.[61] For Gaos, the similarity lays mainly in the message shared by *Viaje* and *Don Quixote*, that is:

> to clearly demonstrate the way man tends to judge himself above his own merits, the way in which he bears his chimerical concept of himself, and the degree to which his aspirations, desires, and dreams go beyond the real possibilities of actually satisfying them.[62]

Another connection with Cervantes's novel involves the similarities between some of the motifs developed in specific episodes of *Don Quixote*, such as the dream-journey experienced by the protagonist in the Cave of Montesinos, or the imaginary voyage with Clavileño.[63] Along these interpretive lines, Lokos adds a suggestive parallelism between the characterization of Lady Poetry and Dulcinea: 'The figure of true Poetry is the Dulcinea of the *Viaje* and Cervantes-protagonist is the knight that will try to save her. In the poem, Poetry is portrayed as an affronted, injured maiden in need of protection'.[64] In addition, the embittered tone with which the two protagonists conclude their journey is also a significant coincidence that reflects a return to reality without really having achieved their respective ideals.[65] This ultimate personal disappointment is also found in one of the *Novelas ejemplares*, *El licenciado vidriera*. In addition to the frustration experienced by Tomás Rodaja and the protagonist of *Viaje*—who end up relegated to the status of misunderstood beings—their voices function as a way to enunciate a wide range of social critique.[66]

In sum, to venture into *Viaje del Parnaso* as a reader is to be led by the hand of Cervantes into his experience as a man of letters in early modern Spain. *Viaje* is therefore a testimony of senescence in which our author—'cisne en las canas, y en la voz un ronco' ['with snowy hairs of swan, with voice of hoarse']—[67]—evaluates in retrospect his life's work, defines the foundations of what true poetry is, and by extension, identifies the essence of good literature according to his own personal standards. Although it has its moments of satire, it is also a profoundly intimate and personal oeuvre. Cervantes captains a journey in order to revisit his own career as a writer and confess his personal aspirations and his artistic frustrations in a society where he felt misunderstood intellectually. In this sense, *Viaje* is also a testimony of the social and literary life of the period, the world of the academies, the gossip mills, patronage, and the competition among artists striving to survive from their art. As much as he tried to escape this provincial Madrid, he is doomed to go back to his house, exhausted from his unrecognized artistic journey as he points out in the last verses of his *Viaje*:

[61] Lokos, *The Solitary*…, p. 180. [62] Gaos, p. 32. [63] Ruiz Pérez p. 68.
[64] Lokos, *The Solitary*…, p. 180. [65] Lokos, *The Solitary*…, pp. 182–3.
[66] Green, p. 186; Lokos, *The Solitary*…, p. 177. [67] Cervantes, *Viaje*, I.105; *Journey*…, p. 17.

Fuíme con esto, y, lleno de despecho,
busqué mi antigua y lóbrega posada,
y arrójeme molido sobre el lecho;
que cansa, cuando es larga una jornada.

[On this, with smothered ire, I turned and fled,
and to my old and sombre home retired,
and flung me worn and shattered on my bed;
for when a journey's long one feels so tired.][68]

Works Cited

Bouterwek, Frederick. *Geschichte der Poesie und Beredsamkeit seit dem Ende des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen: J. F. Röwer, 1804).

Canavaggio Jean. 'La dimensión autobiográfica del *Viaje del Parnaso*'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 1, no. 1–2 (1981): pp. 29–41.

Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de. *Don Quixote*, translated by Edith Grossman (New York: Harpers Collins Publishers, 2005).

Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de. *Exemplary Stories*, translated by Lesley Lipson (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1998).

Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de. *Journey to Parnassus*, translated by James Y. Gibson (London: Kegan Paul, Trench and Co., 1883).

Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de. *Novelas ejemplares*, edited by Jorge García López (Barcelona: Crítica, 2001).

Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de. *Viaje del Parnaso. Poesías completas, I*, edited by Vicente Gaos (Madrid: Castalia, 1984).

Correa, Gustavo. 'La dimensión mitológica del *Viaje del Parnaso* de Cervantes'. *Comparative Literature* 12, no. 2 (1960): pp. 113–24.

Guardia, José M. *Le Voyage au Parnasse* (Paris: J. Gay, 1864).

Gaos, Vicente. 'Introducción'. In *Viaje del Parnaso. Poesías completas, I*, edited by Gaos (Madrid: Castalia, 1984).

Gibson, James Y. 'Preface'. In *Journey to Parnassus*, translated by James Y. Gibson (London: Kegan Paul, Trench and Co., 1883), pp. ix–lxxv.

Green, Otis H. *The Literary Mind of Medieval and Renaissance Spain* (Lexington: The University of Kentucky P, 1970).

Lokos, Ellen D. 'El lenguaje emblemático en el *Viaje del Parnaso*'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 9, no. 1 (1989): pp. 63–74.

Lokos, Ellen D. *Models, Genres, and meanings of Cervantes's* Viaje del Parnaso, Diss, Harvard University, 1988 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1988).

Lokos, Ellen D. *The Solitary Journey. Cervantes's Voyage to Parnassus* (New York: Peter Lang, 1991).

Márquez Villanueva, Francisco. 'Eufemismos del *Viaje del Parnaso*'. *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 82, no. 5 (2005): pp. 683–700.

[68] Cervantes, *Viaje*, VIII.454-7; *Journey*…, p. 261.

Maurino, Ferdinando D. 'El *Viaje* de Cervantes y la *Comedia* de Dante'. *Kentucky Foreign Language Quaterly* 3 (1956): pp. 7–12.

Ortega y Gasset, José. *El espectador* (Madrid: Biblioteca nueva, 1950).

Quevedo, Francisco de. *El buscón*, edited by Domingo Ynduráin (Madrid: Cátedra, 1982).

Quevedo, Francisco de. *The Swindler*, translated by Michael Alpert. In *Lazarillo de Tormes and The Swindler: Two Spanish Picaresque Novels* (London: Penguin, 2003), pp. 61–197.

Rivers, Elias L. '¿Cómo leer el *Viaje del Parnaso*?'. In *Actas del Tercer Coloquio Internacional de la Asociación de Cervantistas; Alcalá de Henares 12–16 nov. 1990* (Barcelona/Madrid: Anthropos, 1990), pp. 105–16.

Rivers, Elias L. 'Genres and Voices in the *Viaje del Parnaso*'. In *On Cervantes: Essays for L. A. Murillo*, edited by James Q. Parr (Newark: Juan de la Cuesta, 1991), pp. 207–25.

Rivers, Elias L. '*Viaje del Parnaso*: Una posible introducción'. In *Actas del Segundo Coloquio Internacional de la Asociación de Cervantistas. Alcalá de Henares 6–9 nov. 1989* (Barcelona: Anthropos, 1991), pp. 727–30.

Rodríguez Marín, Francisco. 'Discurso preliminar'. In *Viaje del Parnaso* by Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, edited by Rodríguez Marín (Madrid: Bermejo, 1935), pp. ix-lvvviii.

Ruiz Pérez, Pedro. 'Contexto crítico de la poesía cervantina'. *Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 17, no. 1 (1997): pp. 62–86.

Schevill, Rodolfo and Adolfo Bonilla. 'Introducción'. In *Viage del Parnaso* by Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, edited by Schevill and Bonilla (Madrid: Gráficas Reunidas, 1922), pp. v–xii.

Stagg, Geoffrey. 'Propaganda and Poetics on Parnassus: Cervantes's *Viaje del Parnaso*'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 8, no. 1 (1988): pp. 23–38.

Taléns, Jenaro. 'Poetry as Autobiography: Theory and Poetic Practice in Cervantes'. In *Autobiography in Early Modern Spain*, edited by Nicholas Spadaccini and Jenaro Taléns (Minneapolis: The Prisma Institute, 1988), pp. 215–47.

CHAPTER 22

ATTRIBUTIONS AND LOST AND PROMISED WORKS

AARON M. KAHN
University of Sussex

When studying an author of the stature of Miguel de Cervantes, we relish the corpus of works that he created in his lifetime with which we are familiar. The Cervantine canon develops a variety of themes, including captivity and enclosure, warfare and empire, social and literary marginalization, the state of arts and letters in Spain, the Church and the great thinkers of his day (and the past), love and marriage, and perhaps most intriguingly, madness and the depths of the human psyche. An artist of verse, drama, and prose, Cervantes intentionally blurred structural conventions and in some cases wrote in a manner that is considered unique to him. So, when we venture into the realm of what he possibly wrote that has either not survived to the twenty-first century, or that could be floating around anonymously or with someone else's name, it piques the interest of scholarship, and at times reveals some veritable literary treasures.

A study of this kind is by its very nature speculative in part, especially when considering the plotlines of lost works, but when we are presented with hard evidence, as in the case of some attribution studies, we can rely on a more scientific method to provide conclusions; however, without definitive proof of authorship, doubt will always linger in some minds. This chapter, therefore, instead of presenting new evidence, is intended as a review of works that have been attributed to Cervantes, works that he mentions and that are lost, and works that he promised us: works that he announced as forthcoming, but that he likely was unable to complete before his death in 1616. This chapter will first discuss theatrical writing—Cervantes's earliest passion—including *entremeses*. I will then explore the attributed dialogue identified as *Las semanas del jardín*, and end with works in prose. Because of space constraints, I will not refer to all the attributed interludes and poems; I have also left out *Topographia e Historia de Argel*, as only one scholar has ever attributed this to Cervantes without much support from academia. Finally, I will not refer to Avellaneda's apocryphal *Don Quixote*, Part II, which is the subject of Chapter 7 of this volume.

As scholarship of authorial attribution resides mainly in the theoretical, an educated guess often represents the only option at our disposal. As there is no universal theory of authorial attribution, we must often take a different, and at times unique, approach for each work considered. According to José Luis Madrigal, the surest way to establish authorship is to identify a specific writer's idiolect:

> Idiolect . . . is not style. One of the problems with the majority of attribution studies is the systematic confusion between style and idiolect. Style is the combination of any writer's morphological and syntactic traits, whereas idiolect is the linguistic repertoire of a speaker. Idiolect, then, can be composed of various styles and dialects, although normally within a speaker's linguistic repertoire there always exists a certain homogeneity . . . Any style is susceptible to being imitated, but never the idiolect.[1]

Regarding Cervantes, there have been a handful of academic studies that cover multiple works attributed to him,[2] along with various studies focusing on individual pieces. This chapter attempts to cover the most significant of these, but in no way should be considered exhaustive. The principal methods employed include the following: textual comparisons between the works studied and known Cervantine works, comparison of style, the study of themes and characters portrayed that resemble Cervantes's, and more modern technological tools, such as the CORDE, the *Corpus diacrónico del español*, which provides linguistic information about works and authors; this is a way to tell us which phrases were used by which writer, when, and in which work. And yet some scholars rely on instinct, which, while not offering much convincing empirical evidence, provides us with a point of departure for more academically focused research.

Theatre

Upon his return from captivity in Algiers, Cervantes attempted to forge a career as a dramatist, but famously, the rise of Lope de Vega and the *comedia nueva* and Cervantes's refusal to conform thwarted him. What exactly he wrote in the first stage of his dramatic writing, the 1580s and perhaps early 1590s, remains unclear. Cervantes rather vaguely refers to the twenty or thirty plays that he wrote during this early period in the prologue to his *Ocho comedias, y ocho entremese nuevos, nunca representados* of 1615, but here mentions only three titles: *La destruyción de Numancia*, *Los tratos de Argel*, and *La batalla*, the third of which is now lost. A year earlier, with the publication of *Viaje del Parnaso*, Cervantes includes in his postscript 'Adjunta al Parnaso' the titles of these three

[1] Madrigal, 'Algunas reflexiones . . .', pp. 218–19; all translations into English have been done by the author of this chapter unless otherwise noted.

[2] See, for example, Eisenberg 'Repaso crítico . . .', Eisenberg '¿Qué escribió Cervantes?, and Montero Reguera, 'Catálogo . . .', which includes a thorough list of Cervantes's works and those attributed to him.

and several more. When asked by his interlocutor, Pancracio, if he has ever written comedies, Cervantes provides the titles in his response:

> –Sí –dije yo–, muchas; y, a no ser mías, me parecieran dignas de alabanza, como lo fueron *Los tratos de Argel*, *La Numancia*, *La gran turquesca*, *La batalla naval*, *La Jerusalem*, *La Amaranta o la del mayo*, *El bosque amoroso*, *La única*, y *La bizarra Arsinda*, y otras muchas de que no me acuerdo. Mas la que yo más estimo y de la que más me precio fue y es de una llamada *La confusa*, la cual, con paz sea dicho de cuantas comedias de capa y espada hasta hoy se han representado, bien puede tener lugar señalado por buena entre las mejores.[3]
>
> ['Yes', I said, 'many; and even if they were not mine they would appear worthy of praise, called *The Traffic of Algiers*, *Numantia*, *The Great Turkish Lady*, *The Naval Battle*, *Jerusalem*, *Amaranth, or the Lady of May*, *The Forest of Love*, *The Only*, and *The Gallant Arsinda*, and many others that I do not remember. But the one that I esteem most and the one that made me the most money was one called *The Mix-Up*, which, I can truly say would be considered very good even among all the cloak and dagger plays that have been produced until now.']

There is conjecture that some of these plays from the 1580s appear in reworked versions in the 1615 publication—a notion addressed below—and hence are not lost. There is little evidence for this, however, and Cervantes certainly makes no mention of having done this. One would suppose that as Cervantes wrote the list above about a year prior to the publication of *Ocho comedias* that he might have clarified this, but this is not necessarily the case and cannot be used as proof for or against this idea.[4]

It is from this list where we begin considering Cervantes's output from this time. Perhaps surprisingly, I will begin by addressing two plays that are widely studied and whose authorship has never been in dispute: *La Numancia* and *Los tratos de Argel*. Dated to the early 1580s upon Cervantes's return from captivity, they serve as a representation of his style during this first period of his career as a writer. All indications are that Cervantes first and foremost wanted to make his living writing for the stage, and these two plays exemplify his pre-Lopean, pre-*comedia nueva* attempts to contribute to the formation of a Spanish national theatre. It was a time of transition on the Spanish stage, and while the *comedia nueva* would ultimately triumph, these two works provide us with some Cervantine fingerprints in terms of content, theme, and creation of characters.

Both *Numancia* and *Tratos* first appeared in print in 1784, presumably meaning that only those with access to the manuscripts—two of which survive for each play though none in Cervantes's hand—or those who saw them performed in the 1580s had any knowledge of their existence beyond Cervantes's own references to them. In fact, the actor's sheet for the role of Ocasión in *Tratos* housed in the Biblioteca Nacional de

[3] Cervantes, 'Adjunta al Parnaso', p. 636.

[4] 'It has been thought that some of the pieces from the era of *La Numancia* were retouched and corrected. *El bosque amoroso*, *La gran turquesca*, and *La confusa* would be works wrongly considered lost: re-baptized, respectively as *La casa de los celos*, *La gran sultana*, and *El laberinto de amor*' (Canavaggio, *Cervantes*, p. 342).

España (BNE) in Madrid is the only proof, other than the author's word, that any of his plays from this period were performed at all.[5] I begin with these two plays because of the four manuscripts, only the manuscript for *Tratos* in the BNE carries Cervantes's name as the author, and even then it contains a factual error about him stating that he was held captive in Algiers for seven years instead of the accurate number of five. The others carry no name of their creator, so they were only identified as having been written by Cervantes because of his own reference to them. Perhaps if they had been discovered today they would have undergone much more scrutiny than in the late eighteenth century.

Although these are the only two extant plays from this era accepted into the canon, they offer us with an insight into Cervantes's purpose of composing theatrical pieces. Placed in the context of Spanish drama from the 1570s and 1580s, these two plays have been studied as being negatively critical of Spanish imperial expansion, most notably Philip II's decision to invade Portugal and assume that country's throne instead of concentrating military resources on the Muslim enemy across the Mediterranean and the plight of thousands of Christian slaves. Watson's 1971 book *Juan de la Cueva and the Portuguese Succession* analyses Cueva's plays from this same perspective of insisting that Philip had abandoned the fight against Islam. Furthermore, 'the links between Spain and Portugal were so strong and the blood-ties between their royal families and their nobility were so close that any attack on Portugal by Spain would be akin to civil war'.[6] Within this context, and in the context of other dramatists of the day, including Andrés Rey de Artieda, Lupercio Leonardo de Argensola, Jerónimo Bermúdez, and Gabriel Lobo Lasso de la Vega, we can make an educated assumption that Cervantes wrote other plays with the objective of portraying on stage a call to action with the aim of galvanizing support for a renewed attack on Northern Africa.[7]

Included in the works of these playwrights are various themes that appear to have been developed to censure Spanish imperial policies. The danger of Philip II's rule descending into tyranny, and the effects of the monarch's sins on the people presented a very real fear to the populace. The influence of ambitious courtiers and grandees tainted the divine authority of the king, which made for a popular literary and dramatic motif in Golden Age Spain. Finally, the fight against Islam had stalled, despite a series of successes in the 1570s, such as victories in the Battle of Lepanto (1571) and the recapture of Tunis (1573), both led by Don Juan de Austria. Glorifying these battles in the 1580s emphasized further that Spain was not able to secure the Mediterranean for Christendom in the 1570s. Tunis was lost again the year following its conquest, King Sebastian I of Portugal was killed in his disastrous attempt to invade modern-day Morocco in 1578, and in October of 1580, Philip II and the Ottoman Empire signed a peace accord effectively abandoning the Mediterranean, but without having secured the liberation of those Christians still held in bondage.[8]

[5] See Kahn, 'Even Further…' for more on the actor's sheet of Ocasión.

[6] Watson, pp. 27–8.

[7] See Kahn, 'Moral Opposition…' and Kahn, *The Ambivalence*…, particularly Chapter 1, for a thorough discussion of these playwrights in this context.

[8] See Fernández for a thorough discussion of these points.

This information on *Numancia* and *Tratos* is pertinent because of the late Stefano Arata's discovery of the manuscript of *La conquista de Jerusalén, por Godofre de Bullón*. Found in the late 1980s and included in his catalogue of unpublished manuscripts in the Library of the Royal Palace in Madrid (1989), Arata published a transcription of the play in 1992, along with an article in which he attributed the play to Cervantes. Citing various points of analysis, Arata put forth a strong case, and he followed up his study with an article in 1997 in which he refers to actors' sheets from the play.[9]

The main points of study in support of a Cervantine attribution have been that: 1) Cervantes refers to a play of his entitled *La Jerusalém*; 2) the style and structure of the play belongs to the mid-1580s when Cervantes was writing for the stage. Arata posited that the three-act play was originally written in four acts, Acts Three and Four having been combined into one after the rise in popularity of the *comedia nueva*. This notion was confirmed by one of the actors' sheets of this play, which specifies lines delivered in the fourth act and which contains the date of performance as Corpus Christi 1586; 3) an analysis of the verses and theatrical techniques employed reveal a precise resemblance to *Numancia* and *Tratos*; 4) interpreted within the dialogue and plot are negatively critical allusions to Philip II's policy of abandoning the Mediterranean and forsaking enslaved Christians in northern Africa.

In 2010, I wrote an article in which I developed a tailor-made theory of authorial attribution for this play. In it I set out the case for Cervantes, studying the play's ideological statements in comparison with the other playwrights of the 1570s and 80s, comparing words and phrases that appear in this play and other Cervantine works, particularly *La Numancia* and *Los tratos de Argel*, comparing the characterizations of Godofre de Bullón[10] with Cervantes's Cipión in *La Numancia*, analyzing the stage directions and versification of the play, and the use of allegorical characters in this play. These allegorical characters serve the purpose of narration, as they do in *La Numancia* and as an exteriorization of the thoughts, feelings, and emotions of the other characters, as Ocasión and Necesidad do in *Los tratos de Argel*. How these characters are depicted is considered to be unique to Cervantes, and finding exact parallels in a *La conquista de Jerusalén* provides perhaps the strongest evidence. By also considering other possible candidates and the case against Cervantes, I concluded that Cervantes is the likeliest author of this play, but without concrete proof it will always be difficult to make the assertion definitively.

Other studies have almost universally accepted the likelihood that Cervantes wrote this play. Hector Brioso Santos's studies of 2007, 2009, and 2010 have provided a great deal of support for the attribution, including his edition of the play published by Cátedra in 2009, and José Montero Reguera has referred to it on various occasions,

[9] The actors' sheets for *La conquista de Jerusalén* and the aforementioned actor's sheet for Ocasión in *Tratos* are coincidentally housed in the same file in the BNE.

[10] Godofre de Bullón was a legendary figure in Cervantes's time. Cervantes refers to him indirectly twice in *Don Quixote*, Part I, as a member of *los nueve de la fama*, or the Nine Worthies (I.5, p. 126, and I.20, p. 246), and once directly in the discussion between the priest and the canon on the value of literature (I.48, p. 558).

strengthening the argument, most notably by studying the similarity of verse forms between the anonymous play and those of Cervantes. Alfredo Baras Escolá and Alfredo Rodríguez López-Vázquez both contribute to the attribution, the latter relying on using the CORDE to demonstrate semantic similarities, but while this can be useful, I have expressed concerns with relying on this method.[11] As so little of what Cervantes and other playwrights wrote from this period survives, demonstrating linguistic similarities and differences does not rule Cervantes out as the author, but it also is far from definitive in ruling out others as well. Moisés R. Castillo goes beyond the attribution of the play to Cervantes and analyses 'a series of thematic, dramatic, and ideological aspects that connect *La conquista de Jerusalén* with Cervantes's other plays about captivity *El trato de Argel*, *La gran sultana*, y *Los baños de Argel*'.[12] Most recently, Juan Cerezo Soler's two articles in 2013 and 2014 have studied, respectively, literary similarities between *La conquista de Jerusalén* and the Cervantine corpus and the notion of the collective whole of Numancia and Jerusalem. The combined evidence compiled since Arata's 1992 publication strongly supports the Cervantine attribution of this play, and maybe academia should begin including it in the canon.

Continuing with the works for the stage, we return to Cervantes's own list. He twice mentions his lost play, *La batalla naval*: once in 'Adjunta al Parnaso' and once in the prologue of *Ocho comedias*. The play seems important enough for Cervantes to have referred to it on two occasions, and we can safely presume that its content depicts the famed Battle of Lepanto of 1571 in which Cervantes fought and received life-altering injuries. With both references coming in conjunction with *La Numancia* and *Los tratos de Argel*, and with the attribution of *La conquista de Jerusalén*, the plotline of Christian/Muslim interaction would fit thematically, perhaps with Don Juan de Austria as the play's hero. If Cervantes included any autobiographical information in the play, which seems plausible, he might have introduced a pseudo-Cervantes, much as he does with Sayavedra en *Los tratos de Argel* and *La historia del cautivo* interpolated in *Don Quixote*, Part I. Cervantes certainly admired greatly his commander at Lepanto. In both *Los tratos de Argel* and *Los baños de Argel* the audience senses the despair felt by the captives when they hear of Don Juan's untimely death at the age of thirty-one in 1578, while Cervantes was still in captivity. The frustration at the lack of action by Philip II, had directed captives' hopes of liberation towards Don Juan, but his sudden demise simply added to their despair.

If we follow the interpretation of *La Numancia*, *Los tratos de Argel*, and *La conquista de Jerusalén* as providing critical social and political commentary, particularly as a means of renewing the fight against Islam in the wake of the Portuguese succession, then what better historical event to commemorate and call Spaniards to arms than Lepanto? The great battle is notably missing from the speech delivered by the River Duero at the end of Act I of *La Numancia* when he prognosticates Spain's glorious future as an imperial power, perhaps emphasizing the importance of the event through its absence; no

[11] Kahn, 'Even Further…', p. 139. [12] Castillo, p. 436.

conflict with Islam appears in this speech. Another interpretation of omitting Lepanto is that it serves once again to demonstrate Cervantes's exasperation with the state of affairs in the Mediterranean: 'in fact, the Battle of Lepanto never did establish any lasting superiority for Christianity in the Mediterranean, nor did it secure its waters for the Spanish kingdoms. The lack of references to Lepanto or any other victory over Muslim powers [in *La Numancia*] reinforces the notion that . . . Spain had not yet reached the zenith of her *imperium* under her king'.[13] Nor would she reach the height for which many had hoped, thus leaving thousands of Christians in bondage. *La batalla naval* possibly glorified Lepanto to the point of reminding the audience of how Christian dominance in the Mediterranean was certainly attainable, but how it was lost and never to be regained with the same force.

At this same time, in his agreement with theatre owner Gaspar de Porres dated 3 May 1585, one of the plays that Cervantes agrees to sell is entitled *El trato de Constantinola y muerte de Selim*. Along the same lines as his other plays depicting Muslim-controlled territories, this play possibly demonstrated once again the need to raise arms against Islam and warning against the dangers of sin. It could have depicted events in the reign of the Ottoman Sultan Selim II (1566–74), a man well known for his degenerate lifestyle, particularly in comparison to his predecessor and father, Suleiman the Magnificent (1527–66). Selim's reign represents the starting point of Ottoman imperial decay. He is known for never having gone into battle and concentrating more on obtaining his favourite wine and participating in orgies than on expanding his influence in the region. The Battle of Lepanto occurred during his reign, and perhaps portraying this decadence on stage was another call to try to retake a Constantinople that was morally weakened by the sin of its sultan.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the city of Constantinople symbolized loss as a result of sin of the people, and more importantly, a sinful monarch. In the same decade that Cervantes wrote this play, Gabriel Lobo Lasso de la Vega's *Tragedia de la destruyción de Constantinopla* [*Tragedy of the Destruction of Constantinople*] (1587) appeared in print. Scholars have already noted potential connections between these two writers;[14] what is of more interest here is the content of Lobo's play, which has been interpreted as critical of Spanish ambivalence towards and royal indecision about Islam. The sentiment conveyed is that Constantinople fell in 1453 as a result of Christian decadence and sin, and blame is placed at the feet of the last Byzantine emperor, Constantine IX.[15] According to Covarrubias, the city of Constantinople is defined as 'ciudad nobilissima . . . cabeça del Imperio Oriental, en otro tiempo, y agora lo es del Imperio injusto del gran Turco, por pecados *nuestros*' [the most noble of cities . . . head of the Eastern Empire in times gone by, and now it is the seat of the Unjust Empire of the Great Turk, because of *our* sins].[16] Even though Spain was not involved in the fall of Constantinople, the concept

[13] Kahn, 'Idealising . . .', p. 37. [14] See Kahn, 'Idealising the . . .', Hermenegildo, and Weiner.

[15] Similar arguments were extended by Antonio de Valdes's defence of Charles V's imperial troops sacking Rome in 1527 and imprisoning Pope Clement VII.

[16] Covarrubias, p. 233v (my emphasis); [s.v. *Costantinopla*]

of the 'nation of Christianity' sharing blame, or at least in part placing blame on Christians rather than any Turkish moral superiority, strengthens the warning of the potential divine consequences of not observing and rectifying sin.

Forming pacts between Christian and Muslim nations was deemed sinful by the pope, but it did not stop Philip II from doing so, most notably the alleged secret peace accord that the Prudent King signed with the ruler of Fez. The Habsburg Emperor Maximilian II (1564–76) concluded the Treaty of Adrianople with Selim II in 1568, although the negotiations took place in Constantinople. Could this be the *trato* to which the title refers? Selim II died of a fever after slipping in the bathtub, so not necessarily the stuff of drama, but if his death had been depicted as the result of sinful behaviour, then a playwright could have made it more dramatic.

Staying in Turkey, we come to *La gran turquesca*, which could also have been reworked as *La gran sultana* and published in the 1615 collection. The latter is 'a play which appears uncomplicated on the surface, but functions as a kind of kaleidoscope of multifaceted, shifting perspectives … Cervantes provides ample room for the exploration of "otherness" and its manifestations'.[17] There is the possibility then that *La gran turquesca* likewise depicted an Ottoman society with a degree of tolerance, perhaps as a reference to what Spain could be, or it could simply have unmasked the fault lines in Spain's own imperial policies. According to Schevill and Bonilla, 'it seems logical, then, to think that Cervantes wrote or modified *La gran sultana* after the year 1600, or even some years later, towards 1607–8 (a date that coincides with the probable era of the sultana, in the era of her marriage, which Cervantes makes contemporaneous to the comedy), giving it first the title *La gran turquesca*, and revising it for the purposes of the 1615 publication. It is not unlike Cervantes to use the same argument two times, no is there reason to think that the two comedies of such similar title differed much from each other'.[18] However, there are some gaps in this logic, as there is simply no way of knowing that the two titles head the same play. Perhaps the great Turkish woman is a *mujer varonil*, in the same mode as Clorinda in *La conquista de Jerusalén*, a Muslim woman who engages in battle.

As mentioned above, the possibility exists that *La casa de los celos y selvas de Ardenia* began as *El bosque amoroso* well before its publication in 1615. Scholarly consensus advocates that *La casa de los celos* was composed significantly earlier than its date of publication and earlier than many of the other plays in the collection. An older style of verse, the subject matter based on chivalric romance, and linguistic similarities between it and *Don Quixote*, Part I suggest that Cervantes composed the play at the same time or earlier than Part I in 1605; there is a sonnet that appears in both. Evidence also suggests that Cervantes originally wrote it as a four-act play, only changing it upon the rise in popularity of the *comedia nueva*, thus dating the play perhaps to his second era of dramatic writing between 1587 and 1605.[19] Eisenberg writes that Bernardo del Carpio in *La casa de los celos* 'repeatedly comments on the useless conflict between Christians, lacking any

[17] Henry, p. 92. [18] Schevill y Bonilla, pp. 99–100.
[19] See Allen for a detailed study of these points, especially p. 2.

true motive, and the need for Bernardo to return from his chivalric adventures in France to dedicate his efforts to combatting the Moors.'[20] This is a pertinent discussion in the 1580s that could fit in with the other plays written in this early period. The connection between the two titles, however, comes from the synonyms *bosque* and *selva* and little else. The title of *El bosque amoroso* also lends itself to the notion that the plot was pastoral and/or magical, which could coincide in theme to *La Galatea*, also written in the early 1580s.

La Amaranta, o la del mayo is a title that also lends itself to a plot involving the pastoral or the magical. Amaranta could be the name of the main character; the amaranth flower, *amaranto* in Spanish, is described by Covarrubias as a gold-coloured flower that grows about elbow height with which girls make a wreath or garland. Its durability and long-lasting scent contributed to the flowers symbolism of immortality and incorruptibility. Covarrubias also refers to Andrés Laguna's (1499–1559) description of the flower in Dioscorides, Book 4, Chapter 58, and in Chapter 29 of Book 3 as having etymological roots in the word 'unfading'.[21] This is all symbolism that Cervantes could have instilled in a female character who is seen as exotic; this could perhaps provide the same exotic 'otherness' as found in the character of Catalina de Oviedo in *La gran sultana*. There is also the imagery of an incorruptible woman, morally and physically, like the Virgin Mary, with a crown of golden flowers representing a halo over the protagonists head; this imagery contrasts with the crown of thorns thrust on her Son's head at His crucifixion. Reference to the month of May in the title could represent the rebirth of spring and the warmth of the coming summer after a cold winter.

Cervantes mentions *La confusa* in 'Adjunta al Parnaso' as the comedy of his that he esteems most and the one that made him the most money. Canavaggio suggests the possibility that *La confusa* was rewritten as *El laberinto de amor*, but with no evidence. We can only speculate on the plot as being comical, perhaps a play of mistaken identity. According to Covarrubias, a *confuso* is a person who is bewildered or disturbed, one who does not know how to intimate or insinuate.[22] *La confusa* appears in the 'concierto con Gaspar de Porres', dated 5 March 1585, but nothing else is known. The play gets a third mention, matching *La Numancia* and *Los tratos de Argel* in number, in *Viaje del Parnaso*, IV.16, indicating that this play that 'pareció en los teatros admirable' ['seemed so admirable in the theatres'] (v. 17) was esteemed highly by the playwright. In this section of the play, he mentions *La Galatea* (v. 14), *La confusa*, *comedias* (v. 20), although does not refer to the collection published the following year, *Don Quixote* (v. 22), the N*ovelas ejemplares* (v. 25), and the *Persiles* (v. 47) by name, in addition to a ballad: 'Yo he compuesto romances infinitos, / y el de los celos es aquel que estimo, / entre otros que los tengo por malditos' (vv. 40–2)[23] [I have composed too many ballads to count, and the one about jealousy is the one I esteem most, among others that I consider damnable].

[20] Eisenberg, '*Bernardo* . . .', pp. 112–13; I have translated 'arente' from the original Spanish to 'lacking' in this sentence under the assumption that it is a misprint and should read 'carente'.

[21] Covarrubias, p. 63r; [*s.v. amaranto*]. *Dioscorides* is also mentioned in *Don Quixote*, I.18, p. 235.

[22] Covarrubias, p. 232r; [*s.v. confundir*].

[23] Cervantes, *Viaje del Parnaso*, p. 577.

It is unclear if the reference to *La única*, y *La bizarra Arsinda* refers to one play or two. The original 1614 publication of *Viaje del Parnaso* and 'Adjunta al Parnaso' where these plays (or play) are named has them at the end of the list and with a comma separating the first phrase and the conjunction: '*La única*, y *La bizarra Arsinda*', There is no conjunction prior to *La única*, suggesting that they are two different works, with *La bizarra Arsinda* ending the list. However, following this title is the line 'y otras muchas de que no me acuerdo' ['and many others that I don't remember']. This could imply that that the reference is to the title of one play, with 'otras muchas' as the end of the series, much in the same vein of *La Amaranta, o la del mayo* and *La casa de los celos, y selvas de Ardenia*, the latter of which includes a comma before the conjunction in the original 1615 publication, even though many modern editions omit it. The only notion of a possible plot is that Arsinda is the protagonist and that her gallant exploits filled the action.

Entremeses

Several *entremeses* attributed to Cervantes have surfaced. As a writer who embraced the interlude as a genre, it seems likely that he would have written more than the eight he had printed in the 1615 collection. As the *entremeses* from that collection are the subject of Chapter 17 of this volume, I will not discuss in any detail the genre, form, or conventions associated them. Instead, here I will address the six that are most discussed in reference to Cervantine authorship: *Los romances*, *Los mirones*, *El entremés de Doña Justina y Calahorra, La cárcel de Sevilla*, *El hospital de los podridos*, and *Los habladores*.

Geoffrey Stagg provides an overview of the often hostile argument of the date of composition and authorship of *El entremés de los romances*. The most compelling aspect of *Los romances* are the thirteen similarities between the interlude and Chapters 4, 5, and 7 of *Don Quixote*, Part I, including the protagonist Bartolo going mad after reading ballads, dressing up in armour, and riding out to fight.[24] No one has ever denied that one of these works influenced the other, but no consensus of which came first has been established. It first appeared as an anonymous interlude in the *Tercera Parte de las comedias de Lope de Vega*, which enjoyed three editions in 1611, 1612, and 1613, and each time this particular interlude had changes in the text. Rey Hazas and Campa more recently published an extensive study on *Los romances* in which they elaborate on these issues, but again, not coming to a definite attribution.

El entremés de los mirones, first printed by Adolfo de Castro in 1874, depicts several students who form a *cofradía*, a sort of guild or brotherhood, through which they go out to the streets in pairs and observe the daily routines of the people. Later in the evening they return to the house of a *Licenciado*, a university graduate, who serves as the master of the group, to discuss what they saw and to laugh at the people. *Los mirones* is a satirical comedy in the thematic and linguistic vein of a Cervantine interlude.

[24] Stagg, p. 133. This article is followed by a critical edition of the interlude by Stagg and Eisenberg.

Alfredo Rodríguez López-Vázquez once again relies on the CORDE to demonstrate that 'the work clearly corresponds to Cervantes's lexical style and that it must have been written around 1615'.[25] Alonso and Eugenio Asensio dismiss Cervantine authorship, but Pérez de León identifies possible Cervantine components of the short work.[26]

Rodríguez López-Vázquez takes the same approach with the *Entremés de Doña Justina y Calahorra*, also published by Castro in 1874, who says that Aureliano Fernández Guerra discovered it in the Biblioteca Colombina in 1845 as a manuscript.[27] Castro once again seems to rely on gut feeling and superficial reaction to form his attribution, rather than scholarly evidence. Liliana Muñoz, whose article includes a critical edition of the *entremés*, presents more evidence to refute Cervantine authorship than to support it, stating that 'we cannot deny that this interlude, yes, contains similarities with Cervantine style, but it seems more like imitation. It is evident that the author read and assimilated Cervantes's works, so popular in this era.'[28] The interlude, written in verse, depicts the theme of infidelity in marriage in a satirical manner. Returning to the CORDE, Rodríguez López-Vázquez concludes that in fact the interlude, as proposed by Castro, should be attributed to Cervantes.[29]

El entremés de la cárcel de Sevilla, attributed originally to Cristóbal de Chaves, exists in two different manuscripts and was first attributed to Cervantes in 1863 by Aureliano Fernández Guerra. Chaves had written two parts of his *Relación de la cárcel de Sevilla*, but this interlude, which according to Alonso is of higher artistic quality than the two parts of Chaves's account, is, among others he published, of 'indisputable merit, so much so that it on occasion equals, or even exceeds, the interludes that are authentically Cervantine.'[30] Peña Muñoz studies the autobiographical nature of the play in relation to Cervantes's time in prison in Seville and in conjunction with his *Entremés del rufián viudo llamado Trampagos*, concluding that she does not doubt that Cervantes wrote it. The play depicts life in prison at the end of the sixteenth century, and Peña Muñoz speculates that as autobiography and authorship are interlinked, perhaps Cervantes did not include it in the 1615 collection because he wanted to hide his past incarceration.[31]

El entremés del hospital de los podridos depicts people suffering from a variety of strange afflictions. The invalids include Cañizares,[32] who upon seeing a left-handed man in the street fears that something bad will happen to him, and thus does not want to leave the house; Pero Díaz, who cannot eat, drink, or sleep because of all the bad poetry in the world; and Valenzuela, whose anger over seeing the good fortune of his neighbour has poisoned his body. It was originally published in the 1617 *Séptima Parte* and again by Castro in 1874. Muñoz, referring to Herta Calvo, contends that this interlude begins the practice of having different character types come on stage and then leave, as Cervantes does in *El juez de los divorcios* and *La elección de los alcaldes de Daganzo*, both published

[25] Rodríguez López-Vázquez, 'Cervantes y…', p. 57.
[26] Pérez de León, pp. 82–3.
[27] Castro, p. 5
[28] Muñoz, p. 306.
[29] Rodríguez López-Vázquez, 'Dos entremeses…', p. 8.
[30] Alonso, p. 10.
[31] Peña Muñoz, n.p.
[32] A character called Cañizares also appears in Cervantes's *Entremés del viejo celoso* published in 1615.

in 1615.[33] Asensio states that *Hospital* can stand shoulder to shoulder with some of Cervantes's authentic interludes in terms of originality and the quality of its construction.[34] Certainly the structure and concerns expressed in the piece reflect those of Cervantes's other interludes.

Of the attributed interludes, *El entremés famoso de los habladores* is the most often performed. It was originally published anonymously in the S*éptima parte de sus comedias* (Lope de Vega, Madrid 1617) and attributed to Cervantes by Aureliano Fernández Guerra. There are two different extant versions of *Los habladores*, one printed in 1617 and Manuel Foronda y Aguilera's edition of 1881, which also appears in the Biblioteca Virtual Cervantes. Foronda's version includes numerous extra lines, including ten extra lines at end, culminating in an awkward phrase: '¡Qué dicha, señores / si todos los habladores / hablaran como Cervantes!' [What joy it would bring, ladies and gentlemen, if all talkers talked like Cervantes!] It seems unlikely that Cervantes would have included his own name so bluntly in this manner. The Foronda version also includes scene divisions that do not appear in the 1617 version, and he provides no information on the source of these alterations.

Los habladores appears in the 2010 publication of Cervantes's *Ocho entremeses*, edited by Carolyn Lukens-Olson, who used as her source the 1617 version. To date, this is the only edition of the 1615 works that also includes one attributed interlude. The same version appears at the end of her 2011 study on the influence of Erasmus on Cervantes, and on this interlude specifically. Without delving into the question of attribution, Lukens-Olson argues that 'Cervantes's concern with the power of the spoken word as shown in the uses and abuses of rhetoric is a unifying theme of his *entremeses* and demonstrates how *Los habladores* shows the same concern'.[35]

Other Referenced Titles

Moving on from the stage, Cervantes gives us some titles of unknown genre. The case of *Las semanas del jardín* has produced some contradictory studies. Mentioned in the dedications of both the *Ocho comedias* and *Persiles*, the title simply suggests that it could have a pastoral theme, much like *La Galatea*, but no other information comes from Cervantes other than these two brief references. In 1874, Adolfo de Castro published the sixteenth-century manuscript of the 'Diálogo entre Cilenia y Selanio sobre la vida del campo sacado en limpio' attributing it to Cervantes via comparisons with Book IV of *La Galatea*, but his attribution was contradicted almost immediately. A century later, Francisco López Estrada published the text as a good example of the genre of the dialogue, but without referring to whom he thought penned it. He dates the piece as being

[33] Huerta Calvo, p. 27. [34] Asensio, p. 15.
[35] Lukens-Olson, 'Cervantes's Attributed…', p. 51fn.

written between 1555 and 1565, meaning that Cervantes would likely have been much too young.[36]

Daniel Eisenberg's 1988 publication of the dialogue as being Cervantes's lost *Las semanas del jardín* resuscitated the argument but without scholarship being able to come to any consensus; in fact, some scholars overtly question Eisenberg's attribution as lacking any solid evidence that this dialogue and the work referred to in two isolated dedications have any association. Eisenberg explains that 'my boldness stems from the beauty and the ideological interests that we find in the text, and I am convinced that no one but Cervantes could have written it, and that even if he is not the author, the mere possibility means it deserves the study it has received'.[37] While most scholars would agree with the final component of this statement, I do not believe Eisenberg's perception of the beauty of the language and his subsequent analyses of individual words and phrases constitute definitive proof. He chooses various concepts and expressions and compares them with other instances in which those same concepts and expressions appear in other Cervantine works, 'but the point is that the acceptance at face value of any and all quotations culled from whatever source does not take tone or context into account. Nor does it consider who is speaking and with what relative authority. The rifling of texts for parallel pronouncements is a dubious procedure in general, but it becomes especially hazardous when dealing with one of the supreme ironists of all time'.[38]

Cuenca and Gómez study the manuscript palaeographically. They date the dialogue to the end of the sixteenth century, so decades later than López Estrada's dating, thus opening up the possibility again that Cervantes wrote the dialogue. However, their only conclusion is that it is a copy made by a professional scribe, meaning that it was first composed prior to this point, without being able to determine an exact date of composition.[39] Delving into the study of the genre of the dialogue, they emphasize that Cervantes, in the extant works that are authentic, did not write any dialogues in the post-Erasmian satiric or didactic tradition.[40] In fact, they posit that *Las semanas del jardín* would likely be a collection of short novels and not a dialogue at all.[41] The context of the reference to the work in the prologue of the *Novelas ejemplares* suggests that, along with the other works mentioned, *Persiles* and *Don Quixote*, Part II, *Las semanas del jardín* would be a work in novel or short novel form.[42] Reference to the work in the

[36] Montero Reguera, 'La obra…', pp. 45–6. [37] Eisenberg, 'Introducción', p. 14.
[38] Parr, p. 102. [39] Cuenca and Gómez, pp. 85–6.
[40] See also Close, p. 306.
[41] Cuenca and Gómez, p. 87. In a footnote to his edition of *Persiles*, Carlos Romero Muñoz also states that the work would have been a collection of short novels, each linked to each other, following the style of Boccaccio's *Decameron* (p. 108).
[42] 'Tras ellas [las novelas], si la vida no me deja, te ofrezco los *Trabajos de Persiles*…y primero verás, y con brevedad dilatadas, las hazañas de don Quijote y donaires de Sancho Panza, y luego las *Semanas del jardín*' (Cervantes, *Novelas ejemplares*, vol. I, pp. 52–3). [Following the *Exemplary Novels*, if life does not leave my body, I will offer you the *Travels of Persiles*…first you will see, with brevity the drawn-out deeds of Don Quixote and the clever observations of Sancho Panza, and then after the *Weeks in the Garden*].

dedication of the *Ocho comedias* comes in conjunction with *Persiles* and the second part of *La Galatea*, but we cannot assume that *Las semanas del jardín* is also a novel. Of the three mentioned, only *Persiles* was printed, and we do not know if Cervantes even began the other two.[43]

In the dedication of *Persiles*, Cervantes also refers to the *Famoso Bernardo*, which Eisenberg has posited is Cervantes's novel of chivalry. We simply do not know what kind of work this story would be. It most likely would have depicted Bernardo del Carpio, but as this reference, written just days before his death, represents its only mention, then we are only left to speculate.[44] It could have been a Byzantine novel like the *Persiles*, or perhaps even an epic poem. Cervantes was certainly familiar with the epic genre; he read Ercilla's *Araucana*, for example, which was saved from the liquidation of Don Quoixote's library in I.6, and he possibly knew the poet personally. Cervantes also read the works of Torquato Tasso, whose epic poem was adapted as the attributed play *La conquista de Jerusalén*.

According to Eisenberg, Cervantes's work on the famous Bernardo del Carpio was likely to be a *libro de caballerías*, or a book of chivalric knights-errant in the vein of *Amadís de Gaula*, *Palmerín de Inglaterra*, or the tales of King Arthur and his knights. While I do not dispute this possibility as nothing is known about Cervantes's intentions with this work other than this one reference, I am not convinced by all of Eisenberg's reasoning. He disregards the possibility of it being a play by insisting that Cervantes stopped writing comedies by the end of his life and that the works listed in Chapter IV of *Viaje del Parnaso* are chronological.[45] Also, as Cervantes had already written an epic poem in verse, Eisenberg writes that he would not have broken the tradition of epic poets from Antiquity to his day of writing just one poem; only Homer had written two.[46] There are times when trying to date Cervantes's works can prove difficult and sometimes impossible, especially as so many have not survived; therefore, I cannot accept Eisenberg's statement about chronology as a factual conclusion as categorically as he seems to here. Furthermore, I do not dismiss as readily the notion that Cervantes would only have written one epic poem in his life. As Eisenberg himself notes rather contradictorily, Lope de Vega had written three epic poems by 1602.[47] Furthermore, Cervantes famously ignored many conventions of the day.

Finally, he suggests that as a book of knight errantry, Bernardo would have needed his wise enchanter and chronicler as a hero of this type of genre, suggesting that it would likely have been Santiago. The alleged remains of the apostle were discovered during the reign of King Alfonso II of Asturias, and it was also during this reign that the legendary

[43] 'Luego irá el gran *Persiles*, y luego *Las semanas del jardín*, y luego la segunda parte de *La Galatea*, si tanta carga pueden llevar mis ancianos hombros' (Cervantes, *Entremeses*, p. 95) [Then will appear the great *Persiles*, and then *Weeks in the Garden*, and then the second part of *La Galatea*, if my ancient shoulders can bear such a burden].

[44] Cervantes refers to Bernardo del Carpio multiple times in *Don Quixote*: I.1, I.6, I.26, I.49, II.32. He is a character in *La casa de los celos*.

[45] Eisenberg, 'El *Bernardo*…', pp. 106–7.

[46] Eisenberg, 'El *Bernardo*…', p. 109.

[47] Eisenberg, 'El *Bernardo*…', p. 109.

battle in which Bernardo del Carpio fought and killed Roldán at Roncesvalles took place. Eisenberg emphasizes the association between the *Reconquista* and both Bernardo del Carpio and Santiago, particularly the latter's guise of *Matamoros*, the Moor-Killer, insisting that this tale of chivalry would have been an intensely religious and patriotic one.[48] With my interpretation of many of Cervantes's works as being negatively critical of the policies of Philip II—the abandonment of the Mediterranean, and the futility of Christian versus Christian warfare when the threat of Islam still looms—I would be more inclined to believe that the exaltation of a legendary Spanish and Christian hero saving Spain not only from Christian invaders, but also returning to fight the Moors served the purpose of emphasizing Spain's weaknesses and sins during the time period in which Cervantes wrote. As Eisenberg himself admits, this is all merely speculation.

There exists the additional possibility, when looking at this part of the prologue of *Persiles*, that Cervantes never even began writing *Las semanas del jardín* or *Famoso Bernardo*:

> Todavía me quedan en el alma ciertas reliquias y asomos de *Las semanas del jardín* y del *Famoso Bernardo*. Si, a dichas, por buena ventura mía (que ya no sería ventura, sino milagro), me diese el cielo vida, las verá y, con ellas, fin de *La Galatea*, de quien se está aficionado Vuesa Excelencia.[49]
>
> [I still have in my soul some vestiges and traces of *Las semanas del jardín* and of the *Famoso Bernardo*. If, by my good fortune (which would not be as much good fortune as it would be a miracle), heaven prolonged my life, you will see them written, and with them, the end of *La Galatea*, to which Your Excellency is partial.]

By using the words *reliquias* and *asomos*, one can interpret these as being references to partial manuscripts, but that they remain in the author's soul (*alma*) almost suggests that they are works that he had thought about often but not yet begun. There is a suggestion of abstractness in these words. Perhaps they were simply being structured in the author's head and never experienced any concrete realization on paper. Eisenberg states that we must accept that he kept the manuscript for *Bernardo* for many years, returning to it periodically, when he had raised the tastes of the vulgar people with *Don Quixote*.[50] 'As he only mentions [*Bernardo*] in the dedication of his final work, we must accept [the fact] that he had put the manuscript aside for many years, returning to it after a time, when the tastes of common readers had been elevated by *Don Quixote*.'[51] I find it difficult to simply accept anything about a writer who never followed any pre-established generic boundaries with any of his surviving work, and who in fact deliberately blurred those boundaries.

The third work mentioned in this excerpt is the second part of *La Galatea*. At the end of *La Galatea*, the narrator states that if Cervantes's pastoral novel is received well,

[48] Eisenberg, 'El *Bernardo*…', p. 116.
[49] Cervantes, *Los trabajos*…, pp. 108–9.
[50] Eisenberg, 'El *Bernardo*…', p. 110.
[51] Eisenberg, 'El *Bernardo*…', p. 110.

the second part of the tale will appear 'con brevedad', or very shortly.[52] However, at his death over thirty years later, the second part of *La Galatea* still had not materialized in print. Cervantes continued to refer to this second part, promising his readers a conclusion to the story. In *Don Quixote*, I.6, as the Barber and the Curate liquidate Don Quixote's library, they come to *La Galatea*, stating:

> Su libro tiene algo de buena invención: propone algo, y no concluye nada; es menester esperar la segunda parte que promete: quizá con la emienda alcanzará del todo la misericordia que ahora se le niega; y entre tanto que esto se ve, tenedle recluso en vuestra posada, señor compadre.[53]
>
> [His book has some merit: he proposes something but concludes nothing; we must wait for the second part that he has promised: maybe with the sequel he will achieve the full measure of grace that is now denied to him; in the meantime, keep this book locked up in your quarters, my friend.]

Reference appeared once again in the dedications of Cervantes's *Ocho comedias y ocho entremeses* and of the *Persiles*. Whereas I have already raised speculation about whether or not he had actually begun writing the other works he mentions in the dedication of his Byzantine novel, it seems likely that he had at least started the second part of *La Galatea*. By saying at the end of the first part that it could appear 'con brevedad', suggests that he had written enough of it to print if the 1585 printing had success. However, 'this intention to continue the book was Cervantes's last romantic dream, which ended dissipated in failed attempts'.[54] The second part would no doubt have given a conclusion to the narratives of Elicio, Erastro, Galatea, Florisa, and all the other characters whom we meet; he might even have included a second elegy to contemporary poets in the same vein as the 'Canto de Calíope'. Whether or not he had begun Part II, he remembered it on his deathbed and included it in his dedication.

An attributed work that we know of is the novella *La tía fingida*, the existence of which was brought to light by Isidoro Bosarte in 1787. He attributed it to Cervantes for various reasons, among them his claim that they are stylistically and structurally similar to the published *Novelas ejemplares*, and that it appeared in manuscript form in the same codex as two other Cervantine *novelas*: *Rinconete y Cortadillo* and *El celoso extremeño*, both of which appeared in different versions in the 1613 publication. The published versions were based on those of a codex in the Biblioteca Colombina in Seville, which also includes *La tía fingida*. The other versions, referred to as the manuscripts of Porras de la Cámara, were last seen in 1823, and only exist today as the basis of an 1818 publication of all three novels prepared by Martín Fernández de Navarrete. The attribution has had its detractors and supporters, but many scholars will not commit to one viewpoint or the other without definitive proof.

[52] Cervantes, *La Galatea*, p. 629. [53] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, I.6, p. 137.
[54] Estrada and López García-Berdoy, p. 100.

José Luis Madrigal contends that perhaps the reason why the novella is 'uncomfortable' for some Cervantistas is because the protagonist, a prostitute, does not die of tuberculosis or syphilis, nor does she face any other form of 'just end', but instead marries a student from a good family, in the same manner as Preciosa marries Andrés Caballero or the illustrious washerwoman marries Juan de Avendaño.[55] However, in his study in which he identifies the *idiolecto* of the author, he finds 'the unmistakable timbre of Cervantes'. This study was subsequently followed by analyses by Freddy López and Alfredo Rodríguez López-Vázquez; the former applies complex statistical formulae to *La tía fingida* in terms of words and phrases used in comparison to known Cervantine works and those of other writers of the time. He concludes that it is 'extremely difficult to come to a concrete conclusion' and that a wider analysis using works by more authors would be necessary.[56] The latter returns to the CORDE as he has done in other attribution studies to assist him in mathematical studies of the novella and concludes that there is a 95 per cent probability that Cervantes wrote it.

Finally, it is worth mentioning *El Buscapié*, a 'lost' work by Cervantes supposedly found by Antonio de Castro. When it appeared in print edited by Castro in 1848, its attribution was refuted and accepted by various academics.[57] The work in prose consists of Cervantes as narrator/character meeting a *bachiller*, or a university graduate, and it serves as a defence of *Don Quixote*; in various editions of Cervantes's great novel published in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, *El Buscapié* appeared as a form of epilogue.[58] Castro's version is then followed by nearly 200 pages of notes written by him explaining various phrases and excerpts of *El Buscapié*. The work was in actuality written by Castro himself, and it was published with him, and not Cervantes, listed as the author in Manuel Fernández Nieto's 1976 edition. In Cervantine style, the editor's prologue to *El Buscapié* begins by explaining that the manuscript appeared in his hands by chance; the manuscript itself then states that it is a copy of a copy and there is no knowledge of how it arrived in Spain.[59] Such ambiguity certainly coincides with Cervantes's writings, as he creates layers between himself and the reader, and Castro imitated well Cervantes's style, his debates about verisimilitude, and by using the CORDE, we see that he even imitated well the language of the early seventeenth century.[60] While Castro attempted to pull off a great literary hoax, it is still quite impressive that he was not yet twenty-five years old when the book was published, demonstrating a high level of intelligence at an early age in his use of archaic language and form.

Despite the fact that we have commemorated the four hundredth anniversary of the death of Cervantes, and even though the quantity of academic studies focusing on his works is staggering, this chapter has demonstrated further why and how there is always more to consider. A man or Cervantes's intelligence and drive, with a mind that was con-

[55] Madrigal, 'De cómo…', n.p.

[56] López, p. 45. Despite this suggestion, López recognizes the similarities between *La tía fingida* and other Cervantine works, as well as a statistical similarity to Alonso Fernández de Avellaneda.

[57] Romero Ferrer and Vallejo Márquez provide an informative history of the reception of *El Buscapié*

[58] Romero Ferrer and Vallejo Márquez, p. 250.

[59] Castro, *El Buscapié*, pp. v–vi.

[60] See San Segundo Fernández for an in-depth study on the language of *El Buscapié*.

stantly thinking, must have frequently put pen to paper, and the possibilities of what he was able to produce are endless. We should never be satisfied with the works that we have, but rather we should continue to search for what else might be out there.

Works Cited

Allen, John J. '*La casa de los celos* and the 1605 *Quijote*'. In *Cervantes for the 21st Century/ Cervantes para el siglo XXI*, edited by Francisco La Rubia Prado (Newark: Juan de la Cuesta, 2000), pp. 1–10.

Alonso, Dámaso. *El hospital de los podridos y otros entremeses alguna vez atribuidos a Cervantes* (Madrid: Signo, 1936).

Arata, Stefano. '*La conquista de Jerusalén*, Cervantes, y la generación teatral de 1580'. *Criticón* 54 (1992): pp. 5–112.

Arata, Stefano. *Los manuscritos teatrales de la Biblioteca del Palacio (siglos XVI y XVII)* (Pisa: Giardini, 1989).

Arata, Stefano. 'Notas sobre *La conquista de Jerusalén* y la transmisión manuscrita del primer teatro cervantino'. *Edad de Oro* 16 (1997): pp. 53–66.

Asensio, Eugenio. *Itinerario del entremés. Desde Lope de Rueda a Quiñones de Benavente*. Madrid, Gredos, 1971.

Baras Escolá, Alfredo. 'Los textos de Cervantes. Teatro'. *Anales cervantinos* 42 (2010): pp. 73–88.

Braudel, Ferdinand. The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II, 2 vols, translated by Sian Reynolds (Waukegan, IL: Fontana, 1986)

Brioso Santos, Héctor. 'A propósito de la historicidad de *La conquista de Jerusalén*: Los cuatro milagros de la Primera Cruzada'. *Anuario de Estudios Cervantinos* 5 (2009): pp. 101–24.

Brioso Santos, Héctor. 'Análisis métrico de *La conquista de Jerusalén por Godofre de Bullón* de…¿Miguel de Cervantes?'. In *Cuatrocientos años del* Arte nuevo de hacer comedias *de Lope de Vega: Actas selectas del XIV congreso de la Asociación Internacional de Teatro español y novohispano de los Siglos de Oro*, edited by Germán Vega García-Luengos and Héctor Urzáiz Tortajada (Salamanca: Olmedo clásico, 2007), pp. 287–94.

Brioso Santos, Héctor. 'Introducción'. In *La conquista de Jerusalén por Godofre de Bullón*. Atribuida a Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, edited by Brioso Santos (Madrid: Cátedra, 2009), 9–114.

Canavaggio, Jean. *Cervantes*, translated by Mauro Armiño (Madrid: Espasa, 1997).

Castillo, Moisés R. 'Espacios de ambigüedad en el teatro cervantino: *La conquista de Jerusalén* y los dramas de cautiverio'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 32, no. 2 (2012): 123–42.

Castro, Adolfo de. *Varias obras inéditas de Cervantes* (Madrid: A. de Carlos e Hijos, 1874).

Cerezo Soler, Juan. '*La conquista de Jerusalén* en su contexto: sobre el personaje coelctiveo y una vuelta más a la atribución cervantina'. *Dicenda: Cuaderno de Filología Hispánica* 32 (2014): pp. 33–49.

Cerezo Soler, Juan. '*La conquista de Jerusalén* y la literatura de Cervantes. Nuevas semejanzas que respaldan su autoría.'—In *Festina lenta: Actas del II Congreso Internacional Jóvenes Investigadores Siglo de Oro (JISO 2012)*, edited by Carlos Mata Induráin, Adrián J. Sáez, and Ana Zúñiga Lacruz (Pamplona: Universidad de Navarra, 2013), pp. 79–93.

Cervantes Saavedrea, Miguel de. *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, edited by John. J. Allen (Madrid: Cátedra, 1997).
Cervantes Saavedrea, Miguel de. *Entremeses*, edited by Nicholas Spadaccini (Madrid: Cátedra, 1997).
Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de. *La Galatea*, edited by Francisco Estrada and María Teresa López García-Berdoy (Madrid: Cátedra, 1995).
Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de. *Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda*, edited by Carlos Romero Muñoz (Madrid: Cátedra, 1995).
Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de. *Viaje del Parnaso* and 'Adjunta al Parnaso'. In *Obras completas*, vol. III, ed. by Manuel Arroyo Stephens (Madrid: Castro Turner, 1993).
Close, Anthony. 'Reseña de Eisenberg, *Las semanas del jardín de Miguel de Cervantes*'. *Journal of Hispanic Philology* 14 (1991), 305–8.
Covarrubias, Sebastián de. *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española* (Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1611).
Cuenca, Paloma and Jesús Gómez. 'La atribución cervantina de un diálogo anónimo renacentista'. *eHumanista/Cervantes I* (2012), pp. 81–102.
Eisenberg, Daniel. 'Cervantes, autor de la *Topographía e historia general de Argel*, publicada por Diego de Haedo'. *Cervantes* 16, 1 (1996): pp. 32–53.
Eisenberg, Daniel. 'El *Bernardo* de Cervantes fue su libro de caballerías'. *Anales Cervantinos* 21 (1983): pp. 103–18.
Eisenberg, Daniel. *Las semanas del jardín* de Miguel de Cervantes, edited by Eisenberg (Salamanca: Diputación de Salamanca, 1988).
Eisenberg, Daniel. '¿Qué escribió Cervantes?'. In *Sobre Cervantes*, edited by Diego Martínez Torrón (Alcalá de Henares: Centro de Estudios Cervantinos, 2003), pp. 9–26.
Estrada, Francisco and María Teresa López García-Berdoy. 'Introducción' to *La Galatea* by Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, edited by Estrada and López García-Berdoy (Madrid: Cátedra, 1995), pp. 9–143.
Fernández, Enrique. '*Los tratos de Argel*: obra testimonial, denuncia política y literatura terapéutica'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 20, no. 1 (2000): pp. 7–26.
Fernández Nieto, Manuel. *En torno a un apócrifo cervantino: El* Buscapié *de Adolfo de Castro* (Madrid: Graficas Alcocén, 1976).
Henry, Melanie. *The Signifying Self: Cervantine Drama as Counter-Perspective Aesthetic* (London: MHRA, 2013).
Hermenegildo, Alfredo. Introduction to *Tragedia de la destruyción de Constantinopla* by Gabriel Lobo Lasso de la Vega (Kassal: Reichenberger, 1983), pp. 3–71.
Huerta Calvo, Javier. *Historia del teatro breve en España*. Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2008.
Kahn, Aaron M. 'Idealising the Present with Future Histories: Ercilla, Cervantes, and Lobo Lasso de la Vega', In *On Wolves and Sheep: Exploring the Expression of Political Thought in Golden Age Spain*, edited by Kahn (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011), pp. 23–50.
Kahn, Aaron M. *The Ambivalence of Imperial Discourse: Cervantes's* La Numancia *within the 'Lost Generation' of Spanish Drama (1570–90)* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2008).
Kahn, Aaron M. 'Towards a Theory of Attribution: Is *La conquista de Jerusalén* by Miguel de Cervantes?', *Journal of European Studies* 40, no. 2 (2010): pp. 99–128.
López, Freddy. 'Donde se muestran algunos resultados de atribución de autor en torno a la obra cervantina'. *Revista Colombiana de Estadística* 34, no. 1 (2011): pp. 15–37.

Lukens-Olson, Carolyn. 'Cervantes's Attributed *Los habladores* and Erasmus's *Ciceronianus*: Satire and Emulation'. In *On Wolves and Sheep: Exploring the Expression of Political Thought in Golden Age Spain*, edited by Aaron M. Kahn (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011), pp. 51–72.

Lukens-Olson, Carolyn (ed). *Los entremses* by Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra (Neward, DE: Juan de la Cuesta, 2010).

Madrigal, José Luis. 'Algunas reflexiones en torno a la atribución cervantina del "Diálogo entre Cilena y Selanio sobre la vida del campo"'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 24, no. 1 (2004): pp. 217–52.

Madrigal, José Luis. 'De cómo y por qué *La tía fingida* es de Cervantes'. *Antifara* 2 (2003): pp. 1–18.

Montero Reguera, José. 'Cervantes: *Comedias*'. In *Diccionario Filológico de Literatura Española. Siglo XVI* (Madrid: Castalia, 2009), pp. 209–12.

Montero Reguera, José. 'Historia, política y literatura en *La Galatea* de Miguel de Cervantes'. *Romeral: Estudios filosóficos en homenaje a José Antonio Fernández Romero*, edited by I. Báez y María Rosa Pérez (Vigo: Universidad de Vigo, 2002), pp. 329–42.

Montero Reguera, José. '*La conquista de Jerusalén por Godofre de Bullón*'. In *Gran enciclopedia cervantina*, Vol. 9 (Madrid: Castalia, 2005), pp. 2695–6.

Montero Reguera, José. 'La obra literaria de Miguel de Cervantes (Ensayo de un catálogo)'. In *Cervantes*, edited by Anthony Close, et al. (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Cervantinos, 1995), pp. 43–71.

Montero Reguera, José. '¿Una nueva obra teatral cervantina?: Notas en torno a una reciente atribución'. *Anales cervantinos* 33 (1995–97): pp. 355–66.

Muñoz, Liliana. 'A propósito de *Doña Justina y Calahorra*, un entremés atribuido a Cervantes'. *Anales cervantinos* 43 (2011): pp. 299–323.

Parr, James A. 'Review of *Las semanas del jardín* edited by Daniel Eisenberg'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 10, no. 2 (1990), pp. 101–2.

Peña Muñoz, Margarita, 'Cervantes y *el entremés de la cárcel de Sevilla*.' *Actas del XVI Congreso de la Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas: Nuevos caminos del hispanismo… París, del 9 al 13 de julio de 2007*. Ed. By Pierre Civil and Françoise Crémoux. Madrid: Iberoamericana-Vervuert, 2010, n.p.

Pérez de León, Vicente. Tablas destempladas: Los entremeses de Cervantes a examen (Alcalá de Henares: Centro de Estudios Cervantinos, 2005).

Rey Hazas, Antonio. 'Estudio del *Entremés de los romances*.' *Revista de Estudios Cervantinos* 1 (2007), pp. 1–57.

Rey Hazas, Antonio and Mariano de la Campa, *El nacimiento del* Quijote*: edición y estudio del Entremés de los romances* (Guanajuato: Consejo Editorial del Gobierno del Estado de Guanajuato, 2006).

Rodríguez López-Vázquez, Alfredo. 'Cervantes y el entremés de "Los Mirones"'. *Etiópicas* 7 (2011): pp. 57–63.

Rodríguez López-Vázquez, Alfredo. 'Dos entremeses de Cervantes: *Doña Justina y Calahorra* y *La cárcel de Sevilla*'. *Antifara* 13 (2013): pp. 1–11.

Rodríguez López-Vázquez, Alfredo. 'La *Jerusalén* de Cervantes: Nuevas pruebas de su Autoría'. *Artifara* 11 (2011): pp. 1–6.

Romero Ferrer, Alberto and Yolanda Vallejo Márquez. 'Una explicación del *Quijote* y un Avellaneda del siglo XIX: Adolfo de Castro y su falso *Buscapié*'

San Segundo Fernández, Eugenia. *Cervantes y el Buscapié: un estudio de atribución* (Madrid: Iberoamericana Vervuert, 2010).
Schevill, Rodolfo and Adolfo Bonilla. 'Introducción' to *Obras completas de Cervantes*, vol. 5 (Madrid: B. Rodríguez, 1920), pp. 5–149.
Stagg, Geoffrey. '*Don Quijote* and the "Entremés de los romances": A Retrospective'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 22, no. 2 (2002): pp. 129–50.
Watson, Anthony. *Juan de la Cueva and the Portuguese Succession* (London: Tamesis, 1971).
Weiner, Jack. *Cuatro ensayos sobre Gabriel Lobo Lasso de la Vega (1555–1615)* (Valencia: Universitat de València, 2005).

SECTION 6

SOURCES, INFLUENCES, AND CONTEMPORARIES

CHAPTER 23

CERVANTES'S SOURCES AND INFLUENCES

STACEY TRIPLETTE
University of Pittsburgh at Greensburg

Miguel de Cervantes's literary works reference a complex set of ancient, medieval, and early modern sources. David Quint argues that citational practices like those of Cervantes, which favour imitation, commentary, and parody, constitute a version of originality particular to the writers of the early modern period.[1] For Quint, intertextuality allowed writers to measure themselves 'not only against the past but also the future'.[2] Cervantes in particular is aware of his own historicity and of his place in a chain of imitation, and he adapts and combines sources in ways that are often difficult to unravel. E. Michael Gerli defines the recurring pattern of Cervantine referentiality as '[i]ronic reversal followed by reconstruction'.[3] The interplay among sources and the irony with which Cervantes treats his models allow new and contradictory meanings to emerge. This essay does not pretend to be exhaustive in its treatment of Cervantes's sources, but it does offer the reader a guide to many of the most important influences on Cervantes's literary production from Spain, early modern Europe, and classical antiquity.

Spanish Sources

Critics have often described *Don Quixote* as a novel, even the first modern novel; however, that genre designation depends on criteria that emerged after Cervantes's lifetime.[4]

[1] In this essay, I prefer the inclusive 'early modern' to 'Renaissance' and use the latter term only when I cite the work of other critics. From the early twentieth century onward, scholars have debated whether Spain in fact had a Renaissance and whether Cervantes was a Renaissance author. See Castro and Avalle-Arce, 'Cervantes and the Renaissance', pp. 3–5.

[2] Quint, *Origin and Originality* . . . , p. 4. [3] Gerli, p. 5.

[4] For *Don Quixote* as the first modern novel, see Lukács, pp. 103–4 and Bakhtin, p. 80. Doody complicates Lukács and Bakhtin's definitions (pp. 2–4). Diana de Armas Wilson notes the political and cultural

Much of what readers perceive as modern or novelesque in *Don Quixote* arises from the work's heterogeneity of form and diversity of source material. In *Don Quixote*, Cervantes places a variety of early modern literary genres into conversation and conflict. Gerli points out that Cervantes layers his intertexts, reiterating earlier references and rewriting his own already citational episodes.[5] Chivalric interlace, important in *Don Quixote* at the level of plot, also serves as a primary organizing principle for the work's approach to genre, as Cervantes alternates and interweaves episodes that ally themselves to a variety of distinct early modern literary forms.[6] The narrative landscape of *Don Quixote* absorbs the romance of chivalry, the picaresque, the pastoral romance, the sentimental romance, the *romancero* or ballad tradition, and lyric poetry. In the case of *La Galatea* and *Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda*, the works align themselves more clearly with single genres—the pastoral romance and the ancient Greek novel, respectively—but references to other genres appear scattered throughout the works.

Cervantes's dialogue with the Iberian romance of chivalry also supplies many of the motifs and character archetypes of *Don Quixote*, Parts I and II. According to Mancing, '[w]ithout the romances of chivalry, Don Quixote does not exist'.[7] Mancing describes the basic pattern of Cervantine chivalric adventure as one in which landscape cues drive Don Quixote into a chivalric mode of interpretation, which in turn induces linguistic archaism adapted from the books of chivalry.[8] Williamson emphasizes the fact that Don Quixote is not always mad: 'Don Quixote always sees empirical phenomena as they appear unless they remind him of chivalric reality. He is aware that appearances are deceptive in a fallen world, so he wants to go beyond appearances to the essence of things.'[9]

The chivalric 'reality' Don Quixote imagines is in large part the world of *Amadís de Gaula*. Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo's four-volume *Amadís* (1508) tells the story of a young knight's rise to prominence in pre-Arthurian Britain and Gaul and his faithful love for the lady Oriana. The romance as we know it today is a fifteenth-century edition and compilation of a three-part medieval 'primitive' text, now lost, with an added fourth part.[10] The medieval portion of the text owes a debt to French romance, particularly the thirteenth-century *Lancelot en prose*.[11] Montalvo also wrote an original sequel about Amadís's son, *Las Sergas de Esplandián* (1510). Of the other sixteenth-century writers who wrote continuations of *Amadís*, Cervantes demonstrates a particular familiarity with Feliciano de Silva, whose pastorally inclined sequels receive disparaging mentions in *Don Quixote*.[12] René Girard famously describes Don Quixote's relationship to the

implications of declaring Cervantes the origin of the modern novel and lists competitors for the title of novelistic precursor, among them Heliodorus, Boccaccio, and Dante, important sources for Cervantes (*Cervantes, the Novel*…, p. 45).

[5] Gerli, p. 2. [6] Quint, *Cervantes's Novel*…, p. 5. [7] Mancing, pp. 25–6.
[8] Mancing, pp. 32–47. [9] Williamson, p. 124.
[10] Avalle-Arce, *El Amadís primitivo*…, p. 125.
[11] Williamson, pp. 38–9; Harney, p. 190; Lida de Malkiel, pp. 414–15.
[12] See Cervantes, *El ingenioso*…, vol. I, pp. 72 and 112 for material on Feliciano de Silva. Other *Amadís* sequel writers include Ruy Páez de Ribera (*Florisando*, 1510), Juan Díaz (*Lisuarte de Grecia*, 1526), and

character Amadís as one of 'triangular' desire, in which the model of Amadís mediates between Don Quixote and the world; the only thing the Cervantine character desires is to imitate Amadís.[13] Cervantes adapts many of Amadís's famous exploits for his knight, most prominently Amadís's love-induced retreat from the world to the hermitage at Peña Pobre. Other chivalric episodes in *Don Quixote*, such as the battles with 'giants' during the episodes of the windmills and the wineskins, draw on *Amadís* and other Iberian romances' typical modes of representing ethnic and physical difference in their famous monsters.[14]

Cervantes's extensive imitation of chivalric romance is not necessarily admiring. The *amigo* of the prologue to Part I reminds the author: 'llevad la mira puesta a derribar la máquina mal fundada destos caballerescos libros, aborrecidos de tantos y alabados de muchos más' ['Keep your eye on the goal of demolishing the ill-founded apparatus of these chivalric books, despised by so many and praised by so many more'].[15] Diana de Armas Wilson states that Cervantes treats the books of chivalry with 'affectionate malice', which is perhaps most on display during the scrutiny of the books in the sixth chapter of Part I.[16] The priest and barber's mock inquisition represents the romance of chivalry as both antiquated and in poor taste and condemns many such books to the pyre. Yet, the priest expresses grudging admiration for some romances, notably *Amadís de Gaula* and Joanot Martorell's Catalan romance *Tirant lo Blanch*.[17] In addressing chivalric romance, Cervantes employs the fundamental ambivalence with which he treats all source works. Daniel Eisenberg points out that chivalric publication had all but ended in the Iberian Peninsula by the late sixteenth century, primarily due to lack of support from monarch Philip II.[18] Eisenberg describes moral and literary objections to the romances of chivalry as secondary causes for the genre's decline.[19] *Don Quixote* assures the romance of chivalry an afterlife in parody rather than hastening its demise.

The early modern picaresque, like chivalric narrative, is an evident source for *Don Quixote*. The term picaresque in the Spanish tradition refers to narratives that recount in first person the adventures of urban rogues or *pícaros* who climb the social ladder by questionable means. Cruz notes that the picaresque genre's depiction of disenfranchised characters as delinquents and criminals responds to sixteenth-century 'religious and

Erasmian humanist Pedro de Luján (*Silves de la Selva*, 1546). Silva's sequels are *Lisuarte de Grecia* (1514), *Amadís de Grecia* (1530), *Florisel de Niquea* Parts One and Two (1532), *Florisel de Niquea* Part Three, also known as *Rogel de Grecia* Part I (1535), and *Florisel de Niquea* Part Four, also known as *Rogel de Grecia* Part Two (1551). Cervantes's *Don Quixote* could be considered as part of a long, international tradition of rewriting *Amadís*. By the time of *Don Quixote*, *Amadís* had been translated into many languages, including English and French, sometimes with significant changes, as in the case of Nicholas de Herberay's best-selling French *Amadis de Gaule* (1540), which had more early modern readers than Montalvo's version; see Marian Rothstein, p. 32. Scholarship on the *Amadís* tends to appreciate Silva's sequels more than the others; Páez de Ribera and Díaz in particular demonstrate literary values antithetical to many of the touchstones of chivalric romance. On the response to sequels to *Amadís*, see Sales Dasí, p. 118.

[13] Girard, p. 3. [14] Triplette, pp. 821–6. [15] *El ingenioso*…, v. 1, p. 58; *Don Quixote*, p. 8.
[16] Wilson, *Cervantes, the Novel*…, p. 119. [17] Dopico Black, 'Canons Afire…', p. 107.
[18] Eisenberg, p. 48. [19] Eisenberg, p. 47.

social upheavals' and renders the most vulnerable members of society scapegoats.[20] Rico identifies the three most important picaresque novels as the 1554 *Lazarillo de Tormes*, Mateo Alemán's *Guzmán de Alfarache* (1599, 1604), and Francisco de Quevedo's *El Buscón* (1626).[21] As Cruz points out, some scholars do not categorize *Lazarillo* as picaresque given that the word *pícaro* does not appear until the *Guzmán*.[22] *Don Quixote* shares with the picaresque genre an unflinching depiction of the demands of the human body: hunger, thirst, injury, desire, and physical suffering receive specific and consistent treatment. The character of Sancho Panza, who serves a master and constantly references the corporeal, might be quite at home in a picaresque novel. However, Cervantes's specific references to the picaresque are largely confined to the minor character Ginés de Pasamonte and his alter ego, the puppeteer Maese Pedro. Chained among the *galeotes* in Part I, Ginés de Pasamonte has a life story that resembles that of Alemán's Guzmán. The character mentions *Lazarillo* specifically and declares that he is writing his own autobiography, referencing the primary narrative device of the picaresque.[23] In true picaresque fashion, Ginés surfaces with a new name and profession in Part II. Don Quixote's destruction of Maese Pedro's puppets is a typical misfortune for the *pícaro*, whose rise is always limited by a drive to assure aristocratic and bourgeois readers that the poor do not threaten their social dominance.[24] Cervantes's use of the picaresque is not limited to *Don Quixote*. The exemplary novels *La ilustre fregona*, *Rinconte y Cortadillo*, and *El coloquio de los perros* are often discussed in terms of the picaresque, and E. Michael Gerli makes a case for *El licenciado vidriera* as a 'rewriting' of the genre.[25]

The idealistic pastoral romance or *novela pastoril*, the ideological opposite of the picaresque, is a major intertext for both *Don Quixote* and *La Galatea*. Cervantes's primary pastoral model is Jorge de Montemayor's *La Diana*, an 'instant best-seller' published in at least twenty-six editions in the second half of the sixteenth century.[26] Gil Polo's continuation of Montemayor, *La Diana Enamorada* (1559), also earns praise during the priest and barber's scrutiny of the books in *Don Quixote*, Part I.[27] Spanish pastoral romances combine narrative and verse forms in order to treat themes of love, beauty, and poetic achievement in bucolic settings. The characters are nominally shepherds and shepherdesses, but all are also poet-singers, and their verses recall Virgil's *Bucolics* (37 BC) as well as Petrarchan poetry.[28] Jacopo Sannazaro's *Arcadia* (1504) is likewise an important intertext for these works, providing the Spanish pastoral novel with a model for the alternation of poetry and prose and the focus on 'the lover, his poetic artistry, and his relation to nature'.[29] While the pastoral as it is expressed in *Galatea* has a distinct identity from chivalric romance, it is no coincidence that the most famous pastoral episode of *Don Quixote*, the tale of Marcela and Grisóstomo, follows directly on the *hidalgo*'s musing on the Lancelot ballad 'Nunca fuera caballero de damas tan bien servido' ['Never was a knight / so well served by ladies'].[30]

[20] Cruz, p. 4. [21] Rico, p. 14. [22] Cruz, p. 5.
[23] Cervantes, *El ingenioso* . . . , vol. I, pp. 271–2. [24] Cruz, p. xv. [25] Gerli, p. 11.
[26] Hernández-Pecoraro, pp. 13, 65. [27] Cervantes, *El ingenioso* . . . , vol. I, p. 119.
[28] Hernández-Pecoraro, p. 16. [29] Hernández-Pecoraro, p. 81.
[30] Cervantes, *El ingenioso* . . . , vol. I, p. 171; *Don Quixote*, p. 88.

According to Avalle-Arce and Cravens, chivalric romance is an important source text for the Spanish pastoral.[31] Feliciano de Silva's bucolic interludes establish a pattern, maintained in Jorge de Montemayor's *Diana* and Cervantes's *Galatea*, of featuring aristocratic and bourgeois characters thinly disguised as rustic poets. Hernández-Pecoraro categorizes both the books of chivalry and the pastoral as subgenres of 'amatory literature', which 'promote[d] a model of love that depended not on an equalizing relationship between men and woman but rather on traditional and limiting notions of feminine beauty, chastity, and virtue'.[32] While women appear to be the primary focus of the pastoral, Hernández-Pecoraro argues that in both *Diana* and *Galatea*, women's absence is more noticeable than its presence, and male characters praise women as 'objects of abstract splendor and virtue'.[33] The episode of Marcela and Grisóstomo in *Don Quixote*, Part I, in which inhabitants of a rural idyll accuse the disdainful Marcela of provoking Grisóstomo's suicide, does not depart from the tropes of the pastoral. Rather, it depicts a logical if sinister endpoint for the stories of unhappy lovers that populate the pastoral genre.

The sentimental romance, an early modern narrative form that serves as a precursor for the epistolary novel in Europe, is, like the pastoral, hybrid in its genre characteristics. The sentimental novel employs a combination of narrative, interpolated letters, and dialogue to represent stories of unrequited or ill-fated love. Brownlee traces the genre's roots to classical and Italian literature, with Ovid's *Heroides* (*c.*25–16 BC) and Giovanni Boccaccio's *Elegia di Madonna Fiammetta* (1343) as important intertexts.[34] Although the sentimental novel both invites a female readership and allows women's psychology and women's voices to emerge through letters, female characters remain marginalized, victims of enclosure and the predation of men.

The most famous examples of the genre in early modern Spain are Diego de San Pedro's *Arnalte y Lucenda* (1491) and *La cárcel de amor* (1492). Both stories are told from the point of view of the *auctor*, who plays messenger and go-between for love-struck male protagonists Arnalte and Leriano. Both male characters suffer the disdain of the novels' female protagonists, and their pursuit of Lucenda and Laureola compromises the women's honour. The effects of love are fatal in *Cárcel*; Laureola is nearly executed for the perceived licentiousness of her behaviour, and Leriano dies of lovesickness. The intertwined stories of Cardenio, Luscinda, Fernando, and Dorotea in *Don Quixote*, Part I have been discussed in connection to the sentimental novel. Cervantes tells these stories in part through a letter exchange between Cardenio and Luscinda, into which Fernando intrudes, reading Luscinda's letter over Cardenio's shoulder. Severin identifies direct connections between Cardenio and Luscinda's love affair and *Arnalte y Lucenda*, and Spiller argues that the Cervantine lovers conflate examples from *Amadís de Gaula* and the sentimental novel.[35]

[31] Avalle-Arce, *La novela*…, pp. 25–30; Cravens, pp. 29–32.
[32] Hernández-Pecoraro, p. 69.
[33] Hernández-Pecoraro, p. 67.
[34] Brownlee, pp. 7–12.
[35] Severin, p. 145; Spiller, pp. 302–3.

The letters of the *novela sentimental* also leave an imprint on *Galatea* and *Persiles*. In *La Galatea*, Silerio cites an exchange of love letters during his narration of the erotic quadrangle that involves himself, his close friend Timbrio, the beautiful Nísida, and her younger sister Blanca.[36] *Persiles* evokes the sentimental novel in two episodes, both of which constitute amatory failures. In the first case, written communication fails to achieve its purpose; acquaintances Rutilio and Clodio write generic, self-interested love letters to Policarpa and Auristela that never accomplish their goals.[37] Rutilio recognizes the folly of his enterprise and never sends the letter. Clodio receives an immediate, deadly punishment for tricking Auristela into reading his false declaration of love in the form of a stray arrow that pierces his mouth and tongue, a clear instance of poetic justice.[38] In the second case, an episode at the Isla de las Ermitas features two minor characters from Spain, Eusebia and Renato, living out the final phase of a *Cárcel de amor*-like plot. As in *Cárcel*, Renato's love for Eusebia results in gossip, a duel, and the compromise of the young woman's honour. Renato and Eusebia retreat in shame to Scandinavia to carry out a chaste penance.[39] In the course of *Persiles* the main characters help them restore their lost reputations and marry, but this recompense only occurs after their youth has been utterly wasted.[40]

Cervantes cites early modern poetic genres in addition to narrative ones. *La Galatea* is a hybrid work that follows Montemayor, Polo, and Italian writer Sannazaro in housing long and short verse forms inside a narrative pastoral frame. In his lyric poetry, Cervantes owes a particular debt to Spanish poet Garcilaso de la Vega, who participated in the classicizing vogue of the early modern era and, like Cervantes, had extensive contact with Italy and Italian poetic form.[41] Dudley argues that Garcilaso's eclogues, particularly *Égloga I*, are an important intertext and structuring device for *La Galatea*. Cervantes incorporates one of Garcilaso's most famous verses, 'Oh más dura que mármol a mis quejas' ['o harder than marble against my complaints'], in the last poetic exchange of *La Galatea*, between the distant Gelasia and the resentful Lenio.[42] In Cervantes, the verse appears as Lenio's refrain; it is both homage to Garcilaso and, in Dudley's words, a 'conclusive farewell to the pastoral world', appropriate for the end of the work.[43] Aladro-Font and Ramos Tremolada identify four citations of Garcilaso in Part I of *Don Quixote* and fifteen in Part II.[44] In two places, Cervantes cites Garcilaso during rites for the dead. He adapts a phrase from verse 605–6 of Garcilaso's 'Égloga II,' 'recebid las palabras que la boca / echa con la doliente alma fuera' ['receive the words the mouth / pours out with the suffering soul'], in *Don Quixote*, Part II as part of

[36] Cervantes, *La Galatea*, p. 293. [37] Cervantes, *Los trabajos*…, pp. 316–19.
[38] Cervantes, *Los trabajos*…, p. 335. [39] Cervantes, *Los trabajos*…, pp. 408–12.
[40] This episode resonates with other Cervantine intertexts as well; see Muñoz Sánchez's discussion of Renato's narration in connection with Heliodorus and the romances of chivalry (p. 224).
[41] Navarrete, pp. 89–125.
[42] Cervantes, *La Galatea*, pp. 616–17; Garcilaso de la Vega, pp. 123, l. 57. All translations into English are by the author of this chapter unless otherwise noted.
[43] Dudley, p. 30. [44] Aladro-Font and Ramos Tremolada, pp. 89–90.

Grisóstomo's 'Canción desesperada'.[45] In Part II, the musician at Altisidora's false funeral performs part of Garcilaso's third eclogue, and Altisidora herself, revived, levels a gender-adapted version of Garcilaso's verse 'Oh más duro que mármol a mis quejas' at the knight.[46] Don Quixote himself points out the apparent incongruity: '¿qué tienen que ver las estancias de Garcilaso con la muerte de esta señora?' ['What do stanzas by Garcilaso have to do with the death of this lady?'].[47] For Aladro-Font and Ramos Tremolada, in Part II of *Don Quixote*, Garcilaso's poetry is as important an intertext as the romances of chivalry and in fact competes with chivalry as a structuring device. The openness of the citation of Garcilaso and its frequency reflects a pastoral evolution in Quixote's personality.[48]

In two of his works, *Galatea* and *Viaje del Parnaso*, Cervantes makes further commentary on his poetic influences by offering catalogues of contemporary poets. In *Galatea*, the muse Calíope attends the memorial rites for the shepherd-poet Meliso, identified with Diego Hurtado de Mendoza.[49] She praises living Spanish poets and other writers, including the dramatist-poet Cristobal de Virués, dramatist Lope de Rueda, and epic poet Alonso de Ercilla, whose *Araucana* also receives a positive mention from the priest during the scrutiny of the books.[50] Calíope in *Galatea* also expresses admiration for the work of Luis de Góngora. In *Viaje del Parnaso*, as in *Galatea*, many of the poets depicted on the voyage to poetic fame have less name recognition today than in Cervantes's time, but the *Viaje* does make admiring references to Luis de Góngora, Francisco de Quevedo, and Lope de Vega.[51]

Finally, Cervantes participates in the great Iberian commercial art form of his time, the *comedia*, during two phases of his career. Melveena McKendrick writes that Cervantes's two early surviving plays, *La destrucción de Numancia* and *El trato de Argel*, were influenced by the plays of Lope de Rueda, Lupercio Leonardo de Argensola, and Cristobal de Virués.[52] The canon of Toledo makes favourable mention of three of Argensola's plays in *Don Quixote*, praising them along with Cervantes's own *Numancia*.[53] While Cervantes's relationship to Lope de Vega approaches nearer to rivalry than admiration, Cervantes's later plays reflect many of the characteristics Lope defined as part of the *comedia nueva*, including a three-act structure and a loose take on the neoclassical dramatic unities of time, place, and action.[54] Cervantes does not adapt Lope's precepts without question; Gerli characterizes Cervantes's *El retablo de las maravillas* as an 'intertextual commentary on the state of contemporary drama' in which he refutes the arguments of Lope's 1609 poem *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias*.[55]

[45] Cervantes cites this same verse in *La Galatea* (p. 320); see *El ingenioso*..., vol. I p. 181 n. 6.
[46] Cervantes, *El ingenioso*..., vol. II pp. 559, 565.
[47] Cervantes, *El ingenioso*..., vol. II p. 568; *Don Quixote*, p. 917.
[48] Aladro-Font and Ramos Tremolada, pp. 97–9.
[49] Cervantes, *La Galatea*, p. 545 n. 20.
[50] Cervantes, *El ingenioso*..., vol. I, p. 21.
[51] Cervantes, *Viaje del Parnaso*, II.55–6, 304, 388–9.
[52] McKendrick, pp. 42–3, 62–3.
[53] Cervantes, *El ingenioso*..., vol. I, p. 569.
[54] McKendrick, p. 137.
[55] Gerli, p. 96.

European Sources

Like many other writers of the Spanish Golden Age, Cervantes travelled to Italy, where he came into contact with the literature and culture of the Italian Renaissance.[56] Cervantes's career as a soldier took him to Rome by 1569, and he could almost certainly read Italian.[57] Cervantes's literary works evoke the most famous Italian writers from the medieval and Renaissance periods, including Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, and others, as well as visual artists such as Raphael, through intertextual borrowings large and small.[58] De Armas points out that the Italy Cervantes encountered was not the brilliant Italy of the first flowering of early modern humanism and classicism. The legacy of the sack of Rome in 1527 and Counter-Reformation ideology had made conditions for art and literature more difficult; both in Italy and in Cervantes's native Spain, the late sixteenth century brought 'the end of an age of significant spiritual freedom and moral autonomy'.[59] De Armas characterizes Cervantes's Italian borrowings as 'in part a desire for the return of the Renaissance'.[60]

Foundational both for imagining the Catholic cosmos and for forging a literary Italian language, Dante Alighieri's *Commedia* became the text of reference for Italian literature, attracting both commentary and imitation. Fernando Cervantes argues that the balance of Christian themes and Classical mythology in Cervantes's work, especially *Don Quixote*, owes a debt to Dante's treatment of figures like Virgil, the poet's guide through *Inferno*.[61] Fernando Cervantes points to a Dante-inspired conversation between Don Quixote and Sancho about whether the valiant knights of the past are in heaven or in hell, which Américo Castro likewise finds to be a citation of Dante.[62] Bandera compares the use of *Amadís de Gaula* in the love affair of Cardenio and Luscinda to Dante's characterization of the *Prose Lancelot* as the enticement that led doomed lovers Francesca and Paolo to sin.[63] At Grisóstomo's funeral, the student-shepherd's friend Ambrosio remarks that Grisóstomo has been struck down 'en la mitad de la carrera de su vida' ['in the middle of his life'], paraphrasing the first line of the *Commedia*.[64] Don Quixote's descent to the underworld in the cave of Montesinos episode likewise reflects Dante's journey among the dead, though in that case Cervantes blends the Dante reference with borrowings from other texts. Altisidora's vision of the underworld, however feigned, echoes Dante in that it depicts an eternal punishment that relies on poetic justice, in this case not for a bad person, but for a bad book, namely the apocryphal sequel to *Don Quixote*, Part I by Alonso Fernández de Avellaneda.[65] Avellaneda offended Cervantes by presuming to write his own sequel to Cervantes's

[56] De Armas, 'Cervantes and…', p. 32.
[57] Canavaggio, p. 62.
[58] De Armas, *Cervantes, Raphael*…, pp. 10–11.
[59] De Armas, 'Cervantes and the Italian Renaissance', p. 33.
[60] De Armas, *Cervantes, Raphael*…, p. 33.
[61] Cervantes, Fernando, pp. 330–3.
[62] Cervantes, *El ingenioso*…, vol. II, p. 97; Castro, p. 314, n. 91.
[63] Bandera, p. 89.
[64] Cervantes, *El ingenioso*…, v. I, p. 179; p. 93.
[65] Cervantes, *El ingenioso*…, v. II, p. 566; see Chapter 8 of this volume on Avellaneda.

work, and in retribution, Cervantes places that book in an infernal setting. Dante's *Inferno* famously features many historical personae, including Filippo Argenti and Farinata degli Uberti, who wronged the author or his ancestors.

Cervantes's short lyric poetry, interpolated into *Galatea*, *Don Quixote*, *Persiles*, and *Novelas ejemplares*, reflects the influence of Francesco Petrarca. Petrarca's *Rime Sparse*, also known as *Il canzoniere*, comprises a series of sonnets, *canzoni*, and other short lyric poems that reflect on the poetic speaker's connection with the ethereal Laura. Vickers describes how Petrarca's poems 'scattered' the poetic mistress's body, describing and celebrating it in pieces and thus denying subjectivity to Laura herself.[66] The blazon, the catalogue and praise of a woman's features part by part, became one of the most transferable Petrarchan motifs. Petrarca's lyric poems have an elegiac as well as an erotic dimension; the reader learns that Laura has died halfway through the series, and certain poems memorialize the dead, both Laura and others. Among the famous imitators of the Petrarchan sonnet rank English courtier Thomas Wyatt, the Pléiade school of French poets including Pierre de Ronsard and Joachim du Bellay, and Spanish poets Garcilaso de la Vega and Juan Boscán.[67] Cervantes approaches the style and mood of Petrarca in Grisóstomo's funeral poem as well as the sonnets he interpolates into prose texts. Cervantes's debt to Petrarchism is filtered through that of other Spanish poets, notably Garcilaso, whom Cervantes admires. Yet Cervantes's adaptation of Petrarchan trope is not always reverent. Don Quixote offers a parodic blazon of Dulcinea that exposes and critiques the objectification of women inherent in Petrarchism:

> sus cabellos son oro, su frente campos elíseos, sus cejas arcos del cielo, sus ojos soles, sus mejillas rosas, sus labios corales, perlas sus dientes, alabastro su cuello, mármol su pecho, marfil sus manos, su blancura nieve, y las partes que a la vista humana encubrió la honestidad son tales . . . que solo la discreta consideración puede encarecerlas, y no compararlas.
>
> [her tresses are gold, her forehead Elysian fields, her eyebrows the arches of heaven, her eyes suns, her cheeks roses, her lips coral, her teeth pearls, her neck alabaster, her bosom marble, her hands ivory, her skin white as snow, and the parts that modesty hides from human eyes are such . . . that the most discerning consideration can only praise them but not compare them.][68]

Quixote breaks Petrarchan decorum by sexualizing Dulcinea's body, and he trivializes the Petrarchan mode of description by piling together clichéd metaphors that, taken together, read as hollow and grotesque.

Though Cervantes's works always invoke other writers as intertexts, in the prologue to *Novelas ejemplares* he claims that his stories are entirely original: '[É]stas son mías propias, no imitadas ni hurtadas' ['These are my own, neither imitated nor stolen'].[69] Cervantes's exemplary novels are neither translations nor copies, but they

[66] Vickers, pp. 265–6. [67] Navarrete, pp. 1–3.
[68] Cervantes, *El ingenioso . . .*, vol. I, p. 176; *Don Quixote*, p. 91.
[69] Cervantes, *Novelas ejemplares*, vol. I, p. 52.

nonetheless exist within the genre codes of the medieval and early modern Italian *novella* as defined by the work of Giovanni Boccaccio. Boccaccio, who wrote both in Latin and the vernacular, influenced many early modern Spanish prose genres; his defence of women *De mulieribus claris* (1374) found an echo in Antonio de Guevara's *Relox de príncipes* (1529), and Alfonso Martínez de Toledo imitated Boccaccio's misogynistic *Il corbaccio* (*c*.1355) in his 1438 sermon and treatise *El corbacho*. As mentioned above, the *Elegia de madonna Fiammetta* left its mark on the Iberian sentimental novel.

Boccaccio is best known, however, for the *Decameron* (*c*.1353), a collection of one hundred short stories or *novelle* that takes for its frame tale the escape of a group of ten narrators—seven women and three men—from the plague in Florence. The young and privileged narrators retreat to a country house, where they pass the time telling stories on a theme determined by the appointed king or queen for the day. The tales are drawn from a variety of genres and range over the whole of Europe. Some stories are original, while others draw on ancient and medieval sources. Tales such as that of Alatiel (2.7) place Muslim and Christian societies into contact and dramatize language barriers. Other stories, such as that of Frate Cipolla [Friar Onion] (6.10), have a Tuscan setting and depict religious and other concerns of late medieval Italian society. Many of Boccaccio's tales, including the story of Zinevra (2.9) and the story of the Marchesa di Montferrato (1.9), stage conflicts between independent-minded women and the men who seek to control or oppress them, and the battle between the sexes is a frequent source of banter among the narrators at the opening and closing of story days. The Boccaccian *novelle* inspired other story collections both in Italy and elsewhere. The *novelle* of Matteo Bandello, Marguerite de Navarre (*Heptaméron*, 1588), and Geoffrey Chaucer (*The Canterbury Tales*), owe a clear debt to Boccaccio. Boccaccio-inspired Italian *novelle* also impacted European theatre; both William Shakespeare (*Romeo and Juliet*, 1595) and Lope de Vega (*La viuda valenciana*, 1620) adapted *novelle* by Bandello for the stage.[70]

Cervantes's *novelas* often have a Boccaccian feel. *La española inglesa* and *El amante liberal* range the Mediterranean much in the way that certain Boccaccian tales do, and the love-intrigues in *La señora Cornelia* and *Las dos doncellas* are reminiscent of those of Italian *novelle*. According to Barbara Fuchs, in Cervantes's representation of Italy, the influence of the Italian Renaissance on Spain, and the imperial relationship between Spain and the Italian city-states remain in the background; the Italy of the *novelas* is a ludic 'space of desire' in which characters evade responsibilities and find adventure.[71] For Forcione, Cervantes in his exemplary novels engages in 'creative adaptation', freely combining the Italianate novella with other models. *El celoso extremeño* is the most Boccaccian of the exemplary novels, both in its action-oriented structure and in its depiction of female entrapment.[72] *El casamiento engañoso*, which ends abruptly when its feverish protagonist overhears the chatter of the dogs Cipión and Berganza of *El coloquio de los perros*, also bears a close resemblance to Italian models. Carrizales's deceitful

[70] De Armas, *The Invisible Mistress*, p. 181.
[71] Fuchs, p. 518.
[72] Forcione, *Cervantes and the*…, pp. 31–4, 42.

veiled bride evokes the trope that De Armas terms the invisible mistress, which travelled to Spain largely through the Italian *novelle* of Masuccio and Bandello.[73] The invisible mistress is a gender-reversed version of Apuleius's *Cupid and Psyche* that made its first appearance in medieval Europe in the Old French verse romance *Partonopeus de Blois* (*c*.1185).[74] The faint echo of this trope in Cervantes, which could either have come from the Italian *novelle* or the late fifteenth-century translation of *Partonopeus* that was widely circulated and reprinted in Spain in the sixteenth century, shows just how difficult it is to pinpoint Cervantes's influences.[75]

Cervantes cites Ludovico Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* (1515) in a much more direct way than texts by Dante, Petrarch, or Boccaccio. The Carolingian-themed comic epic is as important a source for the chivalric material in *Don Quixote* as *Amadís de Gaula*. Jerónimo de Urrea's Spanish translation of Ariosto appeared in 1548, though Thomas Hart speculates that many Spaniards, including Cervantes, read the work in Italian.[76] Hart counts more than twenty specific references to *Orlando Furioso* in *Don Quixote*; some are brief citations, and others borrow from Ariosto at the level of structure or theme.[77]

Orlando Furioso contains three major plots: pagan king Agramante's invasion of France, Orlando's madness, and Bradamante's quest for reunion with her pagan beloved Ruggiero, which culminates in the latter's conversion.[78] *Orlando Furioso* continues the story of another Italian epic themed after the matter of France, Matteo Boiardo's *Orlando Innamorato* (1483–95), which Cervantes also admired; Cervantes's play *La casa de los celos* (1615) imitates Boiardo.[79] In both epics, Angelica, the princess of Cathay, causes disturbance with her marvellous beauty. In Ariosto, Orlando becomes mad when he realizes that he has lost Angelica to the moor Medoro. Upon discovering the evidence of their love affair, Orlando falls prey to blind rage, and he recovers his wits only when minor character Astolfo flies to the moon on a hippogriff and retrieves them. Cervantes makes his most overt borrowing from *Orlando Furioso* when Don Quixote debates between Orlando and Amadís as models for his own madness in the Sierra Morena section of *Don Quixote*, Part I.[80] In *El curioso impertinente*, Lotario makes reference to another famous episode of *Orlando Furioso*, Rinaldo's prudent refusal to drink from the goblet that would dribble when it came into contact with men whose wives had been unfaithful.[81] Also at Juan Palomeque's inn, the general chaos that erupts when the Santa Hermandad arrives reminds Don Quixote of 'la discordia del campo de Agramante' ['the discord of Agramante's camp'].[82] Perhaps most significantly, Part I of *Don Quixote* ends with a paraphrase of Ariosto's invitation to other writers to continue his work: 'forsi altro canterà con miglior plectio' ['perhaps another will sing in a better style'].[83]

[73] De Armas, *The Invisible Mistress*, p. 30. [74] De Armas, *The Invisible Mistress*, pp. 15–19.
[75] For an edition of the early modern Spanish translation, see Monzó. For a critical edition of the medieval French Romance, see Anonymous, *Partonopeu de Blois*, edited by Collet and Joris.
[76] Hart, p. 17. [77] Hart, pp. 3–4. [78] Hart, p. 19.
[79] De Armas, 'Cervantes and the . . .', p. 36. [80] Cervantes, *El ingenionso* . . ., vol. I, pp. 318–19.
[81] Cervantes, *El ingenionso* . . ., vol. I, p. 407.
[82] Cervantes, *El ingenionso* . . ., vol. I, p. 544; p. 394.
[83] Cervantes, *El ingenionso* . . ., vol. I, p. 608; p. 449.

Alonso Fernández de Avellaneda's continuation of *Don Quixote* took this allusion too literally, at least for Cervantes's taste.

Cervantes's criticism of Avellaneda is perhaps ironic, considering that in the long poem *Viaje del Parnaso*, Cervantes undertook an allegorical journey to the origin of the art of poetry in dialogue with a contemporary Italian source, Cesare Caporali's *Viaggio di Parnaso* (*c*.1587). The opening lines of Cervantes's poem summarize Caporali's text: 'Un quidam Caporal italiano / de patria perusino, a lo que entiendo / De ingenio griego y de valor romano / Llevado de un capricho reverendo / Le vino en voluntad de ir a Parnaso' ['A certain Caporali, an Italian of Perugia as I understand, Greek in his intellect and Roman in his courage, went to Parnassus on a whim'].[84] Cervantes's opening reflects his characteristic ambivalence. While Rivers describes Cervantes's relationship to his source as ironic, Lamberti argues that Cervantes admired Caporali's poem.[85] Cervantes adapts the basic structure of Caporali's *Viaggio*, having the poetic speaker abandon his homeland and journey by ship to the Greek mountain that was the mythological home of the muses.[86] As Lamberti points out, Cervantes replaces Caporali's merchant vessels with an allegorical ship, captained by the god Mercury, composed entirely of verses.[87] At Parnassus, Caporali's speaker meets with the goddess *Licenza Poetica* [Poetic License] and speaks of great literary figures from the Italian past, including Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, and Pietro Bembo.[88] Caporali's poem also criticizes the bad poets who aspire to greatness in vain.[89] Cervantes's treatment of the theme is more extensive, as is his catalogue of good and bad poets. Spanish poets fill Mercury's ship, and once at Parnassus, they engage in battle with literary pretenders. As in Caporali's poem, Cervantes's poetic speaker meets with the goddess who incarnates poetry, but in Cervantes, the emphasis is on contemporary Spanish poets rather than poetry itself.

Cervantes's borrowings from Italian writers, as from literary models in general, tend to be diffuse, dissembled, and mediated by the influence of intervening texts. In some cases, the precise vector an intertext takes to reach Cervantes is unknown. Influences are particularly difficult to track in the realms of politics and philosophy. For example, Niccoló Machiavelli's *The Prince* (1532), though banned in Spain, impacted Cervantes's depiction of politics in *Don Quixote*, Part II either directly or indirectly. Cascardi states that 'Machiavelli's texts were officially banned in Spain, but his ideas were known, and "substitute" texts were found'.[90] Cascardi reads Sancho's governorship of the false island of Barataria as a 'serio-comic twist' on Machiavelli's advice for nonhereditary rulers who newly acquire kingdoms.[91] Likewise, Cervantes owes a direct or indirect debt to Erasmus and other humanists, including Catalonian scholar Juan Luis Vives. Castro famously writes: 'without Erasmus, Cervantes would not have been as he was'.[92] Despite many instances of what Forcione terms 'natural affinities' between the work of Cervantes

[84] Cervantes, *Viaje del Parnaso*, I.1–5.
[85] Rivers, pp. 245–6; Lamberti, p. 98.
[86] Lamberti, p. 111.
[87] Lamberti, p. 110.
[88] Caporali, p. 370.
[89] Caporali, pp. 373–4.
[90] Cascardi, p. 15.
[91] Cascardi, p. 17.
[92] Castro, p. 300.

and that of Erasmus of Rotterdam, it is difficult to determine exactly which Erasmian texts Cervantes read, admired, or experienced through a mediating text.[93]

Erasmus wrote letters and treatises addressing a variety of aspects of ordinary human life, and it is in this respect that his version of humanism comes closest to Cervantes's own vision. For Forcione, Erasmus is a champion of the bourgeoisie and of lay life, and his most famous texts are oriented toward 'the charitable Christian, the concerned citizen, the responsible family head, and the good friend'.[94] Forcione finds connections among Cervantes's exemplary novels and Erasmus's writings on marriage. Erasmus's 1518 *Encomium Matrimonii* [*Declamation on the Praise of Marriage*] shares with Cervantes's *La gitanilla* the notion that marriage can lead to spiritual fulfilment for husbands and wives.[95] Cascardi finds echoes of Erasmus's anti-clerical *In Praise of Folly* in many Cervantine texts, including *Don Quixote*, *El licenciado vidriera*, and *El coloquio de los perros*.[96] For Cascardi, these texts draw inspiration from the 'paradox' of *In Praise of Folly*, 'that folly should speak the truth'.[97] According to Cascardi, Cervantes found in the influence of Erasmus useful tools for speaking truth while avoiding censorship, which is ironic considering that Eramus's writings were censored by the Council of Trent. Cervantes might also have drawn inspiration from the works of other humanists. For both Cascardi and Diana de Armas Wilson, Sancho's false island of Barataria, in *Don Quixote*, Part II, echoes Thomas More's *Utopia* (1516), which was not translated into Spanish until 1637, but which would likely have circulated in Spain in its original Latin.[98] For Garst-Santos, Dorotea's description of her daily life and employments in *Don Quixote*, Part I draws on the conduct tradition, particularly Catalonian humanist Juan Luis Vives's 1523 *Education of a Christian Woman*.[99] Both More and Vives were part of Erasmus's circle of correspondents, and their work in Latin would have been available to a wide range of European scholars and writers, potentially including Cervantes.

Classical Sources

For writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, classical antiquity represents literary authority, and Cervantes is no exception to this trend. E.C. Riley explains that 'in the poetic theory of the Renaissance, as in Antiquity, the imitation of models was scarcely less important than the imitation of nature… [w]riters were told that they should seek to improve upon their models, imitate only what was excellent, choose according to their needs and imitate appropriately'.[100] Cervantes expresses both the obligation for classicism and his ambivalence about authority in his dialogue with the *amigo* in the prologue to *Don Quixote*, Part I. The author complains to his friend:

[93] Forcione, *Cervantes and the*…, p. 19.
[94] Forcione, *Cervantes and the*…, p. 108.
[95] Forcione, *Cervantes and the*…, p. 99, 103.
[96] Cascardi, p. 206.
[97] Cascardi, p. 206.
[98] Cascardi, p. 130; Wilson, *Cervantes, the Novel*…, pp. 142–4.
[99] Garst-Santos, pp. 65–9.
[100] Riley, p. 61.

> ni tengo qué acotar en el margen, ni qué anotar en el fin, ni menos sé qué autores sigo en él, para ponerlos al principio, como hacen todos, comenzando en Aristóteles y acabando en Xenofonte y en Zoilo o Zeuxis, aunque fue maldiciente el uno y pintor el otro… naturalmente soy poltrón y perezoso de andarme buscando autores que digan lo que yo me sé decir sin ellos.
>
> [I have nothing to note in the margin or annotate at the end, and I certainly don't know which authors I have followed so that I can mention them at the beginning, as everyone else does, beginning with Aristotle and ending with Xenophon, and with Zoilus and Zeuxis, though one was a slanderer and the other a painter… I am by nature too lazy and slothful to go looking for authors to say what I know how to say without them.][101]

The *amigo* recommends that the author supply the required apparatus by citing 'algunas sentencias o latines que vos sepáis de memoria, o a lo menos, que os cuesten poco trabajo el buscalle' ['some appropriate maxims or phrases in Latin, ones that you know by heart, or at least, that won't cost you too much trouble to look up'].[102] The *amigo*'s comment is meant to criticize spurious citation; according to Riley, Cervantes opposed 'indiscriminate borrowing'.[103] The prologue to *Don Quixote*, Part I brings into relief the tension Cervantes perceived between his original writing, full of 'pensamientos varios y nunca imaginados de otro alguno' ['inconstant thoughts never imagined by anyone else'], and the authoritative model of authorship he inherited from classical, medieval, and early modern practice.[104] Cervantes cites classical sources, but he also pushes against them and shapes them to his own purposes, undoing in some measure their status as authority.

Critics have amply discussed Cervantes's literary theory in relationship to the prevailing Neo-Platonic and Neo-Aristotelian ideas from the early modern period. Sixteenth-century textual rediscoveries of Plato and Aristotle led to a theoretical reformulation of how literature should represent life and relate to its reading public.[105] Plato's *Republic* famously excludes poets from the state on account of the unseemly passions their work may excite, and Aristotle's *Poetics* argues for unity and verisimilitude as the guiding principles of good literature.[106] As with many of his classical influences, Cervantes most likely accessed the ideas of Plato and Aristotle through mediating early modern sources. According to Frederick A. de Armas, the Neo-Platonic ideas of León Ebreo (*Dialogues of Love*, 1530*)* and Baldassare Castiglione (*The Book of the Courtier*, 1528) were a fundamental influence on Cervantes's notions of 'love, nature, and beauty' in *La Galatea*.[107] For Cascardi, Erasmus's *The Education of the Christian Prince* (1516) may have provided 'a conduit for Plato's ideas, even if Cervantes did not learn them from Plato's texts directly'.[108] Riley notes that Cervantes's knowledge of Aristotle's *Poetics*, not available in

[101] Cervantes, *El ingenionso*…, vol. I, p. 53; p. 5.
[102] Cervantes, *El ingenionso*…, vol. I, pp. 54–5; p. 6.
[103] Riley, pp. 62–3.
[104] Cervantes, *El ingenionso*…, vol. I, p. 50; p. 3.
[105] Riley, pp. 2–3.
[106] Forcione, *Cervantes, Aristotle*…, p. 14.
[107] De Armas, 'Cervantes and the…', p. 39.
[108] Cascardi, p. 21.

Spanish translation until 1626, may have been filtered through López Pinciano's 1596 *Philosofía Antigua Poética*.[109]

Torquato Tasso, a contemporary of Cervantes, a Neo-Aristotelian literary theorist, and the author of the epic poem *Gerusalemme Liberata* (1581), looked to classical models in order to improve upon medieval and early modern fiction. Though a connection cannot be proven, it is possible that Tasso's *Discourses on the Heroic Poem* (1594) influenced Cervantes.[110] Cervantes mentions Tasso and *Gerusalemme Liberata* in *Persiles*, in which Tasso appears painted in a panel depicting poets of the future.[111] Moreover, the play *La conquista de Jerúsalen por Godofré de Bullón*, attributed to Cervantes, adapts Tasso's epic. Stefano Arata dates *La conquista de Jerúsalen* to 1581–5, which would make it the earliest Spanish adaptation of Tasso. Arata and Kahn argue that Cervantes is the author of the play based on its structural and linguistic features.[112] Like Tasso, Cervantes struggles in *Don Quixote* to reconcile the out-of-favour romance of chivalry with Neo-Aristotelian values. For Cascardi, the conversation among the canon of Toledo, the priest, and Don Quixote references the search in classical texts for 'normative guidelines that could be used to regulate contemporary literary practice'.[113] According to Forcione, 'Cervantes was deeply attracted to the free fantasies of medieval romance, which he knew to be an outmoded literary genre. At the same time he conceived of the new possibility of a genre that would retain the appeal of the romances and, by its observance of Aristotelian rules, meet the demands of contemporary literary tastes'.[114] Many Cervantine texts, including *Don Quixote* and *El coloquio de los perros*, resist the normalizing pressure of Aristotelian guidelines, particularly the need for verisimilitude, but Cervantes largely accedes to prevailing literary fashion in *Persiles*, his final prose work.

For Tasso and others, ancient epic provided the most prestigious model for early modern fiction. While Homer and Virgil depicted events that did not conform to strict notions of verisimilitude, such as the intervention of gods and the utterance of prophecy, early modern literary theorists, particularly Tasso, attempted to reconcile the marvellous dimensions of epic with Aristotelian verisimilitude.[115] Cervantes likewise admires ancient epic, and he makes extensive reference to Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* and Virgil's *Aeneid* in *Don Quixote*, Parts I and II. McGaha argues that Virgil is Cervantes's primary textual model, even though Cervantes's debt to chivalry is more readily evident.[116] Citing Arturo Marasso, McGaha writes that 'Cervantes was familiar not only with the Latin text of the *Aeneid* but with both sixteenth-century Spanish translations of the work: that of Gregorio Hernández de Velasco (1555) and that of Diego López (1600)'.[117] According to McGaha, Cervantes sought to improve upon *The Aeneid* 'by eliminating the flaws in Virgil's work that had diminished its credibility: the reliance

[109] Riley, p. 3. [110] Forcione, *Cervantes, Aristotle*…, pp. 30–5.
[111] Cervantes, *Los trabajos*…, p. 664.
[112] See Arata, 'La conquista de Jerusalén…', Kahn 'Towards a Theory…', and Kahn, 'Even Further…'.
[113] Cascardi, pp. 43–4. [114] *Cervantes, Aristotle*…, p. 12.
[115] Forcione, *Cervantes, Aristotle*…, pp. 32–5. [116] McGaha, p. 34.
[117] McGaha, p. 35.

on magic and divine machinery'.[118] The epics of Homer influenced Cervantes as well, though the connection is indirect. According to De Armas, limited diffusion of ancient Greek in Spain meant that most writers, including Cervantes, approached the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* through 'translations, summaries, and adaptations'.[119]

In *Don Quixote*, Part I, characters and personae from classical epic appear as frequent points of reference. At Grisóstomo's funeral, Vivaldo argues against destroying the student-shepherd's poetry with a reference to Virgil: 'no le tuviera bueno Augusto César si consintiera que se pusiera en acción lo que el divino Mantuano dejó en su testamento mandado' ['You would not think so highly of Caesar Augustus if he had agreed to carry out what the divine Mantuan had ordered in his will'].[120] McGaha reads the night of terror Quixote and Sancho spend in I.21 as an imitation of the night Aeneas and his company spent listening to the eruptions of Mount Etna in Book III of the *Aeneid*. Cervantes rewrites this episode with irony: '[w]hen morning came, Aeneas found that his fears were amply justified, for he was in the dangerous land of the Cyclops. Don Quixote, on the other hand, was humiliated to discover that the source of the noise was six fulling hammers'.[121] The canon of Toledo, usually an enemy of chivalry, admires the chivalric writer's freedom to create characters who combine the salient traits of the personae of epic, including 'las astucias de Ulixes, la piedad de Aeneas, la valentía de Aquiles, las desgracias de Héctor, las traiciones de Sinon, la amistad de Eurialio' ['the guile of Ulysses, the piety of Aeneas, the valor of Achilles, the misfortunes of Hector, the treachery of Sinon, the friendship of Euryalus'].[122] At Juan Palomeque's inn in Part I, Luis includes a reference to Palinurus, the pilot of Aeneas's ship, in his song to Clara: 'Siguiendo voy a una estrella / que desde lejos descubro / más bella y resplandesciente / que cuantas vio Palinuro' ['Guided by a distant star / more radiant, more bright / though its light shines from afar / than any Palinurus spied]'.[123] Palinurus, fated to die in the *Aeneid*, became in early modern literature a stock image of the competent navigator. Also in Part I, Don Quixote references 'la robada Elena' ['the abducted Helen'], whom he compares unfavourably to Dulcinea.[124] He reiterates the comparison when he writes a letter for Dulcinea: 'ni la llega Elena, ni la alcanza Lucrecia, ni otra alguna de las famosas mujeres de la edad pretérita, griega, bárbara o latina' ['Helen cannot approach her, Lucrezia cannot match her, nor can any of the other famous women of past ages, Greek, barbarian, or Latin'].[125]

In Part II of *Don Quixote*, Helen appears alongside Virgil's Dido in tapestries displayed at an inn.[126] Hart reads this episode as an explicit imitation of Virgil, meant to recall Aeneas reading the story of the Trojan War in the friezes of the temple in Dido's

[118] McGaha, p. 49.
[119] 'Cervantes and the Italian Renaissance', p. 34.
[120] Cervantes, *El ingenioso* . . . , vol. I, p. 179; p. 93; De Armas, 'Cervantes and the . . . ', p. 45.
[121] McGaha, p. 44.
[122] Cervantes, *El ingenioso* . . . , vol. I, p. 566; p. 413.
[123] Cervantes, *El ingenioso* . . . , vol. I, p. 521; p. 374.
[124] Cervantes, *El ingenioso* . . . , vol. I, p. 256; p. 156.
[125] Cervantes, *El ingenioso* . . . , vol. I, p. 314; p. 201.
[126] Cervantes, *El ingenioso* . . . , vol. II, p. 574.

Carthage.[127] McGaha argues that the ekphrasis in *Aeneid*, Book I 'inspire[d] the ingenious idea of making the 1605 *Don Quixote* an important literary element in the 1615 novel—as in the case of Odysseus and Aeneas, Don Quixote's fame will precede him, causing the other characters to compare the "real" Don Quixote with his literary representation'.[128] McGaha also discusses Camacho's wedding as a version of the games in Book V of the *Aeneid* and Don Quixote's extended visit with the Duke and Duchess as an imitation of Aeneas's stay in Carthage.[129] Giuseppe Mazzotta points out that Cervantes uses an 'epic catalogue' to link Clavileño, the wooden horse the Duke and Duchess insist the protagonists ride, to famous horses of the past, including the Trojan horse.[130] For Mazzotta, the Clavileño episode is not just a straightforward reference to epic; Sancho's imagined journey to the stars also imitates 'visionary flights' in sources from ancient to modern, including those in Plato, Cicero, Lucian, and Dante.[131] Mazzotta interprets the episode in connection with Leo Spitzer's discussion of perspectivism, an aesthetics of 'composing and fitting disparate things together'.[132] The cave of Montesinos, also in *Don Quixote*, Part II, likewise mixes classical, medieval, and early modern models, recalling instances of *katábasis*, or the descent to the underworld, in Homer's Odyssey, Virgil's Aeneid, Dante's *Commedia*, and, as Mazzotta argues, Boiardo's *Orlando Innamorato*.[133]

Cervantes's *Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda* has an even more explicit connection to its classical source than does *Don Quixote*. *Persiles* participates in an international vogue for Heliodorus's *Aethiopica* [*Ethiopian History*] in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, especially among humanists.[134] The Greek romance, which dates from the third or fourth century AD, was rediscovered in 1526 in the library of King Matthias Corvinus of Hungary and published in Greek in 1534.[135] *Aethiopica* was translated into French in 1547, Spanish in 1554, and Italian in 1556, and it soon became the target of many literary imitations.[136] According to David Boruchoff, part of the reason for the popularity of *Aethiopica* as a model was its perceived moral superiority to medieval and early modern fictional genres.[137] Alban Forcione notes that Neo-Aristotelians appreciated it for its perceived verisimilitude.[138]

Though the events of *Aethiopica* seemed plausible to early modern readers, twenty-first century readers would not necessarily recognize them as such. Heliodorus's prose work chronicles the journey of star-crossed lovers Chariclea and Theagenes, who narrowly escape disaster at each turn of the convoluted plot. Amid successive instances of captivity, the preternaturally attractive young people meet a cast of minor characters who spontaneously declare their life stories. As Stanislav Zimic points out, Cervantes echoes these Heliodoran interpolated autobiographies in the narratives of Cardenio and

[127] Hart, p. 75. [128] McGaha, p. 37. [129] McGaha, p. 36.
[130] Mazzotta, p. 92. [131] Mazzotta, p. 83. [132] Mazzotta, p. 85; Spitzer, pp. 163–4.
[133] Mazzotta, p. 90.
[134] For Cervantes in the context of other adaptations of Heliodorus, see Riley, p. 59, and Wilson, *Allegories of Love*…, pp. 20–3.
[135] Forcione, *Cervantes, Aristotle*…, p. 49. [136] Wilson, *Allegories of Love*…, p. 20.
[137] Boruchoff, p. 181. [138] Forcione, *Cervantes, Aristotle*…, pp. 63–80.

Dorotea in *Don Quixote*, Part I; for Zimic, Cervantes adapts 'the tendency of Byzantine characters to confess their most intimate problems'.[139] Cervantes's *Novelas ejemplares*, *Galatea*, and *Persiles* also use Heliodoran interpolation strategies, having new characters announce themselves by name and origin and declare a portion of their life story, regardless of its relevance to other narrative events.[140]

Aethiopica begins *in medias res*, with the capture by pirates; Cervantes adapts this strategy for *Persiles*, placing the reader into the scene of the barbarians' cruel imprisonment of Auristela. Cervantes builds the plot of *Persiles* upon Heliodoran tropes of reversal of fortune, cross-cultural contact, maritime travel, and chance meeting. Periandro/Persiles and Auristela/Sigismunda, like Theagenes and Chariclea, assume false identities and pretend to be brother and sister. Also like their Heliodoran counterparts, the Cervantine protagonists maintain a chaste relationship until their journey is done. Cervantes gives Auristela a religious motive for wandering; her goal is a pilgrimage to Rome, and Periandro's task is to accompany her. The setting differs from Heliodorus primarily in latitude. *Persiles* takes place in a quasi-imaginary Northern Europe, featuring characters from the frozen isles in and around Norway. The description of the northern barbarians, especially their cannibalism, bears greater resemblance to accounts of the New World than to Heliodorus.[141] Periandro and Auristela also make an extended stop at the more rationally governed island of Policarpo, which owes a possible debt to Thomas More's *Utopia*.

Like his use of Virgil and Heliodorus, Cervantes's references to Roman poet Ovid reflect direct contact with the ancient author's work. Both Rudolph Schevill and De Armas note the popularity of Ovid, particularly the *Metamorphoses*, in early modern Spain; there were at least eight Spanish translations of the work.[142] The *Metamorphoses* (*c*.8 AD) is a long narrative poem that serves as a compendium of Greco-Roman legends, each presented with the connecting device of transformation. In each story, the gods cause the characters to change forms, shifting from human into animal, plant, or landscape. Worden argues that Ovid's *Metamorphoses* provides a secondary organizing device within *Don Quixote*, Parts I and II: 'like the *Metamorphoses*, Cervantes's novel depicts transformations of all kinds'.[143] For Worden, Don Quixote, Sancho, and Aldonza/Dulcinea undergo 'dubious' metamorphoses when they take on their new identities, and the reader must decide whether these changes are real or false.[144] Cervantes makes many direct references to Ovid in *Don Quixote*. In Part I, Cardenio compares his ill-fated love affair with Luscinda to that of Ovid's Pyramus and Thisbe: 'al padre de Luscinda le pareció que por buenos respetos estaba obligado a negarme la entrada de su casa, casi imitando en esto a los padres de aquella Tisbe tan decantada de los poetas' ['it seemed to Luscinda's father that, in deference to public opinion, he was obliged to deny me entry to his house, almost imitating in this regard the parents of that

[139] Zimic, p. 100. [140] Zimic, p. 96, n.4.
[141] Wilson, *Cervantes, the Novel*…, p. 71.
[142] Schevill, pp. 147–8; De Armas, 'Captured in Ekphrasis…', pp. 241–2.
[143] Worden, p. 116. [144] Worden, pp. 118–22.

same Thisbe praised so often by poets'].[145] The epistolary components of Cardenio and Luscinda's love affair may also owe to another Ovidian text, *Heroides*, which presents letters from women of myth and legend expressing their sorrow over events that are best known from the perspective of men.[146] In Part II, the knight's guide to the Cave of Montesinos declares himself to be working on a book entitled the *Metamorfoseos*, or the *Ovidio español*.[147]

Cervantes's debt to classical sources in *Don Quixote* is both diffuse and ambivalent, and Cervantes often reads sources against each other for critical purposes. Cervantes's early play *La destrucción de Numancia* depends on a similar conflation of classical models. *Numancia* tells a 'double story' of the fall of the Celtiberian city in the second century AD, chronicling both the frustrations of the invading Romans and the increasing desperation inside the besieged city.[148] De Armas argues that Cervantes grounds *Numancia* in a complex web of imitations of Homer, Virgil, Lucan, and other classical authorities.[149] Cervantes's primary historical source for the play is Antonio de Morales's *Crónica general de España* (1574) in which he would have found citations of ancient sources.[150] De Armas writes that the play's references to Homer are most likely filtered through medieval texts on Trojan themes, such as the *Crónica troyana* (1490), which in their turn drew on Latin romances by Dictis and Dares.[151] According to De Armas, Cervantes uses Homer to develop his concept of heroism, opposing the technique of cunning, associated with Homer's Odysseus, to the virtue of bravery, associated with Greek hero Achilles. In Cervantes's play, the Roman invaders play the role of the clever Greeks, starving the city slowly to death instead of meeting them in battle.[152] The Homeric imitation thus suggests Numantian superiority. However, Cervantes's evocation of Virgil's *Aeneid* places that alignment in doubt; the play represents Spain, through the Romans, as the perhaps ironic inheritor of the Roman programme of empire. The play thus serves a function similar to the *Aeneid* as a foundational myth.

Complicating matters even further is *Numancia*'s imitation of Lucan's *Pharsalia* (65 AD), an epic in an alternate tradition that David Quint identifies as aligned with the interests of the defeated party.[153] *Numancia* shares with Lucan's *Pharsalia* a divided plot, the depiction of necromancy, and the trope of the epic curse, uttered by a member of the losing side to undermine the triumph of the winners.[154] Cervantes uses his confluence of classical sources to reinforce the play's ambivalence about the foundational myth it creates. According to Aaron M. Kahn, *Numancia* can be read both as 'propaganda' for the Spanish imperial project and as a statement of the 'injustice of tyrannical imperialism'.[155]

[145] Cervantes, *El ingenioso*…, vol. I, p. 292–3; *Don Quixote*, p. 184.
[146] Brownlee, p. 8.
[147] Cervantes, *El ingenioso*…, vol. II, p. 206; Worden, p. 117.
[148] De Armas, *Cervantes, Raphael*…, p. 101.
[149] De Armas, *Cervantes, Raphael*…, p. 13.
[150] De Armas, *Cervantes, Raphael*…, pp. 8–10; Kahn, *Ambivalence*, p. 149.
[151] De Armas, *Cervantes, Raphael*…, pp. 98–9.
[152] De Armas, *Cervantes, Raphael*…, pp. 106–9.
[153] Quint, *Epic and Empire*, pp. 9–11.
[154] De Armas, *Cervantes, Raphael*…, pp. 139–47; Quint, *Epic and Empire*, p. 101.
[155] Kahn, *Ambivalence*, pp. 14, 25.

Critical opinion varies on the relative importance and precise meaning of Cervantes's catalogue of sources in Spanish, European, and classical literature. Many genres—classical epic, medieval romance, or humanist discourse—could be said to provide Cervantes's guiding principle. Cervantes places his intertexts into conversation with each other, but he declares no stable allegiance. The indeterminate nature of Cervantes's poetics of citation, his irony and his ambivalence, constitutes the originality of his work. The modernity of Cervantes, especially as twenty-first century readers perceive it, depends on an interconnected program of citation that follows no fixed rule and pays little respect to notions of authority and tradition.

Works Cited

Aladro-Font, Jorge, and Ricardo Ramos Tremolada. 'Ausencia y presencia de Garcilaso en el *Quijote*'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 16, no. 2 (1996): 89–106.

Alighieri, Dante. *The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri: Inferno*, edited and translated by Robert M. Durling (New York: Oxford UP, 1996).

Anonymous. *Partonopeu de Blois*, edited by Olivier Collet and Pierre-Marie Joris (Paris: Le Livre de Poche, 2005).

Arata, Stefano. '*La conquista de Jerusalén*, Cervantes y la generación teatral de 1580'. *Criticón* 54 (1992): pp. 9–112.

Avalle-Arce, Juan Bautista. 'Cervantes and the Renaissance'. In *Cervantes and the Renaissance*, edited by Michael McGaha (Easton: Juan de la Cuesta, 1980), pp. 1–10.

Avalle-Arce, Juan Bautista. *El Amadís primitivo y el de Montalvo* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1990).

Avalle-Arce, Juan Bautista. *La novela pastoril española* (Madrid, Revista de Occidente, 1959).

Bakhtin, M. M. *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, edited by Michael Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981).

Bandera, Cesáreo. *Mimesis conflictiva* (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1975).

Boruchoff, David A. ' "Competir con Heliodoro": Cervantes y la crítica ante una leyenda'. In *USA Cervantes: 39 Cervantistas en Estados Unidos*, edited by Georgina Dopico Black and Francisco Layna Ranz (Madrid: Ediciones Polifemo, 2009), pp. 181–210.

Brownlee, Marina Scordilis. *The Severed Word: Ovid's* Heroides *and the Novela Sentimental* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990).

Canavaggio, Jean. *Cervantes*, translated by Mauro Armiño, 2nd edition (Barcelona: Espasa-Calpe, 1997).

Caporali, Cesari. *Rime di Cesare Caporali perugino dilegentemente corrette, colle osservazioni di Carlo Caporali* (Perugia: Mario Riginaldi, 1776).

Cascardi, Anthony J. *Cervantes, Literature, and the Discourse of Politics* (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 2012).

Castro, Américo. *El pensamiento de Cervantes* (Barcelona: Noguer, 1973).

Cervantes, Fernando. 'Cervantes in Italy: Christian Humanism and the Visual Impact of Renaissance Rome'. *Journal of the History of Ideas* 66 (2005): 325–50.

Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de. *Don Quixote*, translated by Edith Grossman (New York: Harper Collins, 2003).

Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de. *El ingenioso hidalgo don Quijote de la Mancha*, edited by L. A. Murillo, 2 vols. (Madrid: Castalia, 1978).

Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de. *La Galatea*, edited by Francisco López Estrada and María López García-Berdoy (Madrid: Cátedra, 1999).
Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de. *Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda*, edited by Carlos Romero Muñoz (Madrid: Cátedra, 2004).
Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de. *Novelas ejemplares*, edited by Harry Sieber, 2 vols. (Madrid: Cátedra, 2009).
Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de. *Viaje del Parnaso*, edited by Miguel Herrero García, revised by Abraham Madroñal (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2016).
Cravens, Sydney. 'Feliciano de Silva and His Romances of Chivalry in *Don Quijote*'. *INTI* 7 (1998): pp. 28–34.
Cruz, Anne J. *Discourses of Poverty: Social Reform and the Picaresque Novel in Early Modern Spain* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999).
De Armas, Frederick A. 'Captured in Ekphrasis: Cervantes and Ovid'. In *Approaches to Teaching the Works of Ovid and the Ovidian Tradition*, edited by Barbara Weiden Boyd and Cora Fox (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 2010), pp. 241–9.
De Armas, Frederick A. 'Cervantes and the Italian Renaissance'. In *Cambridge Companion to Cervantes*, edited by Anthony J. Cascardi (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2002), pp. 32–57.
De Armas, Frederick A. *Cervantes, Raphael and the Classics* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998).
De Armas, Frederick A. *The Invisible Mistress: Aspects of Feminism and Fantasy in the Golden Age* (Charlottesville: Biblioteca Siglo de Oro, 1976).
Doody, Margaret Anne. *The True Story of the Novel* (New Brunswick: Rutgers UP, 1996).
Dopico Black, Georgina. 'Canons Afire: Libraries, Books, and Bodies in Don Quixote's Spain'. In *Cervantes's Don Quixote: A Casebook*, edited by Roberto González Echevarría (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2005), pp. 95–124.
Dudley, Edward. '"¡O más dura que mármol a mis quexas!" Presencia intertextual de Garcilaso en *La Galatea* de Cervantes'. In *Literatura y pensamiento en España: Estudios en honor de Ciriaco Morón Arroyo*, edited by Francisco LaRubia-Prado (Newark: Juan de la Cuesta, 2003), pp. 15–32.
Eisenberg, Daniel. *Romances of Chivalry in the Spanish Golden Age* (Newark: Juan de la Cuesta, 1982).
Forcione, Alban K. *Cervantes and the Humanist Vision: A Study of Four Exemplary Novels* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1982).
Forcione, Alban K. *Cervantes, Aristotle, and the Persiles* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1970).
Fuchs, Barbara. '"A Italia la pluma": Ironia e imperio en las Novelas ejemplares'. In *USA Cervantes: 39 Cervantistas en Estados Unidos*, edited by Georgina Dopico Black and Francisco Layna Ranz (Madrid: Ediciones Polifemo, 2009), pp. 517–34.
Garcilaso de la Vega. *Obra poética y textos en prosa*, edited by Bienvenido Morros (Barcelona: Crítica, 1995).
Garst-Santos, Christine. 'Dorotea's Displacement: Performing the Possible in Early Modern Spain'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 31, no.2 (2011): pp. 51–84.
Gerli, E. Michael. *Refiguring Authority: Reading, Writing, and Rewriting in Cervantes* (Lexington: UP of Kentucky, 1995).
Girard, René. *Deceit, Desire, and the Novel*, translated by Yvonne Freccero (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1965).
Harney, Michael. 'The Spanish Lancelot-Grail Heritage'. In *A Companion to the Lancelot-Grail Cycle*, edited by Carol Dover (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2003), pp. 185–94.

Hart, Thomas R. *Cervantes and Ariosto: Renewing Fiction* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1989).
Hernández-Pecoraro, Rosilie. *Bucolic Metaphors: History, Subjectivity, and Gender in the Early Modern Spanish Pastoral* (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 2006).
Kahn, Aaron M. 'Even Further Towards a Theory of Attribution: Advancing the Cervantine Attribution of *La conquista de Jerusalén por Godofre de Bullón*'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 33, no.1 (2013): pp. 133–65.
Kahn, Aaron M. *The Ambivalence of Imperial Discourse: Cervantes's* La Numancia *within the 'Lost Generation' of Spanish Drama (1570-90)* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2008).
Kahn, Aaron M. 'Towards a Theory of Attribution: Is *La conquista de Jerusalén* by Miguel de Cervantes?' *Journal of European Studies* 40, no.2 (2010): pp. 99–128.
Lamberti, Mariapia. '"Un quídam Caporal italiano." Relaciones del Viaje del Parnaso de Cervantes con los antecedentes italianos'. *Cuadernos AISPI* 5 (2015): pp. 97–116.
Lida de Malkiel, María Rosa. 'Arthurian Literature in Spain and Portugal'. In *Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages: A Collaborative History*, edited by Roger Sherman Loomis (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959), pp. 405–18.
Lukács, Georg. *The Theory of the Novel*, translated by Anna Bostock (Cambridge: The M.I.T. Press, 1971).
Mancing, Howard. *The Chivalric World of* Don Quijote*: Style, Structure, and Narrative Technique* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1982).
Mazzotta, Giuseppe. *Cosmopoesis: The Renaissance Experiment* (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 2001).
McGaha, Michael. 'Cervantes and Virgil'. In *Cervantes and the Renaissance*, edited by McGaha (Easton: Juan de la Cuesta, 1980), pp. 34–50.
McKendrick, Melveena. *Theatre in Spain, 1490-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1989).
Monzó, Clara, editor. 'El Conde Partinuplés: Transcripción'. *Tirant* 16 (2013): pp. 409–68.
Muñoz Sánchez, Juan Ramón, '«Los vírgenes esposos del Persiles»: el episodio de Renato y Eusebia'. *Anales Cervantinos* XL (2008): pp. 205–28.
Navarrete, Ignacio. *Orphans of Petrarch: Poetry and Theory in the Spanish Renaissance* (Berkeley: U of California P, 1994).
Quint, David. *Cervantes's Novel of Modern Times: A New Reading of* Don Quijote (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003).
Quint, David. *Epic and Empire: Politics and Generic Form from Virgil to Milton* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1992).
Quint, David. *Origin and Originality in Renaissance Literature* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1983).
Rico, Francisco. *Problemas del Lazarillo* (Madrid: Cátedra, 1988).
Riley, E.C. *Cervantes's Theory of the Novel* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1962).
Rivers, Elias L. 'Cervantes's Journey to Parnassus'. *MLN* 85 (1970): pp. 243–8.
Rothstein, Marian. *Reading in the Renaissance:* Amadis de Gaule *and the Lessons of Memory* (Newark: U of Delaware P, 1999).
Sales Dasí, Emilio José. 'Las continuaciones heterodoxas (el Florisando [1510] de Páez de Ribera y el Lisuarte de Grecia [1526] de Juan Díaz) y ortodoxas (el Lisuarte de Grecia [1514] y el Amadís de Grecia [1530] de Feliciano de Silva) del Amadís de Gaula'. *Edad de Oro* 21 (2002): pp. 117–52.
Schevill, Rudolph. 'Ovid and the Renaissance in Spain', edited. by Charles M. Gayley, H.K. Schilling, and Rudolph Schevill. *University of California Publications in Modern Philology* 4 (1913): pp. 1–268.

Severin, Dorothy S. 'Diego de San Pedro's *Arnalte y Lucenda*: Subtext for the Cardenio Episode of Don Quixote'. In *Studies on the Spanish Sentimental Romance (1440-1550): Redefining a Genre*, edited by Joseph G. Gwara and E. Michael Gerli (London: Tamesis, 1997), pp. 145–50.

Spiller, Elizabeth. 'Cervantes Avant La Lettre: The Material Transformation of Romance Reading Culture in *Don Quijote*'. *Modern Language Quarterly* 60 (1999): pp. 295–319.

Spitzer, Leo. 'Linguistic Perspectivism in the *Don Quixote*'. In *Cervantes's Don Quixote: A Casebook*, edited by Roberto González Echevarría (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2005), pp. 163–216.

Triplette, Stacey. 'The Giants of Modernity from *Amadís* to *Don Quijote*'. *Bulletin of Spanish Studies* XCI (2014): pp. 819–45.

Vickers, Nancy. 'Diana Described: Scattered Woman and Scattered Rhyme'. *Critical Inquiry* 8 (1981): pp. 265–79.

Williamson, Edwin. *The Half-Way House of Fiction:* Don Quixote *and Arthurian Romance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984).

Wilson, Diana de Armas. *Allegories of Love: Cervantes's* Persiles and Sigismunda (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1991).

Wilson, Diana de Armas. *Cervantes, the Novel, and the New World* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2003).

Worden, William. 'Cervantes Transforms Ovid: The Dubious Metamorphoses in *Don Quixote*'. In *Ovid in the Age of Cervantes*, edited by Frederick A. De Armas (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 2010), pp. 116–36.

Zimic, Stanislav. *Los cuentos y las novelas del* Quijote (Madrid: Iberoaméricana Veruvert, 1998).

CHAPTER 24

CERVANTES AND LOPE DE VEGA

JONATHAN THACKER
Exeter College, University of Oxford

Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra and Lope Félix de Vega Carpio were the two most influential literary figures of early modern Spain. The former is celebrated as the father of the modern novel, an innovator in prose fiction, long and short, and creator of two characters, in Don Quixote and Sancho Panza, who have amused and enchanted readers consistently for over four hundred years. The latter is remembered as the father of Spanish Golden Age theatre and a popular and prolific poet. On the face of it, one might conclude that they complemented each other well and between them carved up the literary territories over which they were best suited to reign. Supporting evidence for such a neat generic division of the literary world might be found in Cervantes's decision to publish eight of his plays 'nunca representados' ['never before performed'], which appeared in print in 1615. To describe them thus was a laconic, coded concession that no actor-manager would buy them from him, a fact which was made explicit in the same year in the author's 'Adjunta al Parnaso': 'ni los autores me buscan ni yo los voy a buscar a ellos' ['the actor-managers do not seek me out and neither am I going to go looking for them'].[1] Lope de Vega's admission in 1621, when he published his *Novelas a Marcia Leonarda*, that 'nunca pensé que el novelar entrara en mi pensamiento' ['I never thought that the idea of writing *novelas* would enter my head'] and that Cervantes wrote them with 'gracia y estilo' ['verve and style'] would also seem to support this overarching interpretation.[2] However, such a conclusion would be misleading and would mask an intriguing, deep, productive, and at times unsavoury relationship between the two men and their work.

There are two aspects to this relationship, though they overlap: on the one hand, the personal, and on the other, the professional and more purely literary engagement of the

[1] Cervantes, *Viage del Parnaso*, p. 201. All translations are mine unless otherwise noted.
[2] Vega, *Novelas*…, p. 106.

two men. The former may at first appear to be no more than a bitter-sweet curiosity within the extant biographical material, but in fact it amounts to more than that. The latter covers both their expressions of mutual admiration and the clash of their principles and philosophies and speaks eloquently to the direction which Spanish Golden Age literature—including drama—was to take from the late sixteenth century. Indeed, the very creation of the modern novel can be said to have emerged from their differences. After beginning, then, with an exploration of the more personal side to the interaction between these two ambitious writers, this chapter will move on to examine the way in which their literary output was shaped by the failure or success of the other on the *corral* [playhouse] boards or in the Madrid bookshops.

Cervantes was born in 1547, only fifteen years before Lope de Vega, but the worlds they grew up in looked remarkably different from each other in several regards. The novelist's birth-place, Alcalá de Henares, only some twenty miles from Madrid, was the seat of the medieval Complutense University, which had become a renowned centre of Spanish humanist learning in the early sixteenth century. Alcalá, however, was about to fall into the shadow cast by Philip II's new capital, Madrid, which grew rapidly from 1561, attracting thousands of new residents from Spain and beyond. Lope, born in 1562, was the son of one couple who had followed the court, his father making a living as an embroiderer. Along with the new centre and the new monarch—Charles V (Charles I of Spain) had abdicated in favour of his son, Philip, in 1556—came new policies and attitudes; for example, in Philip II's responses to the threats of Lutheranism in Spain. J. H. Elliott writes of the period, 'these were the years [1556–63] in which Renaissance Spain, wide open to European humanist influences, was effectively transformed into the semi-closed Spain of the Counter-Reformation'.[3] Cervantes would have grown up conscious of these changes, though the family moved around and did not stay in Alcalá, whereas Lope was a child of the post-Tridentine world of Philip II.

The settling and consolidation of the court in the new capital provided favourable conditions for the emergence of the professional entertainer and also the professional author. Though individual patrons continued to reward writers, including dramatists, with their support, they were no longer vital for their survival. The printing press had come of age, there was a mass audience in the burgeoning cities of the peninsula, communication was comparatively quick, and there were entrepreneurs keen to invest, turn a profit, and be successful. Success in the world of playwriting brought fame and fortune, but it was necessary to get the ingredients right in this quickly-changing sphere. The experience that Cervantes had had watching theatre as a youth, in the late 1550s and early 1560s, quickly became an object of nostalgic reminiscence. In the prologue to his published plays, from 1615, he recalled seeing perform with his company the itinerant actor-manager, the 'gran Lope de Rueda, varón insigne en la representación y en el entendimiento' ['the great Lope de Rueda, a man outstanding in both his performing and his intelligence'].[4] Rueda was a goldbeater by trade whose troupe would set up a makeshift stage, perform, and move on. However, within twenty years of Cervantes's

[3] Elliott, p. 217. [4] Cervantes, *Entremeses*, p. 91.

witnessing Rueda's players' dramatic entertainments, permanent playhouses had been established in Seville, in Madrid, and in other Spanish cities and an industry was evolving quickly. Going to the theatre had changed completely as an experience in less than a generation.

By contrast then, amongst Lope's first dramatic experiences in his native city would have been that of applauding the highly developed theatre of the Italians, notably the *commedia dell'arte* actors led by the famous Ganassa, who was instrumental in the professionalizing of the industry in Spain.[5] In the 1580s he would have also seen works in the new theatres by tragedians such as Andrés Rey de Artieda, Cristóbal de Virués, Lupercio Leonardo de Argensola, and Miguel de Cervantes himself, newly ransomed from his Algerian enslavement and keen to make a name for himself as a dramatist. These figures took their inspiration from classical writers, notably Seneca, and neo-Aristotelian theory, but their work did not capture the imagination of the new broader audiences in the *corrales*. The failure of this generation to maximise the potential of the *corral* stage and fully win over the mass public was one of the catalysts for Lope de Vega's conception of a new mixed kind of theatre, the *comedia nueva*. Herein lay the germ of a later aesthetic disagreement between the two men, and in the birth of Lope's anti-classical *comedia* one starts to glimpse the principal source of their rivalry.

At first, however, the apparent clash of Cervantes's backward-looking drama and Lope de Vega's progressive plays does not seem to have been a cause of animosity—literary or personal—between the two men. Despite the age gap they had much in common, though it is not known how well they knew each other in the final two decades of the sixteenth century as each strove for literary success. The pursuit of a writerly vocation—evident very early in Lope's life—had been delayed in Cervantes's case, because of his military career, including service at Lepanto, and his subsequent captivity in Algiers. Born not far apart in Castile, both men also had connections with Andalusia and might have been there simultaneously in 1602.[6] Cervantes certainly spent time in and around Seville in the 1580s, requisitioning supplies for the Armada, with which Lope might have sailed. Neither man studied at a university and both were largely self-taught, though their attitude to erudition was markedly different, as we shall see. Both had trouble with the authorities; Lope was exiled from the court and from Castile, and Cervantes was imprisoned on two or more occasions in Seville when he was a tax-collector. Both were humbly born, though whilst Lope brazenly attempted to climb socially, Cervantes gives the impression of being more content with his station in life. Both apparently became more pious as they grew older.

The evidence for cordial personal relations between the two writers comes firstly from their own works from the period in which they praise each other, and secondly from the preliminaries to others' works to which they both contributed laudatory verses.

[5] Shergold, p. 368. We know, from his trial for libel in 1587–8, that Lope spent time in the theatre watching the Italian actors (see Thacker, *A Companion*…, p. 4).

[6] See Pedraza, pp. 25–8.

In his pastoral romance, *La Galatea*, published in 1585 (but approved for publication in February 1584), Cervantes includes Lope amongst the several dozen contemporary poets who deserve mention for their quality:

> Muestra en un ingenio la experiencia
> que en años verdes y en edad temprana
> hace su habitación así la ciencia,
> como en la edad madura, antigua y cana.
> No entraré con alguno en competencia
> que contradiga una verdad tan llana,
> y más si acaso a sus oídos llega
> que lo digo por vos, Lope de Vega.[7]
>
> [Experience demonstrates, in the shape of one particular talent,
> that knowledge may reside amongst green years
> and in the time of a man's youth
> as readily as in that of maturity, old age and white hair.
> I should not concur with anyone
> who were to contradict so plain a truth,
> and especially if he were to hear
> that I have you in mind, Lope de Vega.]

The praise is perhaps a little faint when compared to that offered up to some of the other figures eulogised in the *octavas* of the 'Canto de Calíope' section of this, Cervantes's first major published work, but there is certainly no animosity and Lope is then a young poet making his mark.[8]

In his own pastoral romance, *La Arcadia* (1598), Lope returns the favour, including Cervantes amongst the many portraits of literary and other important figures of the day uncovered in the palace by Anfriso and Frondoso, the bold shepherds.[9] Cervantes does not contribute a sonnet to Lope's published works before 1602, but conclusions cannot safely be drawn from his absence from these early works' preliminaries. What evidence there is suggests that the two men entertained cordial relations when in Madrid or coinciding elsewhere during the period (Lope is exiled from the capital between 1588 and 1595). Lope referred to *La Galatea* and its author in at least one early work for the stage, *La viuda valenciana*, written around 1599 (though not published until 1620).[10] Otón, who has fallen for the young Valencian widow, Leonarda, disguises himself and attempts to sell her some books:

[7] Cervantes, *La Galatea*, pp. 572–3.

[8] Lope was not one of the writers who wrote laudatory verses for the publication of the *Galatea*, though he was at least on the fringes of the circle of writers—which included Cervantes—examined by Marín Cepeda, 'hombres de letras que formaban un grupo literario en torno al futuro cardenal italiano Ascanio Colonna' ['men of letters who formed a literary circle around the future Italian cardinal Ascanio Colonna'] (p. 13).

[9] Vega, *Arcadia*, p. 425.

[10] See Ferrer's introduction to Vega, *La viuda*, pp. 22–3.

Aquéste es la *Galatea*,
que si buen libro desea,
no tiene más que pedir.
Fue su autor Miguel Cervantes,
que allá en la Naval perdió
una mano…[11]

[This one is *La Galatea*
and, if you want a good book,
look no further.
Its author was Miguel Cervantes
who lost a hand in the sea
battle (of Lepanto)…]

The book is recommended highly by the character and Cervantes is known and admired as the patriotic hero who was wounded, risking his life in the Mediterranean, in battle against the Turks.

During the late 1580s, as Lope was developing his dramatic formula in Madrid and just before his exile, both men contributed laudatory verses to the preliminaries of works by other writers they knew: Fray Pedro Padilla, López Maldonado, and the doctor, Francisco Díaz, who had written a treatise on illnesses of the kidney and bladder.[12] The most interesting of the eulogistic texts, however, is Cervantes's sonnet in the preliminaries to the 1602 Madrid edition of Lope's epic poem on the figure of Sir Francis Drake, *La Dragontea*. Cervantes puns on Lope's family name, Vega [meadow], 'Yace en la parte que es mejor de España / un apacible y siempre verde vega' ['There lies in the better part of Spain / a peaceful and ever green meadow'], and demonstrates a good knowledge of the younger poet's recent publications 'de ángeles, de armas, santos, y pastores' ['of angels, of arms, saints, and shepherds'].[13] The sonnet was not included in the first edition of the work (Valencia, 1598), but Cervantes might have provided the paean either in 1602 in Seville or later that year when both writers were in Madrid, as Pedraza speculates. It remains in place in later editions even after the souring of relations between the two men.[14]

It is not known for certain what caused the rupture in these mutually respectful relations, a rupture that was manifest by 1604. There might have been a particular incident that upset one of them; Lope might have associated Cervantes with poets from Seville who had begun to attack him; the former's social climbing may have irritated the older man as it annoyed others, such as Lope's close contemporary, the Cordoban poet, Luis de Góngora; or perhaps the undoubted victory of the *comedia nueva* in the theatres of the peninsula with its side-lining of the *arte antiguo* [old art] of playwriting, to which Cervantes adhered fruitlessly in the 1590s, overwhelmed him. Despite the 1585 publication of the *Galatea* (a mixture of prose and verse as befitted the pastoral genre) Cervantes had been and probably still thought of himself primarily as a playwright; certainly that

[11] Vega, *La viuda*, ll. 846–51.
[12] See Pedraza, pp. 22–4, for details and some of the texts.
[13] For Lope's strategic publishing and courtly ambitions of this period, see Wright.
[14] See Pedraza, pp. 28–30, for the full text of the sonnet and critical speculation surrounding it.

was where the money was to be made for a writer at the time, and he was short of it. In 1592 he had signed a contract to deliver six plays to Rodrigo Osorio, though he is unlikely to have fulfilled his side of the deal.[15] Cervantes's wistfulness in the aforementioned prologue to his published plays, written in 1615, perhaps results from a mellowing of his once painful memories of rejection at the hands of the professional actor-managers during the time of animosity with Lope:

> Algunos años ha que volví yo a mi antigua ociosidad, y pensando que aún duraban los siglos donde corrían mis alabanzas, volví a componer algunas comedias; pero no hallé pájaros en los nidos de antaño; quiero decir que no hallé autor que me las pidiese, puesto que sabían que las tenía.[16]
>
> [Some years ago I returned to my former leisure and, thinking that the times when my stock was high were still with us, I went back to writing plays. But I found no birds in the nests of yesteryear; I mean I found no actor-manager who would ask me for the plays, though they knew I had them.]

By 1615, in his old age and having finally achieved literary fame, he has come to terms with the success of 'el monstruo de naturaleza, el gran Lope de Vega [que] alzóse con la monarquía cómica'[17] ['the freak of nature, the great Lope de Vega (who) carried off the theatrical crown'], but in 1604 he felt that he was fighting Lope's predominance in a battle for his own literary future. In this context it would not have been difficult for anyone to resent Lope and find reasons to despise him.

The ill-feeling between the writers is most evident in three sources: first, in a (private) letter to an unknown recipient written by Lope in 1604, after he has apparently read *Don Quixote*, which expresses a view that must have been widely known in the academies and literary circles of Madrid and beyond; second, in Cervantes's (public) prologue to the first part of his great novel; and third, in an exchange of anonymous sonnets, one an attack on Lope's most recent literary posturing and production, and the second a response aimed at Cervantes's work and personal life.

To start with the letter: writing of *poetas* [poets / playwrights], Lope avers: 'ninguno hay tan malo como Cervantes ni tan necio que alabe a *Don Quijote*' ['there is none so bad as Cervantes and none so foolish as to write laudatory verses for his *Don Quixote*'].[18] In the same candid mood he admits that Cervantes despises his plays but that if anyone thinks he writes them for the good opinion of others he should be disabused: he does it for the money. This second admission is interesting; it suggests that Cervantes's criticism of the *comedia nueva* (possibly in the guise of the canon of Toledo in *Don Quixote* I.47–8, possibly in other fora) has irked Lope. As in his later *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias en este tiempo* (published in 1609, but delivered earlier as a speech to an academy), Lope is rather defensive about his rejection of neoclassical norms. In public at the time he would never have mentioned writing for money rather than the glory of a place on

[15] García Reidy, p. 90. [16] Cervantes, *Entremeses*, p. 93. [17] Cervantes, *Entremeses*, p. 93.
[18] Vega, *Cartas*, p. 68.

Parnassus, and the insight suggests that he is aware that some of Cervantes's reservations about the quality of the theatre, to which he has acted as midwife, are valid. Lope is certainly stung by the way he is portrayed in Cervantes's 1605 novel.

We might never learn what slight or fit of pique led to Lope and his friends and acolytes refusing to write poems in praise of this novel, but it was a deep-seated falling out, and more than an aesthetic disagreement. One theory has it that Lope saw the very figure of Don Quixote as a caricature of him. In his early *romances* [ballads] he had lived out his frustrations and jealous passion in a public fashion through grandiose literary alter egos—Zaide, and Azarque, and Gazul, who slashes his rival in two, as Don Quixote often aims to do.[19] Whatever the truth of this (and of course the novel is, from the start, much more than a clever personal vendetta) Lope is the unnamed but obvious target in both the prologue and the canon of Toledo's literary discussion with the priest in the two late chapters of Part I.

It seems unlikely to have been at Cervantes's invitation that Lope read *Don Quixote* in 1604 in advance of its publication. He must have seen it or heard about it through a mutual acquaintance, perhaps someone who *was* being asked for a preliminary sonnet. It is fair to assume that the prologue was written just before publication and after Cervantes's decision that, in the absence of contributions from his fellow poets, he would write the laudatory poems to his work himself in the guise of praise for Don Quixote from the likes of Amadís de Gaula, Belianís de Grecia, and Orlando Furioso. Thus it would have been the content of the novel itself that offended Lope, and the prologue became a chance for Cervantes to hit out at his rival. Perhaps Lope did see *ad hominem* satire in the way Don Quixote arms himself and rides out against anyone perceived to have slighted his lady Dulcinea. He would have known for certain that he was the 'felicísimo ingenio destos reinos' ['brilliant Spanish genius'] praised for his abilities but also implicitly criticized for failing to adhere to some basic rules of playwriting, and thus helping to produce the works for the stage which are 'espejos de diparates, ejemplos de necedades e imágenes de lascivia' ['mirrors of absurdity, exemplars of folly and images of lewdness'].[20] The priest's lengthy and thorough-going critique of the *comedia nueva* is taken by scholars to coincide with Cervantes's views on drama at the time. It pulls no punches and the dispensation of Lope from the worst excesses of the contemporary playwrights does not exempt him from blame: 'y por querer acomodarse al gusto de los representantes, no han llegado todas, como han llegado algunas, al punto de la perfección que requieren'[21] ['yet his urge to comply with the actors' taste has meant that not all his plays have reached the required pitch of perfection, although some certainly

[19] The two studies that suggest as much are by Millé y Giménez and López Navío. Their different theories are discussed by Pedraza, pp. 63–77, who, whilst sceptical of the detail, does believe that Lope's hostile reaction to *Don Quixote* can be explained by parallels between himself and the parodic protagonist of the novel. Examples of the ballads from the 1580s in which Lope dramatizes himself (and for which he was mocked) can be found in Vega, *Lírica*, pp. 70–81. See also Close, p. 346.

[20] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, p. 555 and p. 553. Translations from *Don Quixote* are taken from Rutherford's version, *Don Quixote*, p. 445 and p. 444.

[21] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, pp. 555–6; p. 446.

have']. Cervantes would undoubtedly have known that Lope would take the priest's words personally because he knew the petulant and egocentric personality of the younger man, one which is still easily glimpsed today in Lope's own defensive prologues and dedications.

Cervantes's literary isolation is a feature of the prologue to the 1605 *Don Quixote*. He burns any remaining bridges with Lope and his powerful literary supporters in what Close calls a 'brilliantly witty' prologue and 'the bitchiest piece Cervantes ever wrote'. He goes on: 'the references to other writers, particularly Lope de Vega, are insistent, specific, and recognizable, and are continued in the burlesque preliminary verses'.[22] Close explains the anxieties behind Cervantes's prologue convincingly in terms of the relationship between the two great writers and in particular the soon-to-be-novelist's failure as a dramatist. Through his self-presentation as a simple, self-deprecating soul who has come up with a comic tale and his invention of a facetious friend to give him advice on how to introduce it, Cervantes both justifies his own aesthetic judgement and ridicules the tendencies of his rival. He explains to his friend that *Don Quixote* will emerge 'falta de toda erudición y doctrina, sin acotaciones en las márgenes y sin anotaciones en el fin del libro' ['lacking all erudition and instruction, without any marginalia or endnotes'],[23] in short, what makes readers admire authors and take them for learned and eloquent men. He has in mind, then, the 'parade of pedantry and moralizing without artistic justification'[24] that he perceives in the work of less disciplined writers and, concretely, Lope's recent publications, the *Arcadia*, *El Isidro* (1599), and *El peregrino en su patria* (1604), which contain often abundant marginalia, alphabetical tables, and indices. Everybody knew that Lope was making use of Renaissance compendia, such as that by Ravisius Textor, and that his erudition was skin deep, but, defeated as a playwright and threatened as a prose writer, especially by the appearance of *El peregrino*, Cervantes, in a 'paranoid reaction', was in a mood to underline the fact.[25]

The other surviving evidence of mutual animosity in this period comes in the form of the abovementioned sonnets. These were not published but circulated in manuscript. The first is a sarcastic attack, most likely composed in 1604, on everything Lope had published since 1598, including the sonnets in the *Rimas* (1604), the epic poems and prose miscellanies already mentioned, and the first of his dramatic works, which had emerged in 1603 in Lisbon and in the *Parte primera* in 1604 in Zaragoza.[26] The riposte from Lope (or one of his followers) is savage and aimed squarely at Cervantes. It might be the poem the novelist refers to in the 'Adjunta al Parnaso', as having been delivered to his door in Valladolid, and, if so, the memory of it obviously still hurt him ten years later in 1614.[27] In the sonnet, Cervantes is ridiculed for pretending to be able to compete with

[22] Close, p. 97. See Rico's edition of *Don Quijote* for elucidation and discussion of the first of the preliminary verses, 'Al libro *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, Urganda la desconocida', which includes attacks on Lope's presumption and pseudo-erudition (Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, pp. 21–4).

[23] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, p. 11; p. 12. [24] Close, p. 99. [25] Close, p. 116.

[26] Both sonnets are reproduced in full and discussed in Pedraza, from where sections of them are cited (pp. 34–40). Whether Cervantes wrote the first one or not, the rejoinder has him in its sights.

[27] Cervantes, *Viage del Parnaso*, pp. 202–3.

Lope, he is accused of being a cuckold, and his mutilation at the battle of Lepanto is mocked: 'Para que no escribieses, orden fue / del cielo que mancases en Corfú' ['Heaven ordained that you lose your hand in Corfu to stop you from writing']. Finally even Don Quixote himself is lampooned:

> Y ese tu Don Quijote baladí,
> de culo en culo por el mundo va,
> vendiendo especias y azafrán romí,
> y al fin en muladares parará.
>
> [And your Don Quixote, he's pathetic;
> he goes around the world from arse to arse,
> selling spices and bastard saffron,
> and will end up on a dung-heap.]

The personal animosity between Lope and Cervantes was never again as fierce. In some of his mature plays, notably *La dama boba*, written in 1613, Lope alludes to Cervantes's work, usually in fact the figure of Don Quixote, as many other dramatists did. (Ironically, given his own literary trajectory, several of Cervantes's prose works were adapted for the stage by contemporary dramatists.) And after the older writer's death in 1616, Lope shows mainly respect for his erstwhile rival's literary legacy and pedigree, recalling him, for example, as one of the good poets of the 1580s in his 1632 prose dialogue, *La Dorotea*.[28] And Cervantes's late prologues are more mellow affairs with even his scorn for the anonymous writer, known as Alonso Fernández de Avellaneda, who produced a sequel to *Don Quixote* in 1614, kept under control. By this time there is no paranoia and his own literary fame is established: *Don Quixote* has become a best-seller, and its author is enjoying an Indian summer. We shall return to the two Part IIs of *Don Quixote*—the one written by 'Avellaneda', this supporter of Lope, and Cervantes's own, from 1615—along with their prologues in due course, since their engagement principally takes place on a literary rather than a personal ground.

The two areas are difficult to separate: Cervantes's most hostile personal attack comes in 1604 when he feels most vulnerable as a writer, as we have seen. However, it is enlightening to trace the aesthetic differences that exacerbated the writers' animosity—and which could be used personally—and to do so we must first return to the theatre in the 1580s.

As McKendrick states of late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Spain, 'drama and poetry were the two connected areas of artistic endeavour which dominated literary output and in which literary reputations were made'.[29] In the mid-1580s Cervantes was confident that he was forging a reputation as a *poeta* of the dramatic variety, and he must have at least dreamed of a long career as a playwright with the relative financial security

[28] Vega, *La Dorotea*, p. 325. As we have already seen Lope also praised Cervantes's abilities as a *novela* writer in 1621 when he assayed the form himself at the behest of his last great love, Marta de Nevares.

[29] McKendrick, p. 131.

that the profession was starting to bring in the period.[30] In his potted history of Spanish theatre, which gives a structure to the prologue to his plays published in 1615, he refers back to this time 'que se vieron en los teatros de Madrid representar *Los tratos de Argel*, que yo compuse; *La destrucción de Numancia* y *La batalla naval*' ['which saw in the Madrid theatres performances of *The Traffic of Algiers*, which I wrote; *The Destruction of Numancia* and *The Naval Battle*'].[31] He claims that he wrote twenty or thirty plays that were not badly received and that he was a dramatic innovator in several important respects. Whether Cervantes was 'slow to understand that the new commercial theatre . . . could contrive to combine popularity with art'[32] or whether he remained deliberately, obstinately aloof from the new trends as the voices of the priest and canon of Toledo in *Don Quixote* might suggest, his dramatic career faltered. He might indeed have had other things to do, as he claims in the prologue, but it is difficult to imagine him wanting to leave Madrid at the time when Lope was becoming popular if he was making money from the theatre, as his rival certainly was.

Lope de Vega's early and then sustained, long-term success in the *corrales* is the most significant stimulus for Cervantes's carefully worded comments on theatrical aesthetics, notably in this prologue to his *Ocho comedias*, in *Don Quixote* I.47–8, in the 'Adjunta al Parnaso', and in the opening to Act Two of his play, *El rufián dichoso*. Indeed Cervantes's whole literary direction in the second phase of his career as a writer was affected by the reach and power of Lope's quill. This does not mean, of course, that it should be read as merely that, but it is rather that Cervantes built into his own aesthetic knowledge of a competing one more in thrall to the market-place. The reluctant move away from playwriting did not affect his theorizing, however. The insistence of Cervantes's aesthetic engagement with his fellow writers and his own frequent formal experimentation reveal his undoubted concern with what constituted good art and, at first, this was associated with, though not slavishly dependent upon, neoclassical theories. Plato's anxiety about the role of the poet in society, Aristotle's writings about history and poetry and tragedy (with its differentiation from comedy), Horace's advice concerning the balance between entertaining and instructing, Cicero's analogy of the theatre to a mirror, and Seneca's dramatic practice were all influential. Cervantes's instincts, perhaps thanks to the more humanist outlook of his youth, were to look backwards for inspiration and a tragedy such as *El cerco de Numancia*, in which the influence of classical drama, including Seneca, is obvious, has helped to consolidate the impression of the dramatist's *preceptista* [prescriptively neoclassical] inclinations. In fact, although we do not have enough evidence to prove it in Cervantes's case, in his drama of the period he was probably searching for a successful blend that would satisfy both the *discretos* [the educated audience] and the *vulgo* [the masses]. This was certainly the case for his admired contemporary, Cristóbal de Virués, more of whose plays from the period are extant.[33] It was Lope de Vega, though, who gradually developed the formula that appealed to a broad

[30] See García Reidy, especially Chapters 2 and 3, on the economics of the theatre in the Golden Age.
[31] Cervantes, *Entremeses*, p. 92. *La batalla naval* is now lost.
[32] McKendrick, p. 131.
[33] See Thacker, *A Companion* . . . , pp. 18–20.

audience and he enjoyed the fruits of victory, leaving other writers frustrated and in some cases in vindictive mood.

The impasse between the two dramatists in this period, then, should not be oversimplified, as it sometimes is, and presented as a stand-off between a dyed-in-the-wool classicist and a crowd-pleasing modernizer.[34] Lope was able to see from going to the theatre that the old division between comedy and tragedy was restrictive and off-putting to the contemporary audience, particularly in the limitations it placed on the subject matter to be dramatized. He was inspired to rework Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, to plunder stories and themes from the popular ballads and Spanish history, to set plays in rural Spain amongst the peasants, to explore themes of love and honour and of kingship, and to be topical. He gradually perfected the figure of the *gracioso* [the comic servant] and also for a time 'cultivated the figure of the sage and witty madman'.[35] Cervantes, if he does speak through the priest and canon of Toledo as he seems to, by no means rejects all of these reforms, but he does object to the carelessness of the art when it is bad and, in particular, offences against 'his two major literary principles, decorum and verisimilitude'.[36] Cervantes always writes for a thoughtful audience or reader and dislikes a lowering of aesthetic standards as well as overt moralizing and didacticism, a quarrel he had with some picaresque works. How, he wonders, can one take seriously a work of art which one cannot respect in even fundamental ways? How can one learn from something one knows is wrong in some regard? The priest's response to the canon of Toledo in *Don Quixote* I.48 is the best expression of this attitude and a sense of the argument can be gleaned from the following excerpt:

> …y fundándose la comedia sobre cosa fingida, atribuirle verdades de historia y mezclarle pedazos de otras sucedidas a diferentes personas y tiempos, y esto no con trazas verisímiles, sino con patentes errores, de todo punto inexcusables… Pues ¿qué, si venimos a las comedias divinas? ¡Qué de milagros falsos fingen en ellas, qué de cosas apócrifas y mal entendidas, atribuyendo en un santo los milagros de otro!
>
> […and although the play is based on fictitious actions, historical veracity is claimed for it, and bits and pieces of other histories involving different people and periods are mixed in, and without any attempt at verisimilitude either, but with obvious mistakes that are quite inexcusable… And what about plays on religious subjects? How many false miracles they invent, how many apocryphal and misunderstood events, with the miracles of one saint attributed to another!][37]

[34] See Henry, pp. 1–14 and Thacker, '"Véote…"', pp. 206–11, for fuller discussions of critical responses to Cervantes's theatre and relevant bibliography. Indeed, on at least one occasion, in 1599, Lope seems to have used one of Cervantes's early plays, *El trato de Argel*, as a source for his own *Los cautivos de Argel*. In his introduction, the modern editor of Lope's play, Natalio Ohanna, calls this engagement 'el más prolongado diálogo intertextual entre dos de las figuras mayores de las letras áureas', Vega, *Los cautivos*…, pp. 14–15.

[35] Close, p. 98. [36] Close, p. 112.

[37] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, p. 554; pp. 444–5.

When Cervantes composes plays taken from his own imagination, he tends not to alienate his audience with impossible or unlikely events or unrealistic characters, a 'viejo valiente y un mozo cobarde, un lacayo retórico, un paje consejero, un rey ganapán y una princesa fregona' ['an old man who's courageous and a young one who's a coward, a lackey who's a great orator, a page who's a counsellor, a king who's a porter and a princess who's a cleaning-woman'].[38] In his only *comedia divina* [religious play], *El rufián dichoso*, Cervantes takes pains in his stage directions, to the point of pedantry, to demonstrate that he is following his sources, and he justifies the move from Spain to Mexico, between Acts One and Two, with a conversation between the personified Comedia and Curiosidad. Characteristically—and paradoxically—he discusses and defends, with a bold piece of metatheatre, the formal liberty his audience might believe him to be taking in his play.

The fact that Cervantes singles Lope out as superior to his followers, as we have noted, and that he feels that he has produced some fine plays, should help underline the fact that it is not novelty itself that Cervantes deplores. He never tires of questioning generic boundaries himself in prose and poetry. His own *Ocho comedias* of 1615 (of which *El rufián dichoso* is one) are quite distinct from his *Numancia* and they contain a lot of variety and experimentation. McKendrick has it that in this collection 'he reworked some of his old plays and possibly wrote a few new ones, making concessions to the spirit of the new drama, but no actor-manager would perform them'.[39] Indeed, some probably are rewritten, turned from early four-act pieces to three-act ones, but they *engage* with Lope and the *comedia nueva* rather than conceding ground. They remain the products of a sceptical and independent mind.

What Henry calls the '"anti-Lope" aspects of Cervantes's drama',[40] this engagement with the now dominant generic norms of the *comedia nueva* is present in a variety of ways in the *Ocho comedias*, cleverly incorporated into the themes and maybe the purpose of the drama too. Thus, the strained relationship with Lope's dramatic production allowed Cervantes's theatre to blossom at the same time as it fails to find an audience. It emerges in part as a response to the perceived artistic failings of the dominant genre as a few brief examples will demonstrate.

In *Pedro de Urdemalas*, Cervantes dramatizes scenes in the life of an established folkloric figure. The play resembles a Lopean *comedia nueva* on the page—it is polymetric and in three acts, and its title is even identical to one of a similar period probably by Lope. However, the dramatist pointedly ignores Lope's fundamental advice from his *Arte nuevo* that a play's story 'de ninguna manera sea episódica' ['should in no way be episodic'].[41] Instead we have a series of barely linked vignettes from Pedro's picaresque life. Additionally, the main love story, between the *galán* [male lead] Clemente, and the *dama* [female lead] Clemencia, is resolved at the end of Act One; a potential love interest for Pedro, that might have provided a structuring narrative, dissolves; the king and queen are reduced to Punch-and-Judy-like figures; and at the end, in a Cervantine

[38] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, p. 553; p. 444.
[39] McKendrick, p. 131.
[40] Henry, p. 6.
[41] Vega, *Arte nuevo*, p. 15.

mise-en-abîme, the protagonist becomes an actor.[42] The work Pedro's troupe is about to perform as the play closes 'no acaba en casamiento, / cosa común y vista cien mil veces' ['doesn't end in marriage as is usual and witnessed a hundred thousand times before'].[43] We glimpse here the author's frustration with the status quo, but the novel form of his play also contributes to its message about the individual's search for identity in life, the failure of life to conform to norms, and even the power of theatricality and pretence.

El rufián dichoso can also be seen as a conscious engagement with Lope's dramatic form. Cervantes seems deliberately to challenge a whole series of Lope's recommendations set out in the *Arte nuevo* in what begins to look like parody; *inter alia*, he again depends on an episodic development of the story, he sets up and then cursorily abandons an honour plot (so popular with Golden Age audiences), he undermines Lope's norms on the use of verse forms and character types, and he allows years to pass between the acts.[44] In *La entretenida*, there are similar attempts to parody Lope and engage with his dramatic aesthetic, often again by refusing to bow to the generic norms of a *comedia* type—here the *comedia de capa y espada* [cape and sword play]. Indeed Zimic, who explores this process, attributes the attack on Cervantes in the prologue to the spurious part II of *Don Quixote*, in which he thinks Lope had a big hand, directly to Cervantes's parodic intentions in *La entretenida*.[45] And a fourth play from the *Ocho comedias*, *La casa de los celos y selvas de Ardenia*, is also, argues Marcela Trambaioli, a deep and parodic engagement with another subgenre of Lope's *comedia*, on this occasion it is a 'diálogo intertextual con el teatro de abolengo ariostesco de Lope' ['an intertextual dialogue with Lope's plays inspired by Ariosto'].[46] Though, in this case, the parody seems evident, this critic believes that both men are in fact feeling their way formally as they experiment with using novelesque material as the basis for drama.[47]

This last point is important. Trambaioli demonstrates that specific cases of Cervantine parody of Lope's early theatre are manifest and visible, even when Cervantes is likely to have seen these plays in the theatre rather than to have read them.[48] Nevertheless, Cervantes's parody, just as in the case of *Don Quixote* and the romances of chivalry, is not aimed merely at destroying a popular genre. It is wittily corrective and constructive in both cases. Cervantes does not think that the *comedia nueva*, child of Lope's popular success, is good enough or ambitious enough artistically but his own intertextual engagement with it helps him to discover and develop his own dramatic voice and style, encouraging him towards a new understanding of what theatre can be and do. This is a productive quarrel with Lope and his dominant dramatic form. Despite his life-long love of the stage, Cervantes becomes resigned to failure within his time but does not disappear quietly or turn against the theatre as one of his contemporaries, Lupercio Leonardo de Argensola, did when he experienced similar misgivings.[49]

[42] See Thacker, *A Companion*…, pp. 59–61, for a fuller discussion of these aspects of the play.
[43] Cervantes, *Pedro de Urdemalas*, ll. 3169–70.
[44] See Thacker, '"Véote…"', for an in-depth examination of Cervantes's aims in this play.
[45] Zimic, p. 118. [46] Trambaioli, p. 417.
[47] Trambaioli, p. 425. [48] Trambaioli, p. 421.
[49] See Close, p. 111. The text of Argensola's anti-theatre submission to Philip II can be found in Cotarelo, pp. 65–8.

Does he, though, have his eye on the future, a post-Lopean world in which a new, more satisfying brand of theatre can pull in an audience? In the 'Adjunta al Parnaso' the fictionalized Miguel wistfully notes that 'las comedias tienen sus sazones y tiempos' ['plays have their seasons and their times'].[50] And in recent years, scholars such as Canavaggio, Friedman, González Maestro, and Henry have argued in different ways in their monographs for the 'modernidad' [modernity] of his drama.[51] Thus, Henry, to take the most recent example, understands Cervantes's theatre as engaged with Lope—of course—but as revealing a 'counter-perspective aesthetic'. The dramatist is fundamentally concerned with freedom and identity so that, she argues, in two of the plays we have mentioned, *Pedro de Urdemalas* and *El rufián dichoso*, what is conveyed is 'that life itself is a set of performances which requires astute aptitude for acting, sharp perception and the ability to distinguish between reality and illusion'.[52]

By the time Cervantes published his plays in 1615 (and indeed the *Viaje del Parnaso* in 1614) he could afford to smile and to downplay the strength of his past feelings about his failure to conquer the *corral*. It had turned out that in the ten years since his anxious and spiky prologue to the first part of *Don Quixote*, he had won success and admiration as a novelist and short story writer instead, even beyond Spain. This was an ironic twist in the literary relations between the two writers and one whose consequences are still with us. While Lope remained extremely popular in Spain during his lifetime and for the rest of the seventeenth century, his plays were often later reworked into *refundiciones* [rehashings] and, unlike Shakespeare's, his fame diminished inside his native country and never expanded far beyond its borders. Cervantes, by contrast, began to fill his idle moments by writing prose fiction and came up with the model for the modern novel, ensuring the endurance of his legacy and his name domestically and internationally.

By way of a conclusion to this chapter we might ponder two final questions: to what degree was Lope de Vega responsible for Cervantes's change in literary direction, and how did their relationship develop as a result of the older man's late success in the bookshops. The answer to the first must be speculative. Leaving aside the possibility of a direct connection—that Don Quixote, the figure, might have been inspired by Lope's tendency to self-dramatization—we can say that Cervantes was already keen on prose works. He was an avid reader of all other literature from the highly esteemed form of epic poetry to works written in prose which were generally less reputable or whose pedigree was unproven. He had strong feelings about the various genres—new and old—in which his predecessors and contemporaries wrote. As we have had cause to mention, his first major publication, in 1585, is a romance, *La Galatea*, which makes a contribution to an existing pastoral tradition, one which mixed prose and poetry; in the prologue to the *Novelas ejemplares*, he self-consciously claims to be the first to have written in that genre in Spanish, which means he knows the Italian *novellieri* and Spanish imitators and translators well; and the 'inquisition' of Don Quixote's library in I.5–6, as well as the parodic skill of that work as a whole, demonstrate a close knowledge of prose genres from the picaresque to the chivalric. His posthumously published *Persiles y Sigismunda*

[50] Cervantes, *Viage*..., p. 202. [51] González Maestro, p. 363. [52] Henry, p. 128.

is a Christianized Byzantine romance, based on the ancient Greek 'novel' *Aethiopica* by Heliodorus. So Cervantes was attracted to prose writing as well as theatre and had plenty to contribute in that only partially tilled field. If his hand was indeed forced towards publication of prose works because he could not fulfil his theatrical vocation, it was not a poor second that he chose, although, significantly, there was much less money to be made from publishing prose fiction than there was from selling plays, and he was not well off. If Cervantes had made money as a playwright, his prose fiction might have taken on a dramatic form, or remained a series of ideas or drafts tucked away in a trunk in the 'perpetuo silencio' ['perpetual silence'] to which he claimed to have once condemned his plays.[53]

As far as literary relations between the two in the final years of Cervantes's life are concerned, the most important publications were the 1614 spurious *Don Quixote*, in whose composition Lope was probably involved, and Cervantes's own part II, of the following year, whose later chapters and prologue engage with the impostor(s). Scholars have looked for actual characterizations of Cervantes in Avellaneda's *Quixote* and of Lope in Cervantes's sequel but, as Pedraza notes, it is difficult to prove they exist.[54] More significant is Avellaneda's very decision to compose a work which was unlikely to repeat the success of the original and may even have spurred Cervantes on to finish his own second part—a possibility raised by Pedraza—and the prologue which comments on Cervantes's first part.[55] This prologue is written by a 'friend' of Lope who raises the spiteful possibility of its publication denying Cervantes some of his earnings and returns to some rather half-hearted baiting of the old man for his lack of a left hand, his imprisonment in Seville and the effect that had on him, his envy, and for his age and crotchety mood, 'que todo y todos le enfadan, y por ello está tan falto de amigos' ['so that everything and everyone annoys him and because of that he's so short of friends'].[56] Cervantes had praised Lope, though only faintly, in his *Viaje del Parnaso*, the year before, but relations were obviously frosty once again.[57]

As far as Cervantes's works are concerned, the prologue writer opens by observing that 'casi es comedia la historia de Don Quijote de la Mancha' ['the story of Don Quixote of la Mancha is almost a play'] and that his own sequel can be described as an attempt to 'entremesar' this play, that is, turn it into an *entremés* [farcical interlude with lowlife characters].[58] Later on, Avellaneda tells his reader to content himself with Cervantes's '*Galatea* y comedias en prosa; que eso son las más de sus novelas' ['*Galatea* and plays in prose, which is what most of his *Novelas* are'].[59] Earlier in the piece the *Novelas* have been described as more satirical than exemplary, but cleverly done.

In the prologue to his own Part II, Cervantes shows that he has understood Avellaneda's words well but replies in a dignified manner with regard to his appearance

[53] In the prologue to his *Ocho comedias*. See Cervantes, *Entremeses*, p. 93.
[54] See Pedraza, pp. 50–5. [55] Pedraza, p. 55.
[56] Fernández de Avellaneda, p. 7.
[57] Cervantes, *Viage*…, p. 90. In his footnote to the lines, Rivers calls this a 'breve alabanza rutinaria' ['short routine praise'].
[58] Fernández de Avellaneda, p. 7. [59] Fernández de Avellaneda, p. 8.

and scars of battle, proclaiming that 'entendimiento' [understanding] improves with age. He claims not to be envious of Lope except in a good way, as an admirer of his plays and of his talents. There is, nevertheless, an ironic reference to Lope's 'virtuous' personal life that is just discernible.[60] Generally, however, Cervantes exudes a pride and confidence in his own artistic achievements that prevents him from needing to enter into a war of words with his detractor. Instead, with the help of two anecdotes, he characterizes the pseudonymous author as a madman failing to see the qualities of *Don Quixote* or to understand his own inability to make an impression on the original. He is pleased that his *Novelas* are seen as satirical, but he wilfully understands the term in the strict sense of 'possessing variety'. He does not respond to Avellaneda's description of his most famous prose works as plays, perhaps because he saw there a truth that others since have glimpsed: many of his raw materials, in terms of plots and characters, and much of his technique are highly theatrical. Cervantes has produced his great novel and his short stories at least in part because he is a frustrated dramatist.

It is quite possible that the personal offence taken at each other's pronouncements, especially after about 1602, hid the admiration Lope de Vega and Cervantes actually had for each other as artists and creators. If Cervantes found the *comedia nueva* difficult to stomach, he always conceded that Lope was a good dramatist, and if Lope took Cervantes's criticisms of the genre, of his selling out to the masses, to heart, then he also admired *Don Quixote* and imitated, in his own *Novelas a Marcia Leonarda*, a form that he had once considered 'cosa indigna de hombres de letras' ['something unworthy of men of letters'].[61] As Cervantes neared death and Lope entered old age it seems the better part of each man's nature was to come to the fore.

Works Cited

Canavaggio, Jean. *Cervantès dramaturge: un théâtre à naître* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1977).

Cervantes, Miguel de. *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, edited by Francisco Rico (Barcelona: Crítica, 2001).

Cervantes, Miguel de. *Don Quixote*, translated by John Rutherford (London: Penguin, 2000).

Cervantes, Miguel de. *El rufián dichoso/Pedro de Urdemalas*, edited by Jenaro Talens y Nicholas Spadaccini (Madrid: Cátedra, 1986).

Cervantes, Miguel de. *Entremeses*, edited by Nicholas Spadaccini (Madrid: Cátedra, 1987).

Cervantes, Miguel de. *La Galatea*, edited by Francisco López Estrada y María Teresa López García-Berdoy (Madrid: Cátedra, 1995).

Cervantes, Miguel de. *Viage del Parnaso/Poesías varias*, edited by Elias L. Rivers (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1991).

Close, Anthony. *Cervantes and the Comic Mind of his Age* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

[60] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, p. 618.

[61] In his *La hermosura de Angélica* of 1602, and cited by Pedraza, p. 57.

Cotarelo y Mori, Emilio, editor, *Bibliografía de las controversias sobre la licitud del teatro en España* (Madrid: RABM, 1904).
Elliott, J. H. *Imperial Spain, 1469–1716* (London: Arnold, 1963).
Fernández de Avellaneda, Alonso. *El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha*, edited by Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo (Mexico City: Porrúa, 1986).
Friedman, Edward H. *The Unifying Concept: Approaches to the Structure of Cervantes's* comedias (York, S.C.: Spanish Literature Publications, 1981).
García Reidy, Alejandro. *Las musas rameras: oficio dramático y conciencia profesional en Lope de Vega* (Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2013).
González Maestro, Jesús G. *La escena imaginaria: poética del teatro de Miguel de Cervantes* (Madrid/Frankfurt: Iberoamericana/Vervuert, 2000).
Henry, Melanie. *The Signifying Self: Cervantine Drama as Counter-Perspective Aesthetic* (London: Modern Humanities Research Association, 2013).
López Navío, José. 'Génesis y desarrollo del Quijote'. *Anales cervantinos* 7 (1958): pp. 157–235.
McKendrick, Melveena. 'Writings for the Stage'. In *The Cambridge Companion to Cervantes*, edited by Anthony J. Cascardi (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 131–59.
Marín Cepeda, Patricia. *Cervantes y la corte de Felipe II: escritores en el entorno de Ascanio Colonna (1560–1608)* (Madrid: Polifemo, 2015).
Millé y Giménez. Juan. *Sobre la génesis del* Quijote. *Cervantes, Lope, Góngora, el* Romancero general, *el* Entremés de los romances, *etc*. (Barcelona: Araluce, 1930).
Pedraza Jiménez, Felipe B. *Cervantes y Lope de Vega: historia de una enemistad y otros estudios cervantinos* (Barcelona: Octaedro, 2006).
Shergold, N. D. 'Ganassa and the Commedia dell'Arte in Sixteenth-Century Spain'. *Modern Language Review* 51 (1956): pp. 359–68.
Thacker, Jonathan. *A Companion to Golden Age Theatre* (Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2007).
Thacker, Jonathan. ' "Véote, y no te conozco": the unrecognizable form of Cervantes's *El rufián dichoso*', *Hispanic Research Journal* 10 (2009): pp. 206–26.
Trambaioli, Marcella. 'Una protocomedia burlesca de Cervantes: *La casa de los celos*, parodia de algunas piezas del primer Lope de Vega'. In *Cervantes y su mundo*, vol. I, edited by Eva and Kurt Reichenberger (Kassel: Reichenberger, 2004), pp. 407–38.
Vega, Lope de. *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias en este tiempo*, edited by Enrique García Santo-Tomás (Madrid: Cátedra, 2006).
Vega, Lope de. *Cartas*, edited by Nicolás Marín (Madrid: Castalia, 1985).
Vega, Lope de. *La Arcadia*, edited by Edwin S. Morby (Madrid: Castalia, 1975).
Vega, Lope de. *La Dorotea*, edited by Edwin S. Morby (Madrid: Castalia, 1968).
Vega, Lope de. *Lírica*, edited by José Manuel Blecua (Madrid: Castalia, 1981).
Vega, Lope de. *La viuda valenciana*, edited by Teresa Ferrer Valls (Madrid: Castalia, 2001).
Vega, Lope de. *Los cautivos de Argel*, edited by Natalio Ohanna (Barcelona: Castalia, 2017)
Vega, Lope de. *Novelas a Marcia Leonarda*, edited by Antonio Carreño (Madrid: Cátedra, 2002).
Wright, Elizabeth. *Pilgrimage to Patronage: Lope de Vega and the Court of Philip III, 1598–1621* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2001).
Zimic, Stanislav. 'Cervantes frente a Lope y la comedia nueva (observaciones sobre *La entretenida*)'. *Anales Cervantinos* 15 (1976): pp. 19–119.

CHAPTER 25

CERVANTES AND OTHER LITERARY CIRCLES

VICTORIA RÍOS CASTAÑO
Coventry University

Upon arriving in Milan, Periandro, one of the pilgrims of *Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda*, sets himself the task of locating the Academia de los Entronados [Academy of the Enthroned]. With tongue in cheek, Cervantes refers to the famed Italian Accademia degli Intronati of Siena [Academy of the Dazed] for, in wrongly translating 'Intronati' as 'Entronados' on the basis of the words' phonetic resemblance rather than sense-for-sense, he makes Periandro bestow upon the members of said academy an aura of seriousness and royal dignity, with which Cervantes took issue. In this chapter, his mocking allusion to the 'Intronati' is drawn on as a point of departure to explore the world of the academies he attended himself. With this aim in mind, the study begins by taking a glimpse at the manner in which Cervantes ridicules these literary circles in some of his texts and ends up focusing on his long narrative poem the *Viaje del Parnaso* and its epilogue, 'Adjunta al Parnaso', which tells the story of a fictional letter sent by Apollo to Cervantes.[1] The comments that Cervantes furnished in both texts prompt a reconstruction of the academies that he frequented and enable an examination of the relationship that he maintained with contemporary poets, playwrights, artists, noble patrons, and book censors.

The Spanish literary academies that sprang up at the turn of the sixteenth century, following the Italian academies as a model, consolidated in main cities like Barcelona, Madrid, Seville, Toledo, Valencia, Valladolid, and Zaragoza. Celebrated at the behest of a noble patron who provided a gathering place on a regular or permanent basis, these small republics of letters implemented constitutions and bylaws, as approved by their presiding officers and respected by their hierarchical body of members, including the adoption of fictitious names and a fixed time for meetings. During these sessions, generally an evening per week, members engaged in the reciting and discussion of poetry on

[1] See Chapter 21 for a study on *Viaje del Parnaso* and 'Adjunta al Parnaso'.

previously prescribed verse forms and assigned topics, which ranged from mystic love and mythology to lighter, more frivolous matters.[2]

This seemingly civilized nature and ruled development of themes, rather than giving way to a noble and dignified enclave for erudite and polished writings, as Cervantes's character, Periandro, would have expected, often resulted in conflicts and a dearth of literary reflection and genuine originality. Two main reasons are to be adduced: the ignorance exhibited by some members and their obligation to adhere to strict norms, such as the servile imitation of works written by the academies' most remarkable members or by authors whom these members claimed ought to be followed.[3] For all its mediocre production of literary pieces and at times ridiculous pomposity, it is, nevertheless, the censorship, deep-seated envy, and ill-humoured rivalries that eventually disturbed academies to the point of causing their dissolution. In this respect, in two famous letters from 1612 to his patron the Duke of Sessa, Lope de Vega lays bare the beginning of the end of the Academia de Saldaña, held in Madrid by the Count of Saldaña, Don Diego Gómez de Sandoval y Rojas. During the course of its sessions, Lope de Vega writes, 'se tiraron los bonetes dos licenciados, . . . se mordieron poéticamente un licenciado Soto, granadino, y el famoso Luis Vélez; . . . nunca Marte miró tan opuesto a las señoras Musas' ['two graduates threw their caps at each other, . . . a graduate from Granada, named Soto, and the famous Luis Vélez bit each other poetically; . . . never did Mars look upon the Muses so adversely'].[4]

Two other widely-known passages in which Cervantes lambasts the world of the academies include an anecdote in *El coloquio de los perros* (1613)—a story that also appears in *Don Quixote* II.71—and the framing poems with which the first part of *Don Quixote* begins and ends. In the first case, Berganza recounts that a certain poet, named Mauleón: 'poeta tonto y académico de burla de la Academia de los Imitadores' ['foolish poet and a mock academician of the Academy of Imitators'], rendered *Deum de Deo* ['God from God'] as 'dé donde diere', which can be interpreted as 'wherever it hits'.[5] In the second case, the reader finds that the final poems, in particular, comprising highly comic laudatory verses for Don Quixote, Sancho, Dulcinea, and Rocinante, are composed by the fictional members of the Academy of Argamasilla: poets who, following

[2] King, 'The Academies . . .', p. 371. Prose discourses or *liciones* were also composed in order to instruct the public on a set topic of a serious nature, such as 'what is more beneficial to the republic, the study of humanities or the exercise of arms', although sometimes speeches concerned burlesque topics, including discourses on a trickster's life or in praise of injustice (King, 'The Academies . . .', p. 371). All quotations have been translated by the author of this essay unless otherwise stated.

[3] Sánchez, pp. 18–22; Lokos, p. 109. Cervantes's friend Cristóbal de Mesa and the high-flier Lope de Vega reported on these problems through their invectives in *Rimas* [*Rhymes*] (1611) and the translation of Virgil's *Églogas y geórgicas* [*Eclogues and Georgics*] (1618), and in *Laurel de Apolo* [*Apollo's Laurel Wreath*] (1630), respectively.

[4] Cited in Sánchez, p. 38. Herrero García argues that in his *Viaje del Parnaso* Cervantes similarly echoes Vélez de Guevara's argumentative and quarrelsome nature by nicknaming him 'el bravo' [the brave one] (Herrero García, p. 492). For a synthesis of rivalries and fights in literary academies of the Golden Age, see Cruz.

[5] Cervantes, *Three Exemplary Novels* . . ., p. 192; King, *Prosa novelística* . . ., p. 29.

the academies' customs, adopt amusing nicknames, such as Monicongo and Cachidiablo. Critics see in their verses not only prime instances of Cervantes's parody of the academies but also his scorn of poetic contests, the *justas poéticas* or *certámenes*. Aside from functioning as a noticeable springboard for literary and social success, these poetic contests offered the members of the academies an opportunity to enter into a public battle through their poetic skill, wit, and sensitivity.[6]

Cervantes submitted poems to several of these *justas*. His participation allowed him to become acquainted with one of his patrons, Don Pedro Fernández de Castro y Andrade, seventh Count of Lemos. In addition, his involvement in these contests attests to a period of friendship with the brothers Lupercio Leonardo and Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola, to whom he sent a poem in honour of the canonization of St Jacinto in Zaragoza in 1596, as well as a renewed cordial relationship with Lope de Vega, who acted as member of the jury of the *justa* celebrated in the church of the Padres Carmelitas Descalzos [Discalced Carmelite Fathers] during the beatification of St Teresa de Jesús in Madrid in 1613.[7] Cervantes is also known to have won at least one contest, in Madrid on the feast day of Corpus Christi in 1609, a victory that might not have convinced him of his poetic mastery.[8] After all, as he makes clear in *Don Quixote* II.18, members of these juries were suspected to have awarded prizes moved by personal interests rather than by literary merit. Hence, Don Quixote's conversation with Don Lorenzo de Miranda about some of the verses that the young man had written, advising him that if they are for a literary contest: 'procure vuesa merced llevar el segundo premio; que el primero siempre se lleva el favor o la gran calidad de la persona, el segundo se le lleva la mera justicia, y el tercero viene a ser segundo, y el primero, a esta cuenta, será el tercero' ['try, your grace, to win the second prize, because the first one is always awarded to a person who has been favoured or who is of important social status, and the second is awarded to the one who rightly deserves it. Thus, the third comes to be the second, and the first, following this calculation, will be the third'].[9]

Cervantes's caustic allusion and parody of the world of the academies and the *justas literarias* where he interacted with the literary circle of his time surfaces, above all, in the *Viaje del Parnaso* and its epilogue, the 'Adjunta al Parnaso'. The author and the narrator of the poem is Cervantes, a fact that has led some scholars to argue for its biographical implications, namely the use of his social and literary experiences as a tool to exalt what constitutes the true beauty of poetry, vindicate his disparaged work, and reappraise his status as a poet.[10] In fact, the reasons behind the composition of the *Viaje del Parnaso* are grounded in Cervantes's ins-and-outs of his literary circle. In 1608, his patron, the Count of Lemos, was named Viceroy of Naples, and his newly-appointed secretary, Lupercio Leonardo de Argensola, took charge of selecting the Count's men of letters in

[6] Márquez Villanueva, p. 128; King, *Prosa novelística*…, p. 100; Lokos, p. 129; Martín, pp. 154–6.

[7] Sánchez, pp. 28–9, 38; Canavaggio, p. 206. Much of the information that has survived on these *justas literarias* derives from Lope de Vega's voluminous correspondence with the patrons of the period. For further reference, see Montoto, Sánchez, Brown, and Egido.

[8] Canavaggio, p. 205.

[9] Cervantes, *Segunda parte*…, p. 136.

[10] Gaos, p. 30; Gracia García, p. 341.

residence at the Neapolitan court. In their self-interested selection, Lupercio Argensola and his brother Bartolomé excluded poets whom they viewed as potential rivals for the Count's favour, inviting instead other poets of unknown prestige and literary talent. A bitterly disappointed Cervantes, who had received several promises by his friend Bartolomé, whom he praises in *La Galatea* (1585) and through the priest's mouth in the first part of *Don Quixote*, lost this cherished opportunity to return to Italy, where he had spent some years during his youth.[11] Along with Cervantes, three other reputed poets who felt humiliated by the Argensolas' devious list were Cristóbal Suárez de Figueroa, Góngora, and Cristóbal de Mesa. The last two expressed their disapproval in writing: Góngora in a sarcastic sonnet and Mesa in his laudatory poem 'Al Conde de Lemos, yendo por Virrey a Nápoles' ['To the Count of Lemos upon his departure to Naples as Viceroy']. In this poem, aside from complaining about the Argensolas' decision, Mesa equates Lemos with Apollo and Naples with Apollo's home, Mount Parnassus, which might have sown the first seeds of what eventually led Cervantes to his writing of the *Viaje del Parnaso*. That is to say, Cervantes's voyage is a fictional compensation for the physical one on which he was not invited. In recreating his own fictional academy and supplanting Lupercio Argensola, he assumes the leading role, nominating and selecting the swans, or good poets, against the crows, or poetasters, on Apollo's behalf.[12]

The list of poets that Cervantes cites, amounting to approximately 110 *ingenios* (those with an ability to invent and write), frames the *Viaje del Parnaso* within the popular Spanish genre of the encomiastic catalogue, which Cervantes initiates in his own writing with his 'Canto de Calíope' of *La Galatea*.[13] For Ellen Lokos, Cervantes re-appropriates the genre as a mask behind which he tends, more often than not, to pass judgement on his literary circle. For him, it was plagued by vulgar and mediocre poetasters who have triggered the dismal failure of the Spanish academies. In other words, what Cervantes puts into practice is not the unequivocal laudatory nature of the encomiastic genre, but rather Erasmus's art of adoxography or paradoxical praise. Thus, Cervantes eulogizes and, at the same time, finds fault with many of his contemporaries' poetry in the form of emblematic images, metaphorical contradictions, and coded subtle language. What is more, the *Viaje del Parnaso* is Cervantes's parodic and critical transposition of academies and literary contests to the realm of fiction. He engaged in a creative exercise of his time, a popular genre that revolved around fictional academies in which authors created, in either a burlesque or a serious manner, a composite of their real experiences and their imagination.[14] In this study, for the purpose of unveiling Cervantes's literary circle, the *Viaje del Parnaso* serves not only as a catalogue of contemporary authors upon whom he

[11] King, 'The Academies…', p. 371; Canavaggio, p. 206.

[12] Stagg, pp. 24–6; Lokos, p. 105; Close, 'A Poet's Vanity', p. 54.

[13] Lokos, p. 30; Close, 'A Poet's Vanity', p. 60. Some of the authors who have been identified as Cervantes's friends and acquaintances, and whom he commends in 'Canto de Calíope', are Francisco de Figueroa, Mateo Vázquez, Luis Gálvez de Montalvo, Cristóbal de Virués, Andrés Rey de Artieda, and Pedro Láinez (Schevill and Bonilla y San Martín, pp. xxx–xxxiii).

[14] Lokos, pp. 33–4, 116, 129. For further reference on this fictionalization of the world of the academies, see Sánchez and King, *Prosa novelística*…

passed judgement, but also as a chronicle of his attendance of academies and his relationship with the members of those he frequented in cities like Madrid, Seville, and Valladolid. Thus, the following pages contextualize the real-life counterpart-academies of the *Viaje del Parnaso* and examine in more detail the literary circle of acquaintances, enemies, and friends with whom he rubbed shoulders.

Enjoying his recently-gained popularity thanks to the verses of *La Galatea*, Cervantes's first foray into the world of the academies might have been in Madrid's Academia de los Humildes de Villamanta [Academy of the Humbled], founded in 1592, or, more likely, in the Academia Imitatoria [Academy of the Art of Imitation], opened in 1584, and to which Cervantes alludes as the Academia de los Imitadores [Academy of Imitators] in *El coloquio de los perros*. Both academies functioned until the mid-seventeenth century and were only interrupted when the royal court moved to Valladolid from 1601 to 1606. One of its members was Cervantes's intimate friend, the poet Juan Rufo, who notices in *Las seiscientas apotegmas* [*The Six Hundred Apothegms*] (1596) that the Academia Imitatoria prided itself on counting on exceedingly good poets and aristocrats, such as Lupercio Argensola, with whom Cervantes would have been on good terms at the time.[15] During the two last decades of the sixteenth century, Cervantes would have alternated his attendance between academies in Madrid and in Seville, where he arrived for the first time in 1585, returning in 1587, and keeping residency from 1597 to 1602.[16]

Seville was a cosmopolitan place and centre of wealth from America, a melting pot of merchants, sailors, migrants to the Indies, and *ingenios* in search of broadening their economic and spiritual horizons. Literary contests in honour of saints, which were held during the celebration of religious festivities, were frequent and well-attended, such as the festivals of San Francisco in 1591, Sacramento in 1593, San Roque in 1600, and San Pedro in 1604, amid many others. During this period at least three institutions can be classified as academies; the first was led by Don Juan de Arguijo, the second by the painter Francisco Pacheco, and the third by Cervantes's close friend, the graduate Juan de Ochoa. In Ochoa's academy, which was characterized, in opposition to Arguijo's aristocratic and humanistic gatherings, by its satirical verses, Cervantes coincided with Mateo Alemán, Alonso Álvarez de Soria, and Luis Vélez de Guevara.[17] In Pacheco's workshop, gatherings intertwined recitals of poetry with the practice of painting, and Cervantes could have met poet-painters like Pablo de Céspedes and Don Juan de Jáuregui, and writers such as Francisco de Rioja, Baltasar de Alcázar, and Juan de la Cueva.[18]

In the *Viaje del Parnaso* Cervantes acknowledges his acquaintance with some of these young men at the time, such as the poet-patron Arguijo, the poet and erudite archaeologist Rioja, and the poet-painter Jáuregui. Arguijo and Rioja saw their works published after Cervantes's text, which indicates that he could have only known of them by hearing

[15] Sánchez, p. 26; King, *Prosa novelística*…, p. 29. [16] Herrero García, pp. 580–1, 612.

[17] Adrienne Laskier Martín discusses the Academy of Ochoa's predilection for burlesque poetry by looking at the *sonetadas* (insulting poems) that were composed in order to indulge in jibes at Lope de Vega during his visit to Seville in 1602 (Martín, p. 158).

[18] King, *Prosa novelística*…, p. 27; Sánchez, pp. 194–5; Martín, pp. 157–8.

them read in Seville's academies or by word of mouth. Added to this, the fact that Cervantes grants them the immortality of laureate poets by citing them as members of the band of good ones means that he foresaw or 'discovered' their potential before they achieved fame.[19] As for the equally young Jáuregui, whom Cervantes might have met as a teenager in Seville or as an adult during Jáuregui's visits to Madrid, between 1607 and 1616, Cervantes's attitude comes across as inconsistent. In the preface to his *Novelas ejemplares* he alludes to a portrait that Jáuregui allegedly painted of him, the whereabouts of which remain unknown. Nonetheless, in the *Viaje del Parnaso* Jáuregui is praised solely as a poet. Noticeably, Jáuregui's value as poet and painter was recognized by Lope de Vega and Góngora. Cervantes fails to do so, and yet, he presents another contemporary, Jerónimo de Mora, as an outstanding master of both artistic skills.[20]

Another poet whom Cervantes met during his stays in Seville, and whom he censures in the *Viaje del Parnaso*, is Pedro de Medinilla. This poet represented three stereotypical characteristics that Cervantes abhorred in literary circles; Medinilla composed verses in abundance but without real quality, gained general sympathies because of his smooth nature, and was the epitome of what Cervantes names 'paniaguados', those who lived off friends' financial support.[21] By contrast, Cervantes has only good words for several poets whom he befriended for the first time in Seville, such as the Marquis of Alcañices Don Álvaro Antonio Enríquez de Almansa—a remarkable figure in the courts of Philip II and Philip III who composed a sonnet for the *Novelas ejemplares*—and two poets whom Cervantes first praises in his 'Canto de Calíope': his 'amigo', as Cervantes calls him, Pedro Montesdoca and the lawyer Don Francisco de la Cueva y Silva.[22]

Cervantes's excellent relationship with other members of Seville's literary circle extended to Doctor Felipe Godínez, who specialized in *comedias de santos* [comedies of saints], and, above all, the aforementioned Cristóbal de Mesa, a mannerist poet whom Cervantes equally exalted in the 'Canto de Calíope'.[23] Mesa, who was very well connected with painter Francisco Pacheco's workshop and academy, possibly introduced Cervantes to other high-society poets of the city. In this sense, and taking issue with Cervantine expert Francisco Rodríguez Marín, who claims that, in Seville, Cervantes was a poor devil who surrounded himself by people of little renown, Miguel Herrero García holds that Cervantes's friendship with Mesa and his religious and literary circle won him participation in marked social events. For example, Cervantes's poem 'Al túmulo de Felipe II' was selected to be read in public, and published as part of an edition

[19] Herrero García, p. 612. Another writer whose literary fame Cervantes predicts is the Count of Saldaña's servant or 'gentilhombre', the Andalusian Vélez de Guevara, whom, recognizing his wit, Cervantes names the 'quitapesares' [care dispeller] (Cervantes, *Viaje*…, p. 16). Cervantes also appears to have acted as intellectual patron of young poets, as in the case of Fernando de Lodeña, who was engaged to Cervantes's younger sister, Doña Magdalena. Cervantes appreciated his poetry to the extent of incorporating one of his sonnets in the preliminaries of the *Novelas ejemplares* (Herrero García, pp. 675–6).

[20] Herrero García, pp. 466–7.

[21] Cervantes, *Viaje*…, p. 79; Herrero García, p. 500.

[22] Cervantes, *Viaje*…, pp. 19, 41; Herrero García, pp. 509, 513.

[23] Cervantes, *Viaje*…, pp. 14, 25; Herrero García, pp. 461, 459.

of poems extolling the ostentatious construction that had been erected close to the cathedral of Seville in order to honour Philip II in 1598.[24]

Back in Madrid, from around 1606 until his death, Cervantes enjoyed the patronage of the Count of Lemos and the Archbishop of Toledo, Bernardo de Sandoval, becoming an admired and prominent figure in the capital's literary academies.[25] It is known, for example, that a number of acquaintances, including Vicente Gómez Martínez Espinel, Quevedo, Alonso Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo, and Vélez de Guevara requested his admission to the literary academy of the Congregación del Santísimo Sacramento [Congregation of the Most Saintly Sacrament], founded by Archbishop Sandoval and the Duke of Lerma.[26] Cervantes also coincided with all these authors in the Academia de Saldaña, which was established by the Count of Saldaña, second son to the Duke of Lerma, in 1605, and reopened again in November 1611, on the occasion of rendering homage to Queen Margarita of Austria upon her death.[27]

Evidence of Cervantes's attendance to this academy is furnished by three of its members. Lope de Vega writes in a famous letter to the Duke of Sessa about Cervantes's glasses—'yo leí unos versos con unos anteojos de Zerbantes que parecían huevos estrellados mal hechos' ['I read some verses with Zerbantes's spectacles, which looked like badly-fried eggs']—, and Juan Pérez de Guzmán notes the comedian Andrés de Claramonte y Corroy's superior gift of the gab in the presence of patrons and nobles, in comparison with 'Miguel de Cervantes, Lope de Vega Carpio o Luis Vélez de Guevara, que también a ella concurrían' ['who also attended it']. Claramonte y Corroy composed a romance listing the names of the academy's members; *ingenios* like 'Lope, Quevedo, Cervantes' who, when not reading weekly compositions, would have heard and discussed those by:

> Liñán de Riaza, Góngora, Salas de Barbadillo, D. Gaspar de Teves, el valenciano [Valencian] Águila, Hernando de Biezna, D. Pedro de Mendoza, Anastasio Pantaleón de Ribera, Ledesma, Gabriel de Barrionuevo, D. Francisco Vivanco, el sevillano [Sevillian] Rioja, el portugués [Portuguese] Silveira, Argensola, Mendieta, el licenciado [the graduate] Riche, el jurista [the jurist] Don Francisco de la Cueva y Silva… [and] Julián de Armendáriz.[28]

The climate of hostility and rivalry between some of these *ingenios* provoked a schism that was aggravated by Soto de Rojas and Vélez de Guevara's brawl, and it ensued that many of them moved to the newly-open Academia del Parnaso [Academy of Parnassus]. Eventually renamed as Academia Selvaje [Savage Academy], in allusion to the first

[24] Herrero García, pp. 580–1; Mancing, v. II, p. 576; Martín, p. 105.
[25] Close, *A Companion*…, p. 12. [26] Canavaggio, pp. 205–6. [27] Sánchez, pp. 37, 47.
[28] Cited in Sánchez, pp. 38, 45. Likewise Claramonte y Corroy's list contains the names of aristocrats, patrons, and poets like 'el duque [duke] de Cea… el duque de Pastrana, el conde [count] de Salinas, el Príncipe [prince] de Esquilache, los marqueses [marquesses] de Alcañices, Povar, Peñafiel, Almazán, Velada y Orani, los duques de Híjar y de Medinaceli, y los condes de Lemos, de Olivares, de Villamor, de Rebolledo y de Cantillana' (cited in Sánchez, p. 45).

surname of its host Don Francisco de Silva y Mendoza, the meetings were held in his palace, on Atocha Street, from April 1612 to the summer of 1614, when he left to fight in Lombardy.[29] According to Lokos, the duration of this Academia del Parnaso or Selvaje coincides with Cervantes's writing period of the *Viaje del Parnaso* and its 'Adjunta', a time during which, motivated by his own experiences in the Parnaso academy, he embarked on a satire of Spanish academies in general.[30] In fact, in these two texts Cervantes alludes to many of the aforementioned poets and patrons as well as to other men whom he read, met, or heard of in the Madrid academies. What is pertinent to this study is that his comments allow us an appreciation of his literary circle, the relationships that he maintained with peers and aristocrats, and how they contributed or impinged upon his work.

To begin with, in the *Viaje del Parnaso* Cervantes takes the opportunity not only to satirize but also to flatter and express his gratitude to *aprobadores de obras* [approvers of works for publication] and influential men and aristocrats, who fostered literary academies and were vital in writers' ascension or descent within the social and literary ladder. Thus, amid those who could have granted—and who eventually did grant—him printing approvals, Cervantes names the Trinitarian Fray Juan Baptista Capataz, an 'aprobante' of poetry, theatre, and religious books, and José de Valdivieso, a poet and priest from Toledo who authorized the publication of the *Ocho comedias y ocho entremeses*, the second part of *Don Quixote*, and *Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda*.[31]

As for members of the aristocracy, Cervantes makes reference to, among others, the Marquis of Alcañices, who, as previously noted, wrote a sonnet for the *Novelas ejemplares*. Cervantes also praises the patron of the Academia Selvaje, Silva y Mendoza, as 'Este gran caballero, que se inclina/a la lección de los poetas buenos,/y al sacro monte con su luz camina' ['This great gentleman, who favours the good poets' lessons, and who walks with his guiding light to the sacred mountain'].[32] Likewise, Cervantes devotes a section to four poet-aristocrats: the Count of Saldaña, the Count of Salinas (Don Diego de Silva y Mendoza), the Prince of Esquilache (Don Francisco de Borja y Aragón), and the Count of Villamediana (Don Juan de Tassis y Peralta).[33] Noticeably, although Cervantes felt obliged to render homage to these men because of their social rank, influential power, and support, as in the case of the Count of Saldaña, he also felt the need to convey that those in their position could afford to write low-quality poetry. By way of example, in his laudatory verses to Saldaña, Cervantes centres on his present and future merits, rather than on past ones, and instead of portraying him as a truly select poet, worthy of entering the Parnassus, Cervantes is selective in what he says—in the same way as he does with the poet-painter Jáuregui—merely alluding to his role as protector and patron.[34]

[29] Sánchez, p. 106. [30] Lokos, pp. 8, 114.

[31] Cervantes, *Viaje*…, pp. 38, 40; Herrero García, pp. 325, 667, 817; Mancing, v. I, p. 348.

[32] Cervantes, *Viaje*…, p. 18; Sánchez, p. 106; Herrero García, p. 509.

[33] Cervantes, *Viaje*…, pp. 18–19.

[34] Herrero García, pp. 16, 37. Cervantes also dedicates to the Count of Saldaña his ode 'Florida y tierna rama' ['Flowered and Tender Branch'], in which he claims to live under Saldaña's wing; 'a tu sombra' (cited in Herrero García, p. 507).

Needless to say, in his *Viaje del Parnaso* Cervantes did not ignore the 'prince of the academies', Lope de Vega, and the other two literary giants (and bitter enemies) of the period. For Quevedo and Góngora, whose verses Cervantes must have heard in the academies and read in manuscript form, he only has good words.[35] Cervantes calls the former no less than 'hijo de Apolo' ['Apollo's son'], and dedicates to the latter one of the most heart-warming and eloquent praises in the *Viaje del Parnaso*, welcoming the validity of Baroque poetry to supersede Garcilaso's conventional Petrarchan style.[36] Alongside these laureate poets, Cervantes interacted with other conflictive personalities, such as Salas Barbadillo and Espinel, to whom he refers as 'poetas maldicientes' [slanderers] or authors whom one was better off to have as friends rather than as enemies, given their reputation as severe critics and biting censors at the literary circles they often visited.[37] In his *Diversas rimas* [*Diverse Rhymes*] (1591), Espinel had incorporated Cervantes as a relevant historical and literary figure, and it is likely that Cervantes wished to reciprocate. The fact that Cervantes qualifies him as 'maldiciente' seems to be at odds with an intention not to displease him, unless Espinel himself boasted about it as a personal trait or Cervantes had ceased to care about his reaction.

Practicalities and enmity aside, in his work, Cervantes also tends to bring readers' attention to authors he had befriended throughout his life; poets who go under pseudonyms in the 'Canto de Calíope', or who are present by their real name in the *Viaje del Parnaso* and in the first part of *Don Quixote*. One is the Sevillian poet and grammarian Juan de Ochoa, who ran the academy frequented by Cervantes, and to whom he devotes four encomiastic tercets of the *Viaje del Parnaso*, branding him as friend, 'poeta y Cristiano verdadero' ['poet and true Christian']. Another is Juan Rufo, author of the epic poem *La Austríada* (1584), about Don Juan de Austria and the Battle of Lepanto, which Cervantes considered to be a masterpiece to be saved from the fire in *Don Quixote* I.6.[38] Cervantes and Rufo possibly met in an academy—it is thanks to Rufo that we know about the Academia Imitatoria, to which Cervantes alludes in *El coloquio de los perros*—and might have coincided in the increasingly-popular *corrales de comedias* [comedy theatres], which Rufo promoted in order to obtain funding for hospitals.[39]

Rufo's philanthropic role puts us in mind of another literary circle with which Cervantes mixed outside the academies: the theatrical world. From his early adolescence Cervantes witnessed the development of Baroque comedy, a spectacle with growing profits and seemingly unstoppable success. The craftsmen who initiated this phenomenon by representing their respective guilds in civil and religious festivities eventually became *autores de comedias* [theatre owners/producers] and theatrical impresarios, who turned drama into a professional activity.[40] It seems as if during the first half of the 1580s, Cervantes's social and literary world revolved not so much around literary academies

[35] Cervantes's relationship with Lope de Vega is studied in detail in Chapter 24 of this volume.

[36] Cervantes, *Viaje*…, pp. 15, 20; Herrero García, pp. 18, 461, 559.

[37] Cervantes, *Viaje*…, pp. 15–16; Sánchez, p. 19; Herrero García, pp. 16, 485.

[38] Cervantes, *Viaje*…, pp. 14, 41; Herrero García, pp. 453, 687; Lokos, p. 35; Close, *A Companion*…, p. 101.

[39] Sanz Ayán, p. 78.

[40] Sanz Ayán, pp. 73–5.

but around theatre producers, playwrights, theatrical impresarios, and actors, whom Cervantes was to remember later in his works. Thus, he includes playwrights such as Andrés de Angulo in his second part of *Don Quixote* and in *El coloquio de los perros*; Nicolás de los Ríos in *Pedro de Urdemalas*; and Cristóbal de Virués and Andrés Rey de Artieda in the 'Canto de Calíope'—they represent Crisio and Artidoro, respectively—and in the *Viaje del Parnaso*. In the latter, Cervantes similarly praises playwright-impresarios like Lope de Rueda and Pedro de Morales. Rueda, highly celebrated because of his comedies, must have inspired Cervantes as a teenager—they also happened to be neighbours in San Miguel (Sevilla). Later on in life, aside from eulogizing him in the *Viaje del Parnaso*, Cervantes makes his fictional captives restage a pastoral colloquium attributed to Rueda in *Los baños de Argel*.[41] As for Morales, who was a poet, an actor, and the theatre director of his own company, he supported Cervantes in his attempts to write for the stage, which is why Cervantes manifests his gratitude to him on two occasions.[42] In the second chapter of the *Viaje del Parnaso*, he makes this frank and demonstrative confession: 'Este que de las Musas es recreo,/la gracia y el donaire y la cordura/…es Pedro de Morales/…y es asilo/adonde se repara mi ventura' ['This one who is the Muses' delight, grace and finesse, and good sense […] is Pedro de Morales /…and is the sanctuary where my fortune takes shelter'].[43] Likewise, in Chapter 8, when wishing farewell to some poets, Cervantes repeats his affectionate remark: 'el alma, el corazón, la mano/di a Pedro de Morales y un abrazo' ['my soul, my heart, my hand, I gave to Pedro de Morales, and a hug'].[44]

In opposition to these kind-hearted words to his friend, Cervantes resorts to either making subtle scathing remarks about his rivals or to omitting them from the army of good poets of the *Viaje del Parnaso*. Generally speaking, it must have been envy and irascible temperaments within the world of the academies, which triggered spiteful comments towards his work, and his poetry in particular, that caused Cervantes's aversion towards some members of his literary circle.[45] Cervantes appears to allude to these confrontations in the second part of *Don Quixote*, when making its protagonist condemn envy in these terms: '¡Oh envidia, raíz de infinitos males y carcoma de las virtudes! Todos los vicios, Sancho, traen un no sé qué de deleite consigo, pero el de la envidia no trae sino disgustos, rancores, y rabias' ['Oh, envy, root of endless misfortunes and woodworm of virtues! In every vice, Sancho, there is just something pleasurable, but

[41] Cervantes, *Viaje*…, p. 67; Herrero García, pp. 839–40, 898.

[42] Two other impresarios from Madrid who backed Cervantes's career as a playwright are Gaspar de Porres and Jerónimo Velázquez. Porres commissioned Cervantes to write two plays; *La confusa* and *El trato de Constantinopla y muerte de Selim*. Velázquez—father to Lope de Vega's lover the 'Bella Filis' (Beautiful Filis)—took charge of the Corral de la Pacheca (Comedy Theatre of the Pacheca) when Cervantes attended classes at the *Estudio* or school run by Juan López de Hoyos. Years later, Velázquez turned into a friend who might have taken to stage part of the productions penned by Cervantes that have not survived (Sanz Ayán, pp. 80, 84–7).

[43] Cervantes, *Viaje*…, p. 16.

[44] Cervantes, *Viaje*…, p. 74.

[45] Lope de Vega, for example, writes in an infamous letter: 'Buen siglo es este [de poetas]…pero ninguno hay tan malo como Cervantes ni tan necio que alabe a Don Quijote' ['This is a good century [of poets]…, but there is no one as bad as Cervantes or as foolish so as to praise Don Quixote'] (cited in Gaos, p. 17).

envy can only bring discontent, resentment, and rage']. Likewise, Cervantes puts in Sancho's mouth his thoughts on the backbiting and calumnies that were expressed against him: 'Pero digan lo que quisieren, que desnudo nací, desnudo me hallo: ni pierdo ni gano…, que digan de mí todo lo que quisieren' ['Indeed they can say as they wish, because I was born naked and remain naked. Neither loose I nor win…, they can say about me anything they want'].[46]

Interestingly, Cervantes points to himself as the target of envy and ignorance in the fourth chapter of the *Viaje del Parnaso*, when lamenting that his poetry lacks recognition: 'envidiado siempre y perseguido,/el bien que espera por jamás consigue' ['always envied and harassed, he never achieves the benefits he expects'].[47] In the second chapter, it is also the sin or *vicio* of envy on which Cervantes draws to characterize one of his nemeses, of whom he states: 'Es de Calatayud su sobrenombre./Con esto queda dicho todo cuanto/puedo decir con que a la invidia asombre' ['His nickname is from Calatayud. This said, it is all I can say to astonish he who is clouded by envy'].[48] Behind his cutting presentation Cervantes might be concealing the Aragonese poet Pedro Liñán de Riaza, friend of Lope de Vega and Góngora. Earlier in his life, Cervantes had befriended him and another group of poets including Gabriel López de Maldonado and Pedro Padilla. Indicative of Cervantes's good relationship with them is that he cited Padilla's *Tesoro de varias poesías* [*Treasure of Several Poems*] (1580) and López de Maldonado's *El cancionero* [*The Collection of Verse*] (1586) in *Don Quixote*, Part I, and that he dedicated warm verses to López de Maldonado and Liñán de Riaza in the 'Canto de Calíope'.[49] Later on, however, his friendship with Liñán de Riaza turned sour, and critics see in him one of the co-authors, together with Baltasar Elisio de Medinilla and Lope de Vega, of the infamous apocryphal *Quixote* by Avellaneda.[50]

In the *Viaje del Parnaso*, two other potential writers behind Avellaneda's *Quixote* are named: Alonso de Ledesma and Cristóbal Suárez de Figueroa. Ledesma, ridiculed in the third chapter, was a poet from Segovia who composed severely extravagant religious verses.[51] As for Cervantes and Suárez de Figueroa's relationship, the reason why they fell out remains unknown. Cervantes welcomes his pastoral romance *La constante Amarilis* [*The Constant Amarilis*] (1609) in the second chapter, and Suárez de Figueroa praises Cervantes in his *Plaza universal de todas ciencias y artes* [*Universal Square of Every Science and Art*] (1615). However, two years later, in *El pasajero* [*The Passenger*] (1617), Suárez de Figueroa bitterly attacks Cervantes, criticizing not only his poetry but also, in a general allusion, those who composed comedies despite their failure to get them performed, verses in their dotage (the *Viaje del Parnaso*), and a romance on the point of death (*Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda*).[52]

[46] Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, II.8, pp. 66, 68; cited in Urbina and González Moreno, pp. 146–7.
[47] Cervantes, *Viaje*…, p. 33; cited in Urbina and González Moreno, p. 151.
[48] Cervantes, *Viaje*…, p. 14.
[49] On Cervantes and Padilla's friendship and mutual references in their works see Bajona Oliveras.
[50] Sánchez Portero, pp. 123–4. [51] Herrero García, p. 619.
[52] Close, 'A Poet's Vanity', p. 47. For further reference on Suárez de Figueroa's possible authorship of Avellaneda's *Quixote*, see Espín Rodrigo.

Of special interest is the manner in which Cervantes treats another nemesis, Francisco López de Úbeda, author of *La pícara Justina* [*The Spanish Jilt*] (1605). Their difficult relationship dates back to the almost simultaneous publication of their acclaimed novels. Both writers had learnt in advance of their competitor's work in literary academies or, once the manuscripts had been handed in for publication, through word of mouth of indiscreet publishers and 'aprobantes'. This would explain the passage of *La pícara Justina* in which López de Úbeda makes his protagonist claim that she is '[m]ás famo[sa] que doña Oli(va),/que Don Quixo(te) y Lazari(llo),/que Alfarach[e] y Celestin[a]' ['more famous than Lady Oliva, than Don Quixote and Lazarillo, than Alfarache and Celestina'].[53] Taking his turn, Cervantes censures him in the *Viaje del Parnaso*, branding him as 'capellán lego del contrario bando' ['layman chaplain of the opposite band'].[54] Cervantes's epithet of 'capellán lego' is not a reference to López de Úbeda's religious condition, for he was a layman physician, but a derogatory manner of naming those who practised for wealthy and influential families.[55] Cervantes fictionalizes him as an unreasonable and irascible man who attacks the good poets and hurts, in particular, Philip II and Philip III's 'secretario de lenguas' [translator], poet, and book censor Tomás Gracián, by hurling at him 'su librazo' ['his big book'].[56] Here, Cervantes appears to have re-enacted a real-life event, that is, López de Úbeda's fit of rage because Gracián had not signed off the approval for his novel.[57] Their confrontations aside, according to Marcel Bataillon, Cervantes's dislike of López de Úbeda rests on the displeasure that the picaresque genre caused him, thus explaining the absence in the *Viaje del Parnaso* of the genre's leading figure, Mateo Alemán, whom Cervantes had first met in the Sevillian academies.

Cervantes's indifference towards several authors in his long poem is an open invitation to discuss them as opponents. Such is the case of Pedro de Espinosa and Esteban Manuel de Villegas. Espinosa had snubbed him in *Flores de poetas ilustres de España* [*Flowers of Distinguished Poets of Spain*] (1605), a collection of selected poems in which Espinosa did not judge Cervantes's poetry worthy enough of merit to be incorporated in the volume.[58] As for Villegas, he vented his bile against Cervantes in these verses of the *Eróticas o amatorias* [*Erotic and Love Poetry*] (1618): 'Irás del Helicón a la conquista/ mejor que el mal poeta de Cervantes,/donde no le valdrá ser quijotista' ['You will go from Helicon to the conquest, better than that bad poet, Cervantes, who will not take advantage there of being a "quijotista" ']. [59] It is worth noting Villega's use of the adjective 'quijotista', which perhaps meant insulting Cervantes as delusional or acknowledging him merely as a writer, only on the basis of his prose. As a poet, overshadowed by much more celebrated authors like Lope de Vega, Cervantes was less respected by his peers, an attitude that triggered enmity because he considered himself wrongly attacked or dis-

[53] Cited in Bataillon, p. 223. Cervantes could have based himself on López de Úbeda's 'pícara' in order to write the verses by Urganda the Unknown, which appear in the preliminaries of the first *Don Quixote* (Bataillon, p. 222).

[54] Cervantes, *Viaje*…, p. 63; cited in Bataillon, p. 220.

[55] Bataillon, p. 220.

[56] Cervantes, *Viaje*…, p. 63.

[57] Herrero García, p. 817; Santos de la Morena, p. 310.

[58] Bataillon, p. 226; Gaos, p. 17.

[59] Villegas, p. 232; cited in Rivers, p. 121.

respected, the victim of surreptitious envy. This jealousy also affected his economic and social circumstances dramatically; for example, it hindered his theatrical productions from getting off the ground, and thwarted his hopes of becoming one of the Count of Lemos's men of letters in residence at the Neapolitan court. In any case, animosity and disdainful regard towards another author's work was not unidirectional and exclusively centred on Cervantes, for as this chapter has exposed, Cervantes himself had his own issues not only with poets whose value he discredited but also with writers like Alemán, seemingly for cultivating the picaresque genre. What is more, rivalries and entrenched hatred among literary peers, inside or outside the academic circles, were the order of the day; part and parcel of situations created by 'slanderers' like Salas Barbadillo and Espinel and by confrontational characters like López de Úbeda and Vélez de Guevara. Many of them, with the help of friends and despite their enemies, aspired to secure recognition and succeed in the literary arena. In Cervantes's case, this chapter has mentioned that his cordial relationship with prominent *ingenios* of Seville ensured his appreciation as a poet in public commemorations, whilst his praise of poets and other influential men, such as aristocratic patrons and book censors, paved the way to reciprocal encomiastic comments and, at times, to the obtaining of support for his publications.

Works Cited

Bajona Oliveras, Ignacio. 'La amistad de Cervantes con Pedro de Padilla'. *Anales Cervantinos* 5 (1955–56): pp. 231–41.

Bataillon, Marcel. 'Relaciones literarias'. In *Suma cervantina*, edited by Juan Bautista Avalle-Arce and Edward C. Riley (London: Tamesis, 1973), pp. 215–32.

Brown, Kenneth. *Anastasio Pantaleón de Ribera (1600–1629): Ingenioso miembro de la república literaria española* (Madrid: Studia Humanitatis, 1980).

Canavaggio, Jean. *Cervantes*, translated by Mauro Armiño (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1987).

Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de. *El ingenioso hidalgo don Quixote de la Mancha* (1605). http://miguelde.cervantes.com/pdf/Don%20Quijote%201%20parte.pdf.

Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de. *La Galatea*, edited by Rodolfo Schevill and Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín (Madrid: Imprenta de Bernardo Rodríguez, 1914).

Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de. *Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda*, edited by Juan Bautista Avalle-Arce (Madrid: Castalia, 1969).

Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de. *Ocho comedias y ocho entremeses nuevos, nunca representados*, edited by Florencio Sevilla Arroyo (Alicante: Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, 2001). http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/nd/ark:/59851/bmc9g5k1.

Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de. *Segunda parte del ingenioso caballero don Quixote de la Mancha*, introduction and notes by Guillermo Araya (Chile: Editorial Universitaria, 1975).

Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de. *Three Exemplary Novels/Tres novelas ejemplares: A Dual Language Book*, edited and translated by Stanley Appelbaum (Mineola, New York: Dover Publications, 2006).

Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de. *Viaje del Parnaso* (1614). http://miguelde.cervantes.com/pdf/Viaje%20del%20Parnaso.pdf.

Close, Anthony J. *A Companion to Don Quixote* (Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2008).

Close, Anthony J. 'A Poet's Vanity: Thoughts on the Friendly Ethos of Cervantine Satire'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 13, no. 1 (1993): pp. 31–63.
Cruz, Anne J. 'Las academias: Literatura y poder en un espacio cortesano'. *Edad de Oro* 17 (1998): pp. 49–57.
Egido, Aurora. *Fronteras de la poesía en el barroco* (Barcelona: Crítica editorial, 1990).
Espín Rodrigo, Enrique. *El Quijote de Avellaneda fue obra del doctor Christoval Svarez de Figueroa* (Tarragona: Casa de Felipe Roberto, 1993).
Espinel, Vicente Gómez Martínez. *Diversas rimas*, edited by Alberto Navarro González and Pilar González Velasco (Salamanca: Publicaciones de la Universidad, 1980).
Espinosa, Pedro de. *Flores de poetas ilustres de España*, edited by Inoria Pepe Sarno and José María Reyes Cano (Madrid: Cátedra, 2006).
Fernández de Avellaneda, Alonso. *El ingenioso hidalgo don Quijote de la Mancha*, edited by Fernando García Salinero (Madrid: Castalia, 1988).
Gaos, Vicente. 'Edición, introducción y notas'. In *Poesía completa I* by Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, edited by Gaos (Madrid: Clásicos Castalia, 1973).
Gracia García, Jordi. '*Viaje del Parnaso*: Un ensayo de interpretación'. In *Actas del Primer Coloquio Internacional de la Asociación de Cervantistas* (Barcelona: Anthropos, 1990): pp. 333–48.
Herrero García, Miguel. 'Estudio preliminar'. In *Viaje del Parnaso* by Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, edited by Herrero García (Madrid: CSIC, Clásicos Hispánicos, 1983).
King, Willard F. *Prosa novelística y academias literarias en el siglo XVII* (Madrid: Anejos del Boletín de la Real Academia Española, 1963).
King, Willard F. 'The Academies and Seventeenth-Century Spanish Literature', *Publications of the Modern Language Association* 75, no. 4 (1960): pp. 367–76.
Lokos, Ellen D. *The Solitary Journey: Cervantes's Voyage to Parnassus* (New York: Peter Lang, 1991).
López de Maldonado, Gabriel. *El cancionero* (Madrid: Casa de Guillermo Droy, 1586).
López de Úbeda, Francisco. *La pícara Justina*, edited by Bruno M. Damiani (Madrid: Turanzas, 1982).
Mancing, Howard. *The Cervantes Encyclopedia*, 2 vols (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2004).
Márquez Villanueva, Francisco. *Trabajos y días cervantinos* (Alcalá de Henares: Centro de Estudios Cervantinos, 1995).
Martín, Adrienne Laskier. *Cervantes and the Burlesque Sonnet* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991).
Mesa, Cristóbal de. *Églogas y geórgicas de Virgilio* (Madrid: Imprenta de R. Ruiz, 1973).
Mesa, Cristóbal de. *Rimas*, edited by Ricardo Senabre Sempere (Badajoz: Diputación Provincial, 1991).
Montoto, Santiago. *Justas poéticas sevillanas del siglo XVI (1532–1542)* (Valencia: Castalia, 1955).
Padilla, Pedro de. *Tesoro de varias poesías*, edited by Virgilio López Lemus (México: Frente de Afirmación Hispanista, 2006).
Rivers, Elias L. '*Viaje del Parnaso* y poesías sueltas'. In *Suma Cervantina*, edited by J. Bautista Avalle-Arce and E. C. Riley (London: Tamesis, 1973), pp. 119–46.
Rufo, Juan. *La Austríada* (Madrid: Casa de Alonso Gómez, 1584).
Rufo, Juan. *Las seiscientas apotegmas y otras obras en verso*, edited by Alberto Blecua (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1972).
Sánchez, José. *Academias literarias del Siglo de Oro español* (Madrid: Gredos, 1961).

Sánchez Portero, Antonio. 'Cervantes desveló en clave la identidad de Avellaneda'. *Lemir: Revista de Literatura Española Medieval y del Renacimiento* 11 (2007): pp. 121–33.

Santos de la Morena, Blanca. 'Cervantes recreado por sí mismo en el *Viaje del Parnaso*: Reflexiones sobre su concepto de poesía'. In *Recreaciones quijotescas y cervantinas en la narrativa*, edited by Carlos Mata Induráin (Pamplona: Eunsa, 2013), pp. 305–12.

Sanz Ayán, Carmen. ' "Mercadería vendible". La frustración teatral cervantina y el negocio del teatro'. In *La España y el Cervantes del primer Quijote*, edited by José Alcalá Zamora and Gonzalo Queipo de Llano (Madrid: Real Academia, 2005), pp. 71–97.

Schevill, Rodolfo and Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín. 'Introducción'. In *La Galatea* by Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, vol. I (Madrid: Imprenta de Bernardo Rodríguez, 1914), pp. vi–xxxiii.

Stagg, Geoffrey. 'Propaganda and Poetics on Parnassus: Cervantes's *Viaje del Parnaso*'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 8, no. I (1988): pp. 23–38.

Suárez de Figueroa, Cristóbal. *La constante Amarilis*, edited by María Asunción Satorre Grau (2002). http://eprints.ucm.es/3379.

Suárez de Figueroa, Cristóbal. *El pasajero*, edited by María Isabel López Bascuñana (Barcelona: PPU, 1988).

Suárez de Figueroa, Cristóbal. *Plaza universal de todas ciencias y artes* (Perpiñán: Louis Roure, 1629).

Urbina, Eduardo and Fernando González Moreno. 'Los motivos de la fama y la envidia en los retratos de Cervantes'. In *Cervantes y sus enemigos. Anuario de Estudios Cervantinos* 9, edited by Eduardo Urbina and Jesús G. Maestro (Vigo: Academia del Hispanismo, 2013), pp. 135–59.

Vega Carpio, Lope de. *Laurel de Apolo*, edited by Antonio Carreño (Madrid: Cátedra, 2007).

Villegas, Esteban Manuel de. *Eróticas o amatorias*, edited by Narciso Alonso Cortés (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1913).

CHAPTER 26

WINDMILLS OF REALITY, GIANTS OF THE IMAGINATION

Cervantes in British Literature

ZENÓN LUIS-MARTÍNEZ
Universidad de Huelva

> There is not much to choose between [Don Quixote's] tilting at the sails of windmills and our tilting at the great wheel of the world.
>
> —G.K. Chesterton

The first two Cervantine allusions in English address the adventure of the windmills in the eighth chapter of *Don Quixote*, Part I. In George Wilkins's play *The Miseries of Inforst Marriage* (1607), misfortune-stricken Scarborow declares in his drunken rants to be 'armd to fight with a Wind-mill'.[1] In that same year, Thomas Middleton's comedy *Your Five Gallants* (1607) expresses Piamont's rage at Pursenet's cozening of 'forty pound in fair gold' with very similar words: "Sfoot, I could fight with a windmill now'.[2] Wilkins and Middleton's representations of mental decay and comic fury through the knight errant's windmill delusion are dated two years after the first publication of the first part of *Don Quixote* in Spain and five years before the publication of its first translation into English (1612). They attest not only to the fast assimilation of Cervantes into British culture but also to the compelling force of the most emblematic episode in his work.

Almost four hundred years after these plays, documentarists Keith Fulton and Louis Pepe chronicled one of the several frustrated attempts by Terry Gilliam to produce a feature film called *The Man Who Killed Don Quixote*. Fulton and Pepe's *Lost in La Mancha* (2002) registers, among other moments inspired by Cervantes's novel, Gilliam's preproduction animations of the knight's tilting at the windmills, as well as his joyous filming

[1] Wilkins, sig. F1^{r}. [2] Middleton, *Your Five Gallants*, IV.6.7–8, p. 626.

of two bulky rustics rehearsing as giants. But it also shows the filmmaker's final frustration at the project's collapse, epitomized in a drawing with the caption 'The windmills of reality fight back'.[3] Gilliam's attempt to overcome budget cuts, the noise of unforeseen military aircraft, weather disasters, and absent film-stars with the sole power of his artistic genius finds the best of metaphors in Don Quixote's famous adventure.

Beyond his character's manic replacement of the real with the imagined, Cervantes's windmill/giant dichotomy embodies the struggle between the poetic imagination and its own limitations. These early and late moments in the history of Cervantine legacy condense the two forces at work in what Harry Levin has called the 'quixotic principle' in fiction, that is, 'the tragicomic irony of the conflict between real life and the romantic imagination'.[4] One side represents Don Quixote as a laughable buffoon with endless satiric potential, while the other seeks a deeper understanding of the knight's quarrel with a morally impoverished world. These examples also bear witness to an overwhelming predominance of *Don Quixote* over the rest of Cervantes's works. The practice of fiction in the light of Cervantes has been called 'Cervantic' or 'Cervantean': while the first term refers to those works that imitate characters, plots, or style, the second relies on deep-level recreation and subtle emulation as ways of assimilating or expanding Cervantes's idea and art of the novel.[5] This complex interplay of interpretations, imitations, and recreations marks four centuries of fruitful engagement with Cervantes in British literature.

Valorous Adventures: John Fletcher to Lewis Theobald

Early in Book III of Cervantes's last novel, *Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda*, the protagonists, still under the feigned identities of Periandro and Auristela, arrive in Lisbon. There Periandro commissions a painter to make a canvas containing 'the principall matters of his history' ['los principales casos de su historia'].[6] Days later they continue their trip to Badajoz, where they meet a young playwright who, fascinated by this narrative painting, intends to write a play chronicling the complete 'travels' ['trabajos'] in it. Too many technical difficulties assault him, mostly derived from the still incomplete lives and the uncertain destinies of the protagonists. But these do not deter him from an enterprise that he wants to carry out 'in despite of all rules of Poetry, and the Art comicall' ['a pesar de todas las reglas de la poesía y a despecho del arte cómico'].[7]

[3] Fulton and Pepe. [4] Levin, p. 47.

[5] On the distinction between imitation and emulation, see Levin, p. 47, and Pardo García, 'La tradición cervantina…', pp. 73–7. On the uses of 'quixotic', 'Cervantean', 'Cervantic', and 'Cervantine', see Ardila, 'The Influence…', pp. 11–15.

[6] Cervantes, *Los trabajos*…, p. 275; *The Travels*…, p. 221.

[7] Cervantes, *Los trabajos*…, p. 279; p. 225.

This episode shows Cervantes's awareness of the dramatic potential of his narrative work, but also of the difficulties faced by any effort at dramatic adaptation of narrative materials. Handicapped by the superiority of narrative in representing reality, playwrights are depicted as having to cope with practical problems of decorum—the handling of the unities of time, place, and action—and scope—the difference between all-encompassing histories or lives and more limited 'cases'.

Despite these limitations, Cervantes's works soon attracted seventeenth-century English playwrights as excellent purveyors of romantic intrigue, complexity of character, and a kind of moral exemplarity that was not exempt from social and political ambiguities. In the context of a widespread interest in Spanish literary works that had originated in the sixteenth century, the playwrights' attention was not restricted to *Don Quixote*, as is the case in later centuries. Cervantes's most famous work first reached English drama in the form of allusions and then through the theatrical force of some of its narrative interpolations in Part I. But no English dramatist attempted a full-scope adaptation until Thomas D'Urfey's three-part *The Comical History of Don Quixote* (1694–6). Besides *Don Quixote*, the immediate success of the *Novelas ejemplares*, either in the original or through its early French translations, was felt in several English plays. And the potential for romance of *Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda*, first translated into English in 1619, also moved the English theatrical imagination. The thirteen Cervantes-inspired plays attributed to John Fletcher (1579–1625) and/or his most intimate circle of collaborators are the best testimony of this impact.[8]

Early allusions can be traced in plays like Wilkins's *The Miseries of Inforst Marriage*, Middleton's *Your Five Gallants*, Ben Jonson's *Epicoene* (1610), Philip Massinger's *The Virgin Martyr* (1622), or *The Witch of Edmonton* (1623), by William Rowley, Thomas Dekker, and John Ford.[9] But Francis Beaumont's *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* (1612) is the first full-fledged imitation of *Don Quixote*. Beaumont inserted the idea of a deluded character that takes to knight errantry into a sophisticated meta-theatrical game. Its protagonist, the apprentice Rafe, is encouraged by his masters, a grocer and his wife, to take part in a play that they are attending. Rafe decides to perform the part of a knight errant bearing a pestle as his weapon. Inns taken for castles, prisoners ludicrously released, and affairs with princesses are situations that Beaumont borrowed from his source.[10] He was followed by his associate Fletcher, whose collaboration with Shakespeare must have produced *The History of Cardenio* (1613), based on the Sierra Morena episodes in I.24–36. But *El curioso impertinente*—the novella in I.33–5 that the curate reads at the inn and that postpones the resolution of the loves of Cardenio, Lucinda, Dorotea, and Fernando—proved to be the most attractive interpolation for theatrical purposes. The tale involving Anselmo, the foolhardy husband who decides to test his wife Camila's virtue by exposing her to the courtship of his best friend Lotario, provided Jacobean dramatists with 'a neat structure with a small cast of characters that

[8] Darby and Samson, p. 211; Samson, p. 223.
[9] For a longer list, see Ardila, 'The Influence…', pp. 3–4.
[10] On Beaumont's play and *Don Quixote*, see Gale and Sánchez Imizcoz.

would transfer well to the stage'.[11] Its blend of sentimental intrigue, dramatic irony, and moral probing directly inspired Beaumont and Fletcher's *The Coxcomb* (1609), Thomas Middleton's *The Lady's Tragedy* (formerly known as *The Second Maiden's Tragedy*, 1611), and Nathan Field's *Amends for Ladies* (1611).[12] While Fletcher's knowledge of *Don Quixote* in Spanish is almost certain, he and other dramatists accessed the tale through Nicholas Baudoin's French rendering *Le Curieux Impertinent* (1608).

Among the abovementioned plays, *The Lady's Tragedy*, despite the usual practice of changing some of the characters' names, comes closest to the Cervantine story. One of its two plots has Anselmus, brother to the King of Florence, test his unnamed Wife through his friend Votarius' approaches, after their debate on whether it is worth exposing her to this test. Like his model Lotario, Votarius argues by using the Cervantine metaphor for the chastity test:

> Must a man needs, in having a rich diamond,
> Put in between a hammer and an anvil
> And not believing the true worth and value,
> Break it in pieces to find out the goodness,
> And, in the finding, lose it?[13]

> ¿sería justo que te viniese en deseo tomar aquel diamante y ponerle entre una yunque y un martillo, y allí, a pura fuerza de golpes y brazos, probar si es tan duro y fino como dicen?
>
> [Would it be reasonable in thee to desire to take that diamond and place it between an anvil and a hammer, and by mere force of blows and strength of arm try if it were as hard and as fine as they said?][14]

Despite differences in detail, Middleton followed Cervantes in exploring the manifold possibilities of his narrative: the overt treatment of sexuality, particularly Anselmus' voyeurism, the sentimental trials of faith and betrayal, and their potentials for moral ambivalence.[15]

The theatrical success of *El curioso impertinente* drew attention to Cervantes's mastery in the art of the *novella*. The international impact of the twelve *Novelas ejemplares* was also immediate after their original publication in 1613. They were first translated into French in 1615, by François de Rosset and Vital D'Augdinier, and although their first translation into English was incomplete and late (1644), their influence on English theatre was soon felt through knowledge of the original or use of the French intermediate text. Fletcher, in collaboration with Beaumont, first used this source in *Love's Pilgrimage* (1615), where he closely adapted *Las dos doncellas*. Fletcher was the sole author of the comedy *The Chances* (1613–25), which adapted *La señora Cornelia*, and which enjoyed much success through Restoration and eighteenth-century adaptations. Also exclusively

[11] Darby and Samson, p. 217.
[12] Darby and Samson, pp. 214–19; See also Rosenbach and Clark.
[13] Middleton, *The Lady's Tragedy*, I.2.53–57, p. 847.
[14] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, p. 421; *Don Quixote*, p. 257.
[15] Darby and Samson, pp. 215–19.

by Fletcher, *Rule a Wife and Have a Wife* (1624) combined two plots, one taken from Alonso Jerónimo Salas Barbadillo's *El sagaz Estacio* (1620) and a subplot from *El casamiento engañoso*.[16] Thomas Middleton's collaborative play with Thomas Dekker and William Rowley, *The Spanish Gipsy* (1623), drew on *La fuerza de la sangre* and *La gitanilla*. And John Webster, Philip Massinger, and John Ford collaborated with Fletcher in *The Fair Maid of the Inn* (1625), based on *La ilustre fregona*.[17] On the whole, Cervantes's tales proved more attractive dramatically than his own plays, which enjoyed little success in Spain. The exception to this rule in England seems to be Philip Massinger, whose *The Fatal Dowry* (1619) and *The Renegado* (1624) drew respectively on *El viejo celoso* and *Los baños de Argel*, a circumstance that suggests Massinger's perusal of a copy of the *editio princeps* of the *Ocho comedias y ocho entremeses* (1613).[18]

Published posthumously in 1617, Cervantes's last novel first appeared in English in the anonymous translation *The Travels of Persiles and Sigismunda: A Northern History* (1619). Prepared after an intermediate French translation of 1617, the book made its way into Fletcher and Massinger's tragicomedy *The Custom of the Country* (1620). The dramatists adapted and expanded two plots from the last of Cervantes's work. Mauricio's tale, starting in I.12, suggests the play's title: 'Nowe you must knowe, that in our country there is a custome, the worst of all that are wickedly observed'.[19] The deflowering of the bride by the husband's brothers and near kindred (*ius primae noctis*) is transformed in the play into the 'admirable rare custome' of the *droit du seigneur*.[20] Thus, the preparations for the wedding of Arnoldo and Zenocia (Transila in the original) are interrupted when Count Clodio claims this right. Zenocia's resistance and her escape with Arnoldo and his brother Rutillio are the basis for the dramatists' main plot, which revolves around the sexual entanglements caused by Zenocia's abduction by Leopold, a sea captain who takes her to Lisbon. In the secondary plot, Rutillio assumes the plot functions of Cervantes's Polish traveller Ortel Banedre in Book III, who is made to believe that he has killed Duarte in a street fight. Rutillio's hiding under the protection of Lady Guiomar, Duarte's mother, and his occupation as a male prostitute until he is betrothed to Guiomar, expand the Cervantine basis of this part of the play.[21] As Trudi L. Darby has observed, 'dramatizing *Persiles and Sigismunda* was a much more ambitious task than adapting the *Novelas*, requiring a tight control of incident and a focus on a limited number of issues'.[22] Accordingly, Fletcher and Massinger's effort materializes Cervantes's own musings about the relationship between theatre and narrative, as expounded upon earlier in this section. And their choice was to adapt episodes of Cervantes's convoluted narrative into a sex-obsessed two-plot tragicomedy.

In his Preface to the *Fables Ancient and Modern* (1700), John Dryden wrote that this play had more 'bawdry' in it 'than in all ours together'.[23] The horror expressed in Cervantes about the barbarous, 'Northern' custom alluded in the title gives way to its

[16] Darby and Samson, pp. 209–10. [17] Samson, pp. 229–30.
[18] Ardila, 'The Influence…', p. 6; Fitzmaurice-Kelly, pp. 13–14.
[19] Cervantes, *The Travels*…, p. 58. [20] Samson, p. 227; Darby, p. 274.
[21] Darby, pp. 273–81. [22] Darby, p. 276. [23] Dryden, p. 625.

naturalization in the play's Mediterranean setting (Italy, Portugal) and to the more trivialized treatment of sexual fantasy—Rutillio's 'rare tricks' with dozens of Lisbon women is the most extreme instance.[24] *The Custom of the Country* testifies not only to the attraction that Cervantes's work had for Jacobean dramatists, but also to the distance between Cervantes's integration of erotic adventure as part of Christian allegory and the English dramatists' 'coarser' treatment of sexuality.[25]

While Jacobean and Caroline drama exploited the full potential for entertainment of all of Cervantes's major works, the Restoration inaugurates an almost exclusive focus on *Don Quixote* that will dominate Cervantic literature in Britain. Plays like John Dryden's *The Rival Ladies* (1664) still found inspiration in *Las dos doncellas*, one of the six *Novelas ejemplares* included in the first English translation by James Mabbe in 1640. Equally, less Quixote-orientated interpolations like *El curioso impertinente* continued to influence plays like *The Disappointment* (1684) by Thomas Southerne, or John Crowne's *The Married Beau*: *or*, *the Curious Impertinent* (1694).[26] But the adventures of the knight of La Mancha gained ground, in part the effect of a philosophico-critical interest in *Don Quixote* that runs from Robert Burton's comments on the knight's madness due to inappropriate readings in *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621) to John Locke's praise of the knight in his *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690).[27]

In the meantime, Edmund Gayton's *Pleasant Notes upon Don Quixote* (1654) became the first critical commentary of Cervantes's novel. Gayton's view of Cervantes's protagonist pair as two ridiculous clowns boosted the farcical interpretation that dominated English letters for more than a century. John Phillips's 'translation' of the work *The History of the most Renowned Don Quixote of Mancha* (1687) claimed in its title to be 'made English according to the Humour of our Modern Language'. Besides his anglicizing of the novel, Phillips's endorsement of Gayton's farcical views were determinant for later dramatic versions like Thomas D'Urfey's three-part *The Comical History of Don Quixote* (1694–6), a serious attempt to include a generous selection of episodes from the two parts of the novel, although not necessarily in the same order as in the Cervantine original. The first play includes outstanding incidents of the first part, mainly the windmills, the drubbing of Don Quixote at the inn, and the Cardenio plot, concluding with Don Quixote's return to his hometown imprisoned in a cage. The second piece centres on events of the second part, remarkably those in relation to Don Quixote's stay with the Duke and the Duchess, Sancho's government of the Island of Barataria, and his defeat at the hands of the Knight of the White Moon. The third mixes episodes from the two parts, like the adventure with the lion, the wedding of Camacho (here also including the wedding of Mary the Buxome, Sancho's daughter, to Camacho's servant Jacques), Master Pedro's puppet show, and Don Quixote's last will—although his death is left out from the play. Conceived as a comic opera for Dorset Garden, the play remained successful in part for the music composed by Henry Purcell, as well as for remarkable performances

[24] Fletcher and Massinger, IV.4.14, p. 710.
[25] Wilson, pp. 191–9.
[26] Nicoll, pp. 179–80.
[27] Burton, p. 93. On John Locke and *Don Quixote*, see Bautista Naranjo, p. 45.

like Joseph Haines's impersonation of Ginés de Pasamonte in Part I, or Cave Underhill's Sancho in Part II.[28]

D'Urfey's *Comical History* paved the way for a long list of Quixote plays in eighteenth-century England. Among these, two adaptations might have been particularly encouraged by D'Urfey revivals in the 1727–8 season. Henry Fielding's *Don Quixote in England* was first performed and published in 1734, although it had been drafted in Leyden in 1728. Fielding's play is a three-act comic opera that puts quixotic satire at the service of political critique at a time when opposition against Prime Minister Sir Robert Walpole was gaining strength. Arrived at an English inn that he takes for a castle, and in which he refuses to pay the innkeeper, Don Quixote becomes involved in love intrigues, but particularly in the local oligarchs' machinations around parliamentary elections. Sancho, on his part, is depicted as a degraded, gluttonous bumpkin in love with English meat and beer. Fielding's play put the fashionable view of Don Quixote and Sancho as laughable buffoons to the service of political satire.[29] Fielding's idea, clearly indebted to Gayton's *Notes* and Phillips's humorous transposition of the story to English soil, might have also been encouraged by the success of Lewis Theobald's *Double Falsehood, or The Distressed Lovers* (performed 1727, published 1728), a play whose theatrical dullness is redeemed by its presumable status as the only textual trace of Fletcher and Shakespeare's *Cardenio*—of which more in the last section of this survey.

The theatrical character of early Cervantine influence in Britain should not obscure other nondramatic Cervantes-inspired fictions. Among these, three Restoration works can be said to pioneer the emergence of Cervantic and Cervantean narrative. John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress* (1678) has been regarded by J. G. Ardila as 'possibly the first specimen of Cervantean emulation' in its account of a Christian zealot whose reading of the Bible embarks him on an insane search for the New Jerusalem.[30] Samuel Butler's three-part narrative poem *Hudibras* (1663, 1664, and 1678) transforms into anti-Puritan satire the ludicrous adventures of the quixotic pair Sir Hudibras and his squire Ralpho. The mock-heroic element, particularly in the second work, advances the engagement with the Spanish poet and novelist in the British Enlightenment. And William Winstanley's parodic *The Essex Champion: or, The Famous History of Sir Billy of Billerecay and his Squire Ricardo* (1690) recounts the calamitous adventures of a rural Quixote spellbound by the medieval English romances. Jonathan Swift's *The Battle of the Books* found inspiration in the strife between good and bad poets in *Viaje del Parnaso*.[31] Joseph Addison praised Cervantes in his *Spectator* articles. And David Hume used different episodes in *Don Quixote* (particularly II.13) to exemplify his theories of mental and bodily 'delicacy' in his essay 'The Standard of Taste'.[32] This enlightened concern with Cervantes and his major novel sets the standard for a 'Golden Age' of *Don Quixote* in British literature.[33]

[28] See Portillo García and Mora.
[29] Dolder; Hammond, 'The Cervantic Legacy…', pp. 97–8.
[30] Ardila, 'The Influence…', p. 7.
[31] See Bando Domínguez; Torralbo Caballero and Gómez Fernández.
[32] Tabarés Pérez and Pérez Ruiz.
[33] I borrow the term from Pardo, 'El Siglo…'.

Cervantic and Cervantean Novel: Henry Fielding to Charles Dickens

Fielding's literary move from drama to narrative after the Licensing Act of 1737 marks a cornerstone in the approach to Cervantes's work in Britain. *Don Quixote in England* is not the last Cervantic play of the eighteenth century, as testified by works like James Ayres's *Sancho at Court; or, The Mock Governor* (1742) and Frederick Pilon's *Barataria; or, Sancho Turn'd Governor* (1785).[34] But Fielding's comic opera is the last work before the advent of a new concern with Cervantes in the novel. Fielding's first novel, *The History of the Adventures of Joseph Andrews* (1742), originated a self-conscious tradition of Cervantic imitation at a crucial moment of rise and consolidation of the novel in Britain.[35] On the title-page of the first edition, Fielding declared that his novel was 'Written in Imitation of the *Manner* of Cervantes, Author of *Don Quixote*'.[36] Though not conceived as straightforward imitation, *Joseph Andrews* was modelled on *Don Quixote* in its construction of character and incident. The character pair of Parson Adams and Joseph Andrews replicates Don Quixote and Sancho Panza. Like their ancestors, their adventures and misfortunes are facilitated by travel. The gentlemen, maids, rogues, and innkeepers of Fielding's eighteenth-century England are indebted to Cervantes's seventeenth-century Spain. The conflict between ideal and material worlds affects Adams and Joseph's ordeals in similar ways to Don Quixote and Sancho. In this sense, Adams is truly quixotic in his inability to come to terms with the reality around him, and in his attempt to impose his outmoded ideals of virtue and learning. Like Don Quixote, he is an object of mockery, but also a complex and sympathetic figure.[37]

But Fielding's abovementioned '*Manner*' transcends plain imitation, thus inaugurating a Cervantean narrative style. He sprinkled his novel with thoughts about narrative fiction that evince a conscious emulation of his master's novelistic practice. In the Preface, he labels his own manner 'comic Romance', which he defines as 'a comic Epic-Poem in Prose' of 'extended and comprehensive' action, of 'a larger Circle of Incidents', and of 'a greater Variety of Characters' than traditional romance.[38] Beyond tone and scope, Fielding also found in Cervantes a rationale for handling the relations between literature and life. The opening chapter of Book III constitutes a defence of 'Biography' as the only method of accessing narrative 'Truth' in the representation not of 'Men', but 'Manners', not 'an Individual', but 'a Species'. In this sense, *Don Quixote* comprehends 'the History of the World in general, at least that Part which is polished by Laws, Arts,

[34] Ardila, 'Sancho Panza en Inglaterra'.
[35] Hammond, 'The Cervantic…', p. 98, and 'Mid-Century…'.
[36] Fielding, *Joseph Andrews*, p. 1.
[37] Pardo García, 'Formas de Imitación…', pp. 135–45; Ardila, 'Henry Fielding', 126–32.
[38] Fielding, *Joseph Andrews*, pp. 3–4.

and Sciences'.[39] Fielding asks readers to disregard the particulars of historical truth when approaching the universal exemplarity of Cervantine narrative:

> For tho' it may be worth the Examination of Criticism whether the Shepherd *Chrysostom*, who, as *Cervantes* informs us, died for love of the fair *Marcella*, who hated him, was ever in *Spain* will any one doubt but that such a silly Fellow hath really existed? Is there in the World such a Sceptic as to disbelieve the Madness of *Cardenio*, the Perfidy of *Ferdinand*, the impertinent Curiosity of *Anselmo*, the Weakness of *Camilla*, the irresolute Friendship of *Lothario*; tho' perhaps as to the Time and Place where those several persons lived, that good Historian may be deplorably deficient.[40]

The championing of Cervantes in *Joseph Andrews* served its author to endorse an idea of the novel that restored the pleasures of a 'tension-driven plot', thus promoting incident, process, and moral questioning at a time when Samuel Richardson's *Pamela* (1740) had imposed the more 'static model' of the epistolary method. This Cervantine turn played a crucial role in inclining the balance on Fielding's side after the earlier success of his rival.[41]

Joseph Andrews also set the example for two of Fielding's most eminent contemporaries: Laurence Sterne (1713–68) and Tobias Smollett (1721–71). Sterne's *The Life and Opinions of Tristam Shandy, Gentleman* (1759–67) occupies a unique place among Cervantic and Cervantean fictions of all times. In the novel and in his personal correspondence, Sterne declared his admiration for Cervantes and *Don Quixote*. Tristam swears 'by the ashes of my dear Rabelais, and dearer Cervantes'.[42] And at the beginning of the novel he devotes a long digression to the comparison of Parson Yorick's horse with Rocinante, and the Parson's own 'spiritual and refined sentiments' to those of 'the peerless knight of La Mancha'.[43]

Besides Yorick, Tristam, his father Walter, and particularly his uncle Toby share obvious quixotic features.[44] Sterne's characters lose track of the courses of life through a monomaniac obsession with their 'hobby-horses', which function as 'miniature' forms of quixotic madness. Toby's obsession with fortifications and his idealized love of Widow Wadman, Walter's scientific musings, and Tristam's devotion to writing, become quixotic enterprises in themselves.[45] In Wayne C. Booth's words, we see Cervantes's narrator 'at his desk as intimately as we ever see Tristam', and this use of the self-conscious narrator becomes Sterne's best strategy for transforming the Cervantine relations between literature and life.[46]

Smollett is arguably 'the English-speaking author of greatest indebtedness to Cervantes'.[47] He authored one of the finest English translations of *Don Quixote* (1755),

[39] Fielding, *Joseph Andrews*, pp. 163–4.
[40] Fielding, *Joseph Andrews*, pp. 162–3.
[41] Hammond, 'Mid-Century…', p. 262.
[42] Sterne, III.19, p. 201.
[43] Sterne, I.10, pp. 47–8, 51.
[44] Staves, pp. 202–4; Kleber, pp. 71–7; Byrd, pp. 34–8.
[45] Pardo García, 'Formas de imitación…', pp. 145–58.
[46] Booth, p. 167.
[47] Ardila, 'Tobias Smollett, *Don Quixote*…', p. 151.

completed while he was working on his first novel, *Roderick Random* (1748). Smollett's veneration for Cervantes is patent in the biography that prefaces this translation, in which he praised the author's 'delightful stream of humour and invention'.[48] In the Preface to *Roderick Random*, he extolled *Don Quixote* for 'converting romance to purposes far more useful and entertaining' than those practised before its author.[49] Smollet's Fieldingesque adoption of Cervantic comic romance continued in his second novel, *Peregrine Pickle* (1751). But his Cervantean vision was accomplished in his last and best novel, *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker* (1771).[50] Written in epistolary form, this novel has been considered an inclusive epitome of those eighteenth-century narrative traditions fostered by Cervantes's example: travel book, sentimental fiction, and comic romance.[51] Besides, Smollett's characters are explicitly quixotic—like Lieutenant Lisamahago, 'a tall, meagre figure, answering, with his horse, the description of Don Quixote mounted on Rozinante'[52]—or, more elaborately so, Clinker's religious enthusiasm and Matthew Bramble's sentimentalism and misanthropy.[53]

Fielding, Sterne, and Smollett are responsible for transforming the received image of Don Quixote as a ridiculous madman into a complex, humorous, and lovable character.[54] They also paved the way for later emulations of Cervantes's art, from Fielding's own *The History of Tom Jones, A Foundling* (1749) to nineteenth-century continuations seen in the works of Jane Austen, Sir Walter Scott, Charles Dickens, William M. Thackeray, George Eliot, and Henry James. They also inspired more straightforward imitations of the original. Charlotte Lennox's *The Female Quixote*, *or*, *The Adventures of Arabella* (1752) and Tobias Smollett's *The Adventures of Sir Launcelot Greaves* (1760) are the most remarkable instances of a narrative pattern that takes quixotic delusion as leitmotiv of their action. Lennox's *The Female Quixote* (1752) was praised by Fielding as a 'most excellent performance' and 'a Work of true Humour'. In spite of the model's alleged superiority, Fielding matched Lennox with Cervantes for gaining the reader's sympathy toward her mad heroine. Lennox was even acknowledged to surpass her model in verisimilitude of character and situation, and especially in the observance of 'Epic Regularity'. This involved the use of a consistent episodic structure, admitting interpolations only if entirely connected to the main plot, much against the 'loose unconnected Adventures in Don Quixote'.[55] Lennox's plot observes this neoclassical idea of the episodic structure in her recounting of the adventures of Arabella, brought up in a castle by his widowed father, where she lives up to the delusions of the sentimental French romances that she reads compulsively. Rescued from the Thames after throwing herself into the river in the attempt to escape from would-be ravishers, indeed just horsemen, Arabella's ending is, unlike Quixote's, a happy one; she is cured from her mania and accepts marriage to her cousin and suitor, Glanville.

[48] Smollett, 'Life of Cervantes', n.p.
[49] Smollett, *Roderick Random*, p. xxiv.
[50] Pardo, 'Tobias Smollett's…', p. 83.
[51] Ardila, 'Tobias Smollett…', p. 160.
[52] Smollett, *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker*, p. 188.
[53] Pardo, 'Tobias Smollett's…', pp. 83–92.
[54] Tave, pp. 140–63.
[55] Fielding, in *The Covent-Garden Journal*, pp. 279–82.

The critical approval of Lennox's novel matched its success among readers. It also set a school for later romance-reading mad heroines in comedies like the anonymous *Angelica: or, Quixote in Petticoats* (1758) and George Colman's *Polly Honeycomb* (1760), or in prose fictions like Maria Edgeworth's 'Angelina' (1801), Eaton Stannard Barrett's *The Heroine* (1813), and most remarkably Jane Austen's *Northanger Abbey* (1817–18, though finished by 1798). Partially modelled on Arabella. Austen's protagonist Catherine Morland is an ardent reader of gothic romances since her childhood, particularly Anne Radcliffe's novels, so she is prone to mistaking reality with her favourite fictions when she is invited to spend some time in Northanger Abbey. However, her unromantic and somewhat un-feminine character marks a certain distance from previous quixotic heroines, signalling a path to more realistic characterization.[56]

Another trend in quixotic fiction involving a male protagonist begins with Smollett's *The Adventures of Sir Launcelot Greaves*, published serially in the *British Magazine* between January 1760 and December 1761. The lovelorn knight Sir Launcelot, influenced by the apparent loss of his beloved Miss Aurelia Darnel, feigns madness and begins a series of adventures in the company of his squire, Timothy Crabshaw. Launcelot's project is overtly quixotic: 'I do purpose . . . to act as a coadjutor to the law, and even to remedy evils which the law cannot reach; to detect fraud and treason, abase insolence, mortify pride, discourage slander, disgrace immodesty, and stigmatize ingratitude.'[57] But the protagonist also denies being merely 'a modern Don Quixote': 'I have not yet encountered a windmill for a giant; nor mistaken this public house for a magnificent castle . . . I see and distinguish objects as they are discerned and described by other men.'[58] The disclaimer can hardly conceal his ancestry. His very surname, 'greaves', refers to the piece of armour that covers the shins, and is semantically close to Spanish 'quijote'—i.e. the piece of armour covering the thigh.[59] Smollett's imitation is a satiric romance built upon Cervantine characters and situations, exposing the vice of the English society of its time.[60]

Like Lennox, Smollett inspired a long list of quixotic satires in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. *The Spiritual Quixote, or The Summer's Ramble of Mr Geoffrey Wildgoose* (1773) was the first novel by the English priest Richard Graves. Wildgoose's madness ensues from reading too many pastoral treatises, after which he starts a tour across rural England in the company of his squire, the cobbler Jerry Tugwell, with the intention of restoring the Methodist faith. The advent of a lady, Julian Townshend, and a blow on the head, put an end to Wildgoose's mania and cause his return to the Anglican Church. In the anonymous epistolary novel *The Philosophical Quixote, or Memoirs of Mr David Wilkins* (1782), several correspondents amusedly describe the experiments of the protagonist, driven mad by the excessive reading of books of natural philosophy. Jane and Elizabeth Purbeck's two political fictions, *William Thornborough, or the Benevolent*

[56] Pawl; Gordon, 'Female Quixotism'.
[57] Smollett, *The Adventures of Sir Launcelot Greaves* . . . , p. 18.
[58] Smollett, *The Adventures of Sir Launcelot Greaves* . . . , p. 16.
[59] Levin, p. 54.
[60] Ardila, 'Tobias Smollett, *Don Quixote*', pp. 159–60.

Quixote (1791) and *The History of Sir George Warrington, or The Political Quixote* (1797) illustrate 'the change experienced in the tradition of quixotism' after the French revolution.[61] While the first identifies the quixotic drive with philanthropic tendencies, the second is a conservative satire in which its protagonist Sir George is deluded by the reading of radical treatises endorsing utopian ideals of liberty and fraternity. Similarly, Charles Lucas's *The Infernal Quixote: A Tale of the Day* (1801) displays a gallery of 'ideological quixotes' in the form of political radicals.[62]

The transition from the comic/satiric to a romanticized vision of Cervantes is embodied, among others, in the figures of Walter Scott (1771–1832) and Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley (1797–1851). A reader of Cervantes in Spanish, Scott imitated the master particularly in his first novel, the anonymously published *Waverley* (1814). Its hero, Edward Waverley, an enthusiastic reader of Spanish and French chronicles and romances, but also of Drayton, Spenser, Shakespeare, and Milton, leaves home in search of adventure with his literary education as his only background. Scott's reluctance to accept his novel as 'an imitation of the romance of Cervantes' in his address to the reader purports both identification and distance:

> My intention is not to follow the steps of that inimitable author, in describing the total perversion of the intellect as misconstrues the objects actually presented to the senses, but that more common aberration from sound judgement, which apprehends occurrences indeed in their reality, but communicates to them a tincture of its own romantic tone and colouring.[63]

The distinction is one of nuance, but it is an important one. Waverly is a silent, discrete, and individualistic Quixote, one without 'a confident, with whom to communicate his reveries' and sensible to 'the ridicule attached to them', willing to infuse history with a romantic vision but reluctant to fall into the trap of ludicrous errors.[64] Beyond Waverley's subtle quixotism of his character, critics have detected a deeper Cervantean debt in Scott's themes, as well as in narrative structure and technique. These would include 'the journey and inn motifs, the found manuscript device, and the strategy of self-conscious textual referentiality'.[65]

Mary Shelley's biography of Cervantes is the most substantial text in her *Lives of the Most Eminent Literary and Scientific Men of Italy, Spain, and Portugal* (1837). Her account is prototypical of the romantic myth of Cervantes as man and author. In connection with his captivity in Algiers and later release, she extols 'the natural elevation of Cervantes over his fellow-creatures, when, all being placed on an equality, the qualities

[61] Borham Puyal, pp. 13–14.

[62] I borrow the phrase from Staves, who defines it as: 'a character driven mad by the reading of nonfiction' (p. 200).

[63] Scott, p. 82.

[64] Scott, p. 83.

[65] Gaston, p. 48.

of the soul alone produced a difference of rank'. Cervantes deserves 'as high a place for moral excellence as his genius has secured for him in the world of intellect'.[66]

While Shelley's conception of Cervantes's moral excellence is matched with a literary genius that exceeds Shakespeare's, her portrait of Cervantes's most famous pair of characters endorses the enduring romantic myth of an elevated, tragic hero who finds its counterpart in the natural wisdom of Sancho's foolishness: 'While the sublime character of Don Quixote warms the heart of the enthusiast, the truth of the sad picture which his fortunes present tickled the fancy of the man of the world. Children revel in the comedy, old men admire the shrewdness, of Sancho Panza'.[67] For Shelley, the author himself is a quixotic character, mistreated during his life in spite, or perhaps because, of his deep, idealistic, and morally superior insights into reality. Besides her critical biography, Cervantes's direct influence upon Shelley's fiction is particularly felt in the episode in *Frankenstein* (1818) involving the Muslim woman Safie, which is clearly modelled on the captain's tale of Zoraida in *Don Quixote*, I. 39–41, which was inserted at a later stage of the writing of the novel after one of Shelley's re-readings of Cervantes's novel.[68]

After the Romantics, the most noticeable Cervantic fictions of the Victorian era are found in the work of Charles Dickens (1812–70) and George Eliot (Mary Anne Evans, 1819–80). Eliot's male and female quixotes, Reverend Casaubon and Dorothea Brooke in *Middlemarch* (1871–2), and Maggie Tulliver in *The Mill on the Floss* (1860), capture the romantic spirit of idealistic and philanthropic characters guided by their readings and excursions to the side of fancy.[69] Dickens's Cervantism is most conspicuous in his first two novels: *The Posthumous Papers of the Pickwick Club* (1837) and *Oliver Twist* (1837–8). In the latter, the picaresque content is indebted to *Rinconete and Cortadillo*. In the former, the character pair made by the idealist Samuel Pickwick and the realist Sam Weller is explicitly modelled on Don Quixote and Sancho, although Pickwick's quixotism is the result of his philanthropic benevolence rather than madness.[70] Besides Cervantic imitation, Dickens also rehearses self-conscious, multi-layered Cervantean fiction, as evinced in his narrator's own editorial role of someone else's work in the manner of the Cervantine narrator's confrontation of the history written by Cide Hamete Benengeli:

> Many authors entertain, not only a foolish, but a really dishonest objection to acknowledge the sources from whence they derive much valuable information. We have no such feeling… and whatever ambition we might have felt under other circumstances to lay claim to the authorship of these adventures, a regard for truth forbids us to do more than claim merit of their judicious arrangement and impartial narration… The labours of others have raised for us an immense reservoir of important facts.[71]

[66] Shelley, p. 142.
[67] Shelley, p. 120.
[68] Mancing, 'The Quixotic Novel…', p. 106; Garrett.
[69] Mancing, 'The Quixotic Novel…', pp. 107–8.
[70] Goetsch, pp. 145–54.
[71] Dickens, pp. 115–16.

As Pedro J. Pardo has argued, by 1837, English literature had already exhausted the full spectrum of imaginable interpretations of *Don Quixote*, from the hard reading of the character as a farcical buffoon to the soft view that endows the character with deeper symbolic dimensions.[72] Later treatments of Cervantes's major novel, particularly after 1900, have revived the dialogue between the historically bound dimension of Cervantine narrative and the alleged universal qualities that confer upon it the enduring status of myth.

The Returns of *Don Quixote*: G. K. Chesterton to Robin Chapman

British contemporary prose fiction has continued and renewed its interest in Cervantes. On the one hand, the Cervantine trace is noticeable in a long list of major novelists including, among others, Virginia Woolf, James Joyce, Joseph Conrad, George Orwell, Muriel Spark, and Anthony Burgess.[73] Postmodern experimental narrative has found in Cervantes a stimulus for exploring the boundaries between imagination and reality, materialized in the practice of self-conscious fiction; novels such as L. P. Hartley's *The Love Adept* (1969), John Fowles's *The French Lieutenant's Woman* (1969), and Salman Rushdie's *The Moor's Last Sigh* (1995) base some of their metafictional exploits on their explicit indebtedness to *Don Quixote*.[74] On the other hand, a handful of overtly quixotic novels have rehearsed different adjustments of the characters and the myth of Don Quixote in order to expand the significance of Cervantes's major novel to contemporary life and literature. In these works, the confrontation between Cervantes's own time and the contemporary world promotes history to the frontline of new Cervantic and Cervantean fictions. Among these, the work of three writers—G. K. Chesterton (1874–1936), Graham Greene (1904–91), and Robin Chapman—exemplify three distinct kinds of literary 'return' of Don Quixote and *Don Quixote* to present-day times and letters.

The first model explores the personal, social, and political consequences of a hypothetical restoration of medieval values to the contemporary world, a sort of utopian/dystopian reinstatement of the values defended by Don Quixote in his insanity. This is the central theme of G. K. Chesterton's *The Return of Don Quixote* (1927). Chesterton's unconventional ideas about social and political life, as well as his orthodox Catholicism, render his career a quixotic enterprise against modernity.[75] His debt to Cervantes was constant in his writings. The early essay 'The Divine Parody of Don Quixote' (1901) inaugurates what critics have labelled a 'quixotic period'. The essay summarizes Chesterton's ideas about the significance of Cervantes's novel, particularly Part I; medieval adventure and ceremonial are ingrained in Western life and culture. Don Quixote's

[72] Pardo, 'El Siglo…', p. 155.
[73] Ardila, 'The Influence and Reception', p. 22; Mancing, 'The Quixotic Novel', p. 112; Lázaro Lafuente.
[74] Mancing, 'The Quixotic Novel…', pp. 109–12.
[75] Schenkel, pp. 169–70.

madness seems to us less strange than many of the sublime ideas and philosophical constructions of the past: '[t]o trust entirely to [his] hare-brained justice as a basis for our civilization would be absurd, but it will be found even more absurd in the long run to ignore it or to root it out'.[76]

The paradox that sets quixotism between insanity and justice was put to the test in three of Chesterton's novels: *The Napoleon of Notting Hill* (1905), *The Ball and the Cross* (1910), and most remarkably, *The Return of Don Quixote* (published in 1927, although written before World War I).[77] The latter's plot does not seek, at least until its ending, a straightforward parallel with its model. A group of young English aristocrats get together at the mansion of Seawood Abbey in order to stage a play about the Middle Ages, 'Blondel the Troubadour', written by Olive Ashley, one of the two females in the group. The performance becomes the start of an overturn of the whole social system when the eccentric librarian Michael Herne, who has played Richard the Lionheart, refuses to take off his theatrical costumes and starts a dictatorship with medieval foundations, supported by the local oligarchs. His regime has to face the strike of the coal-tar-derived dye manufacturers, a trade union led by the syndicalist John Braintree. When Braintree is summoned to a court of arbitration to respond to his offences, he is surprised to see King Herne pass judgment against those oligarchs who have unlawfully seized the rights of medieval craft guilds. Herne leaves his office, takes a lance, and sets for the countryside in a hansom cab as a knight errant in the company of Douglas Murrell, his own Sancho Panza. Their ensuing adventurous period as a modern Quixote and Sancho is only reported cursorily in the novel.

The Return of Don Quixote is a choral novel, exploring several comparisons between its characters and Cervantes's knight besides the most obvious choice of Herne. John Braintree's socialist syndicalism retains a utopian component that is quixotic in spirit. Olive Ashley's literary and artistic medievalism is patent in her family's connections with the Pre-Raphaelites, her playwriting, and her scenic designs. Olive embarks another character, Douglas Murrell, on a bizarre quest for a unique illumination red dye that culminates in Murrell's release of a mad artisan from an asylum and in his return in the antique hansom cab that later coveys Herne and himself on their adventures. These forms of quixotism serve to concoct a parable about social reformation, the dangers of absolutism, and the virtues and shortcomings of alternative social theories. The novel also explores the redeeming powers of the Catholic faith;[78] at the end of the novel, Rosamund Severne restores her mansion to its original monastic use, converts to Catholicism, and begins social work as a nurse. Chesterton insists that the visionary aspects of medievalism are a powerful tool against the alienation caused by post-industrial political systems. As put by Douglas Murrell, contemporary men have to combat the very enemies haunting Cervantes's hero: 'You have tied men to tools so

[76] Chesterton, 'The Divine Parody', p. 27.
[77] Schenkel, p. 173; Vega Rodríguez, pp. 241–3; Clemans, pp. 8–14.
[78] For a larger exploration of this issue, see Clemans.

gigantic that they do not know on whom the strokes descend. You have justified the nightmare of Don Quixote. The mills really *are* giants'.[79]

While Chesterton delved into the quixotic spirit in a characteristically English setting, other forms of contemporary Cervantism have devolved the story to Spain. Graham Greene's *Monsignor Quixote* (1982) posits a second kind of return by presenting two 'descendants' of Cervantes's original pair in the Spain of the transition from Franco's dictatorship to democracy. Like Chesterton's, Greene's aim is social and political life. Also, like Chesterton, Greene was a Catholic with a particular interest in issues of faith. But Greene exploits more systematically and overtly than Chesterton the parallels between his novel and Cervantes's. Its protagonist, Father Quixote, the parish priest of El Toboso hated by his bishop, is removed from his position when he finds himself ascended to monsignor by ludicrous chance. His friend Enrique Zancas, the communist mayor of the town, loses the elections. Both find themselves out of office and set out for a tour around Spain in the priest's old Seat 600, nicknamed Rocinante. Besides the two protagonists, other parallels include secondary figures, situations, and structure. As in the original, Monsignor and Zancas embark on two trips, both ending in forced returns and the second in the protagonist's death. The seventeenth-century Holy Brotherhood is replaced with the modern Guardia Civil, penitents with church processions, salacious inn wenches with love-making actresses in adult-rated films, galley slaves with road delinquents, and beating and cudgelling with flamboyant car accidents.[80]

Greene's meticulous rewriting of his model manages to balance its action and thought, its wit and depth, its comedy and tragedy. Despite being provincial and sleazy, the Spain of the political transition is conjured up to revive the vibrancy, excitement, and complexity of Cervantes's Golden Age. Like their ancestors, Monsignor and Zancas have to deal with a changing world, and more particularly, with their profound ideological differences. Arguably Greene's major achievement is his updating of the dialogic qualities of the original novel. Confrontation and interaction reinforce the two protagonists' friendship and facilitate their progressive transformations. The influence of Unamuno and of Madariaga's notions of the 'quixotization of Sancho' and 'sanchicization of Don Quixote' are visible in Greene's writing.[81] Each character's exposure to the other's ideas and life experience ends up in an erosion of their faiths into more sceptic and eclectic worldviews. Greene's novel is ultimately a moral fable and a work of ideas, which, inspired by its model, rejects absolute worldviews and invites perspectivism.

The third model of Cervantic return presents different sequels to *Don Quixote* in the form of historical fiction. This formula has been masterfully exploited in three novels by Robin Chapman: the earlier and successful *The Duchess's Diary* (1980), and the more recent *Sancho's Golden Age* (2004) and *Pasamonte's Life* (2005). The three works share a similar modus operandi with plots shooting off from loose ends in the original's

[79] Chesterton, *The Return of Don Quixote*, p. 207 (original emphasis).

[80] On Greene's portrait of Spain, see Cano Echevarría.

[81] Madariaga, *Guía* . . . , pp. 139–63. On Unamuno and Madariaga's reading of *Don Quixote*, see Dotras Bravo, pp. 220–39. On Madariaga's influence on Greene, see Lázaro Lafuente, p. 271.

storyline. *The Duchess's Diary*, inspired by the chapters dealing with Don Quixote's stay at the house of the Duke and Duchess in II.30–56, is Chapman's most sophisticated tour de force. Chapman forges the figures of Doña María Isabel Echauri y Pradillo and her husband Don Jerónimo, Duke of Caparroso, as the 'historical' counterparts of Cervantes's characters. A Preface asserts that we are reading the first English edition and translation of a Spanish manuscript of 1616, written by the Duchess herself in a blank bundle given to her as a gift by Cervantes in 1608. The diary registers the period between 26 January and 23 April 1616, although all entries belonging to late February and the whole month of March are said to have been intentionally ripped out. An epilogue briefly informs of the Duchess's later life in the Indies, and her remarriage in Puerto Rico until her death in 1645. Chapman's relation to such a manuscript parallels Cervantes's narrator in respect of the 'history' written by Cide Hamete Benengeli.

The Duchess writes from her confinement, first in her husband's hunting box and then in a monastery, and later, on her way to meeting Cervantes, an aim that she achieves only on 23 April 1616 to see her 'author' dead in his house. María Isabel mixes her recollections of 1608, when she became close to Cervantes and fell in love with him during his summer stay in her house, with details of her unhappy life with Jerónimo. While acknowledging the excellence of *Don Quixote*, Part II, she feels betrayed by the treatment of her person under the disguise of the frivolous and cruel Duchess. Cervantes's use of an intimate physical detail revealed to him by María Isabel triggers off the narrative. In Chapter 48, Doña Rodríguez discloses to Don Quixote a secret involving 'two issues that [the Duchess] has, one in each leg, by which all the evil humours, of which the doctors say she is full, are discharged' ['dos fuentes que tiene en las dos piernas, por donde se desagua todo el mal humor de quien dicen los medicos que está llena'].[82] Besides those two orifices, Cervantes has arrogated the invention of most of what he saw that summer in the masques and entertainments designed for him—Countess Trifaldi and Clavileño, among others. This major statement in the Duchess's narrative sustains her feminine—and feminist—claim against the constraints imposed by marriage and subjection; her diary cries against the confinements dictated by a patriarchal notion of literary authorship.[83]

Sancho's Golden Age (2004) mixes an omniscient narrator with the account by two privileged storytellers: Rocinante and Rucio. The complex narrative takes place after 15 September 1614, the alleged date of Don Quixote's death. Horse and donkey have shifted roles in relation to their masters: a realist Rocinante, who has been donated to Sancho, shares a stable with his former companion, more prone to imaginative fancy. Their recollections as cavalry of the knight errant and his squire mix with more recent events. Rucio has been part of Sancho and the Barber's excursions as shepherds in their attempt to materialize Don Quixote's pastoral fantasies after his final retirement in Chapters 67 and 73 of Part II. Their adventures under the names of Panzino and Miculoso take the

[82] Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, pp. 1115; p. 650.
[83] For an engaging study of this novel, see Friedman.

latter to a stream where he spies on a girl and a boy making love. Miculoso's account of the scene to Sancho steers 'between a rather overheated description of her natural charms and his conviction that this mysterious nymph who'd appeared out of nowhere had to be none other than his sublime Phyllis'.[84] These Golden Age amatory reveries clash with the hard facts; the nymph is Sancho's daughter Sanchica, in love with Mendo but betrothed to the daughter of Lope Tocho, son to the town's mayor. Lope, on his part, is in love with Laurencia, daughter of Aldonza Lorenzo (Don Quixote's Dulcinea) and betrothed to Mendo. Sanchica's pregnancy puts the curate to undoing previous marriage contracts in order to bring the lovers together. Highly reminiscent of the pastoral interpolations in *Don Quixote*, particularly the wedding of Camacho in II.19–21, the novel also contains metafictional ruminations in which the main narrator and the two beasts discuss, in Neoaristotelian fashion, the pleasures and limits of poetry and the thin boundaries between history and fiction.

The third of the novels, *Pasamonte's Life*, stems from the affirmation made in Part I of *Don Quixote* that the galley slave that the knight releases, Ginés de Pasamonte, 'has himself written his story as grand as you please, and has left the book in the prison in pawn for two hundred reals', in order later to complete his work while he is in the galleys and take the first part out of pawn (I.22). Chapman claims to make up for the story's failure to reach the press 'in the hope of giving this engaging rogue further liberty and life'.[85] Pasamonte's first-person narrative begins with the recovery of his manuscript after sacking the printing press in Barcelona to which it had been sold. In the first part, Pasamonte reads the old manuscript aloud up to its abrupt interruption. There we learn about his birth within a family of actors in Seville, his adventures as a soldier in the Armada expedition of 1588, his sojourn at court while a favourite and lover of the Countess of Peñamarga, but also about his time as a criminal in Madrid, his first conviction to the galleys, his idyllic years spent in Cyprus after his escape, and his second arrest. The second part resumes the writing, filling the gaps between his release by Don Quixote in I.22, his theft and loss of Rucio, and his appearance as the puppeteer Master Pedro at the inn near Zaragoza in II.30. An Epilogue in the hand of Pasamonte's lover briefly informs the reader of his death sentence and his last-minute escape for a new life in Sicily. Chapman adroitly combines tragicomedy and historical fiction in this revival of the picaresque genre. As a whole, the trilogy recommends his author as a self-conscious practitioner of the Cervantine art of storytelling. Eminent Cervantist Edward C. Riley has said of one of Chapman's novels that it shows 'a truer understanding of Cervantes than twenty books of criticism'.[86] Chapman's manipulations of Cervantes's deliberate lacunae certainly expose their boundless appeal to the literary imagination.

[84] Chapman, *Sancho's Golden Age*, p. 84.
[85] Chapman, *Pasamonte's Life*, Preface.
[86] Riley, p. 238.

Lost in Cervantes: William Shakespeare to Terry Gilliam

The many remarkable findings in the history of Cervantes's reception in Britain are paradoxically framed by two major losses. The first sends us back a few months after the publication in London of Thomas Shelton's *The History of the Valorous & Witty Knight-Errant Don Quixote of the Mancha* (1612). The accounts register of the King's Treasurer of the Chamber contains an entry of 20 May 1613 that mentions a payment made to the actor Henry Condell for performances of plays by Fletcher, Shakespeare, and others, including one *Cardenno*, in the presence of Princess Elizabeth and Frederick, the Elector Palatine. Another payment to the actor John Hemminges is entered seven weeks later, on 9 July 1613, for a play named *Cardenna*. The slightly differing titles are nearly coincident with the subject of bookseller Humphrey Moseley's 9 September 1653 entry in the Stationers' Register of a book called 'The History of Cardenio, by M. Fletcher. & Shakespeare', which did not reach the press. Little doubt exists nowadays as to the links between these three entries and a single play probably written in collaboration by John Fletcher and William Shakespeare, partially dramatizing the Sierra Morena adventures found in *Don Quixote* I.24–36.[87] Although the play is not extant in print or manuscript, its alleged rewritings and re-imaginings have been numerous, including the work of renowned Shakespeare scholars like Lewis Theobald's *Double Falsehood, or, The Distressed Lovers* (1728), Stephen Greenblatt's internet *Cardenio Project*, and Gary Taylor's 'The History of Cardenio: 1612–2012' (2012), and of acclaimed novelists like Robin Chapman's *Shakespeare's Don Quixote* (2011).

The enduring attraction of *The History of Cardenio* for novelists, playwrights, and scholars is justified by the lure of a pioneering adaptation of Cervantes bearing partly the stamp of the other undisputed genius of European literature. The critical desire of bringing Cervantes and Shakespeare together took Spanish scholar Luis Astrana Marín to conjecture a possible rendezvous between both authors on the occasion of the Earl of Nottingham's embassy to Valladolid in July 1605 in order to seal the peace accorded a year earlier in London.[88] The idea was recreated by Anthony Burgess in 'A Meeting in Valladolid' (1982)—a short story that envisaged less amicable conditions for the encounter of 'the best Spaniard with the best Englishman' ['El mejor español junto al mejor inglés'] fantasized by Astrana.[89] The recent publication of a critical edition of Lewis Theobald's *The Double Falsehood, or The Distressed Lovers* (1728) as part of the Third Arden Shakespeare Series delves deep into this critical desire, perhaps in spite of editor Brean Hammond's 'cautious' approach to the relations between Theobald's play and the

[87] Recent accounts of the vicissitudes of this lost play can be found in Chartrier. See also Taylor, 'The History of *The History of Cardenio*'.

[88] Astrana Marín, v. VI, pp. 32–6, 57–8. On the embassy and related documents, see Randall and Boswell, pp. 1–4.

[89] Astrana Marín, p. 58; Burgess, 'A Meeting in Valladolid', pp. 15–18.

original *Cardenio*.[90] Theobald is somehow responsible for having fostered an idea of his play as the work of 'some other *Shakespeare*', 'blest with the Force and Master-Genius of the first'.[91] The Royal Licence authorizing its entry on the Stationer's Register insists on its status as a revision and adaptation of a 'manuscript copy of an original play of William Shakespeare'.[92] And a verse prologue to its first edition by Philip Frowde characterized 'Shakespeare's genius' in this play as 'some region' where 'a thousand landscapes meet/ Our ravish'd view, irregularly sweet', thus typically in need of regularization by Theobald's Augustan mind and pen.[93] Theobald himself claimed in the Preface to be in possession of three manuscripts of a play that some preferred to attribute to Fletcher, in spite of his own 'partiality for Shakespeare'.[94]

Theobald's reduction of the original play to one single plot dealing lineally with Henriquez's (Cervantes's Fernando) betrayal of Violante (Dorotea) and Julio (Cardenio) in order to wed Leonora (Luscinda) made critics first consider the play a forgery, and then a heavily cut version of the original—Gary Taylor and John V. Nance have called it 'half a play'.[95] The possible content of the other half has divided critics between conjectures on a subplot based on *El curioso impertinente* and the admission of a possible presence of Don Quixote and Sancho as protagonists of a secondary plot to a main plot about the four lovers, a conjecture that has recently found its most eminent defender in Roger Chartrier, whose argument is based on seventeenth-century adaptations of the same material in Spain and France.[96]

While criticism of *The History of Cardenio* continues to scrutinize Theobald's text for traces of Fletcher and Shakespeare, modern literary recreations of the lost play also relegate Theobald in favour of the original authors. Charles David Ley renamed his Spanish translation of *Double Falsehood* as *Historia de Cardenio* (1987), and attributed the play to Shakespeare and Fletcher, in that order.[97] Charles Mee and Stephen Greenblatt's *Cardenio* (2003) freely combined Cervantes's plot of *El curioso impertinente* with a play within a play based on a lost script by Shakespeare.[98] This play became the basis for a project involving performances of new recreations all over the world. And Gary Taylor conceived his rewriting as a 'posthumous' collaboration with Fletcher and Shakespeare in the attempt to 'unadapt Theobald's adaptation' on grounds of scholarly knowledge of the writing style and theatrical practices of the original authors. Taylor's subplot concerns 'Quesada, an old schoolmaster, who becomes a mad knight-errant, calling himself

[90] See Hammond's 'Introduction' to *Double Falsehood*, and particularly his final words (p. 160).

[91] *London Journal,* 10 May 1727, quoted in Hammond, 'Introduction' to *Double Falsehood*, p. 11 (original emphasis).

[92] Theobald, p. 162. [93] Theobald, Prologue, pp. 1–7. [94] Theobald, p. 169.

[95] Taylor and Nance, p. 192. On the forgery theory, see Schevill and Frazier. On refutations of this theory, see Freehafer. More recent research on Shakespeare's possible hand in the original used by Theobald are Jackson and Proudfoot.

[96] Chartrier, pp. 30–76.

[97] On Ley's translation, see Pujante, 'El *Cardenio*' and 'Nostalgia for the Cervantes-Shakespeare Link'.

[98] Greenblatt, *The Cardenio Project: An Experiment in Cultural Mobility*, <http://www.fas.harvard.edu/~cardenio/>. On Greenblatt's project and play, see Della Gatta.

"DON QUIXOT"',[99] and, much in the tone of Beaumont's *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, fully recreates Don Quixote's adventures in Sierra Morena and the Inn, including Dorotea's (now called Violenta) disguise as Princess Micomicona.

The fictional fantasy of bringing together Don Quixote and Shakespeare is played out by Robin Chapman's novel *Shakespeare's Don Quixote* (2011). Chapman chooses to write 'a novel in dialogue creating what might have been',[100] in which a narrator presents to the reader a fringe production of a play advertised as 'Shakespeare's Don Quixote'. The dialogue of the play, mixing verse and prose, emerges beside the interludes, in which the reincarnated ghosts of Cervantes, Shakespeare, Fletcher, and Theobald give their opinions about the play. These dialogues reveal Fletcher's responsibility for the design and most of the writing of the lost original, Shakespeare's hand being reduced to a comic subplot with Don Quixote as a protagonist. Little by little, Fletcher becomes marginalized and the friendly dialogue between Shakespeare and Cervantes discovers their mutual admiration, and their appreciation of the play that they are watching. The play within the novel very much seems, in spite of its style, Robin Chapman's restitution of an ideal Shakespearean version of Cervantes, casting Don Quixote and Sancho as main protagonists, and using Sierra Morena and the inn as ideal settings for confronting reality and fantasy, sanity and madness, love and betrayal.

The second loss involves the abovementioned trials by British filmmaker Terry Gilliam to direct a Cervantes-based feature-length entitled *The Man Who Killed Don Quixote*. Gilliam began preproduction in 1998, with an unprecedentedly high budget for a European film though still below the project's actual needs, and with a cast including French actors Jean Rochefort and Vanessa Paradis as Don Quixote and Altisidora, and American film star Johnny Depp as Toby Grisoni, a twenty-first century advertising executive thrown back to seventeenth-century Spain to replace Sancho Panza in the knight's adventures. Later attempts at relaunching the project have ended up in a new production during the spring of 2017 and final release on 1 July 2018, involving a different cast and a screenplay that, in Gilliam's own words, reads as a Cervantine moral fable about 'how movies can damage people'.[101] In 2002, Keith Fulton and Louis Pepe's *Lost in La Mancha*, ironically advertised as the first 'unmaking-of documentary', interweaved the disastrous circumstances leading to Gilliam's failure with sequences that offer the viewer the masterpiece that the initial project could have been as if it were already made.[102]

Despite their many differences, *The History of Cardenio* and *The Man Who Killed Don Quixote* spectrally comprise the four-hundred-year history of Cervantes's reception in Britain. Their transitional nature—between lost and found, between being and non-being—emblematizes the status of Cervantic/Cervantean literature as an unfinished but inexhaustible reality, fostering renewed forms of imitation, recreation, and reinvention.

[99] Taylor, 'The History…', pp. 237 and 241.
[100] Chapman, *Shakespeare's Don Quixote*, Preliminary Note.
[101] Pulver.
[102] Donnell, pp. 97 and 98.

The enduring power of Cervantes's imagination will continue to provide pretexts for the most gifted literary minds to transform windmills into giants.

Works Cited

Ardila, J. A. G. 'Henry Fielding: From Quixotic Satire to Cervantean Novel'. In *The Cervantean Heritage*, edited by Ardila, pp. 124–41.

Ardila, J. A. G. 'Sancho Panza en Inglaterra: *Sancho at Court* de James Ayres y *Barataria* de Frederick Pilon'. *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 82, no. 5 (2005): pp. 551–69.

Ardila, J. A. G., editor. *The Cervantean Heritage: Reception and Influence of Cervantes in Britain* (London: MHRA/Maney, 2009).

Ardila, J. A. G. 'The Influence and Reception of Cervantes in Britain'. In *The Cervantean Heritage*, edited by Ardila, pp. 2–31.

Ardila, J. A. G. 'Tobias Smollett, *Don Quixote*, and the Emergence of the English Novel'. In *The Cervantean Heritage*, edited by Ardila, pp. 151–65.

Astrana Marín, Luis. *Vida ejemplar y heroica de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra: con mil documentos hasta ahora inéditos y numerosas ilustraciones y grabados de época*, 7 vols (Madrid: Instituto Reus, 1958).

Bando Domínguez, Juana. 'La huella cervantina en *The Battle of the Books* de Jonathan Swift'. In *La huella de Cervantes*, edited by José Manuel Barrio Marco and María José Crespo Allué, pp. 105–12.

Barrio Marco, José Manuel and María José Crespo Allué, editors. *La huella de Cervantes y del Quijote en la cultura anglosajona* (Valladolid: Secretariado de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Valladolid, 2007).

Bautista Naranjo, Esther. *La recepción y reescritura del mito de Don Quijote en Inglaterra (siglos XVII–XIX)* (Madrid: Dyckinson, 2015).

Booth, Wayne C. 'The Self-Conscious Narrator in Comic Fiction before *Tristam Shandy*'. *PMLA* 67 (1952): pp. 163–85.

Bowers, Fredson, general editors. *The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon*, vol. VIII (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

Borham Puyal, Miriam. 'Reading Don Quixote as Political Agent: A Spanish Knight in British Ideological and Literary Wars'. *ES: Revista de Filología Inglesa* 33 (2012): pp. 7–25.

Burgess, Anthony. 'A Meeting in Valladolid'. In *The Devil's Mode* (London: Hutchinson, 1989), pp. 5–21.

Burton, Robert. *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, edited by Holbrook Jackson (New York: New York Review Books, 2001).

Byrd, Max. *Tristam Shandy* (London: Routledge, 1985).

Cano Echevarría, Berta. 'La España anacrónica del *Monsignor Quixote* de Graham Greene'. In *La huella de Cervantes y del Quijote en la cultura anglosajona*, edited by José Manuel Barrio Marco and María José Crespo Allué, pp. 292–9.

Carnegie, David and Gary Taylor, editors *The Quest for Cardenio: Shakespeare, Fletcher, Cervantes and the Lost Play* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

Cervantes, Miguel de. *Don Quijote de La Mancha*, edited by Francisco Rico (Barcelona: Galaxia Gutemberg, 2004 [second edition 2012]).

Cervantes, Miguel de. *Don Quixote*, translated by John Ormsby (Pennsylvania University Press, 2000). [E-text of the 1922 translation].

Cervantes, Miguel de. *Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda*, edited by Florencio Sevilla Arroyo and Antonio Rey Hazas (Madrid: Alianza, 1999).
Cervantes, Miguel de. *The Travels of Persiles and Sigismunda: A Northern History* (London: H[umphrey] L[ownes], 1619).
Chapman, Robin. *Pasamonte's Life* (Oxford: Aris & Phillips, 2005).
Chapman, Robin. *Sancho's Golden Age* (Oxford: Aris & Phillips, 2004).
Chapman, Robin. *Shakespeare's Don Quixote* (London: Book Now, 2012).
Chapman, Robin. *The Duchess's Diary* (London: Sinclair-Stevenson, 1990).
Chartrier, Roger. *Cardenio between Shakespeare and Cervantes: The Story of a Lost Play* (Cambridge: Polity, 2013).
Chesterton, G. K. 'The Divine Parody of Don Quixote'. In *A Handful of Authors* (London: Sheed & Ward, 1953), pp. 24–7.
Chesterton, G. K. *The Return of Don Quixote* (West Valley City, UT: Waking Lion Press, 2006 [first edition 1927])
Clark, Sandra. 'Cervantes's "The Curious Impertinent" in Some Jacobean Plays'. *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 79, no. 4 (2002): pp. 477–99.
Clemans, Josh. 'The Joker and the Fool: Miguel de Cervantes and G. K. Chesterton'. *Shield Wall: A Journal of Theological Poetics* 1, no. 1 (2015): pp. 1–32.
Darby, T[rudi] L. 'Resistance to Rape in *Persiles y Sigismunda* and *The Custom of the Country*'. *Modern Language Review* 90, no. 2 (1995): pp. 273–84.
Darby, Trudi L. and Alexander Samson. 'Cervantes on the Jacobean Stage'. In *The Cervantean Heritage*, edited by J.A.G. Ardila, pp. 206–22.
Della Gatta, Carla. 'Cultural Mobility and Transitioning Authority: Stephen Greenblatt's *Cardenio Project*'. In *The Quest for Cardenio*, edited by David Carnegie and Gary Taylor, pp. 329–45.
Dickens, Charles. *The Pickwick Papers*, edited by Robert L. Patten (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1986).
Dolder, Ernst. *Henry Fielding's 'Don Quixote in England'* (Bern: Leemann & Co., 1907).
Donnell, Sidney. 'Quixotic Storytelling, *Lost in La Mancha*, and the Unmaking of *The Man Who Killed Don Quixote*'. *Romance Quarterly* 52, no. 2 (2006): pp. 92–112.
Dotras Bravo, Alexia. *Los trabajos cervantinos de Salvador de Madariaga: Historia de una idea* (Alcalá de Henares: Centro de Estudios Cervantinos, 2008).
Dryden, John. 'Preface to *Fables Ancient and Modern*'. In *Dryden: A Selection*, edited by John Conaghan (London: Methuen, 1978): pp. 607–26.
Fernández-Morera, Darío, and Michael Hanke, editors. *Cervantes in the English-Speaking World: New Essay*s (Kassel: Reichenberger, 2005).
Fielding, Henry. *Don Quixote in England* (London: J. Watts, 1734).
Fielding, Henry. *Joseph Andrews* and *Shamela*, edited by Douglas Brooks-Davies (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).
Fielding, Henry (Sir Alexander Drawncasir). *The Covent-Garden Journal*, edited by Edward Jensen (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1925).
Fitzmaurice-Kelly, John. *Cervantes in England* (London: British Academy/Henry Frowde/Oxford University Press, 1905).
Fletcher, John, and Philip Massinger. *The Custom of the Country*, edited by Cyrus Hoy. In *The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon*, edited by David Carnegie and Gary Taylor, vol. VIII, pp. 633–758.
Frazier, Harriet C. 'Theobald's *Double Falsehood*: A Revision of Shakespeare's *Cardenio*?'. *Comparative Drama* 1, no. 3 (1967): pp. 219–33.

Freehafer, John. '*Cardenio*, by Shakespeare and Fletcher'. *PMLA* 84, no. 3 (1969): pp. 501–13.
Friedman, Edward H. 'Robin Chapman's *The Duchess's Diary* and the Other Side of Imitation'. In *The Cervantean Heritage,* edited by J. A. G. Ardila, pp. 196–204.
Fulton, Keith and Lois Pepe. *Lost in La Mancha* (Optimum Releasing, 2002).
Gale, Steven H. 'The Relationship between Beaumont's *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* and Cervantes's *Don Quixote*'. *Anales cervantinos* 11, no. 1 (1972): pp. 87–96.
Garrett, Erin Webster. 'Recycling Zoraida: The Muslim Heroine in Mary Shelley's Frankenstein'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 20, no. 1 (2000): pp. 133–56.
Gaston, Patricia S. 'The Waverley Series and *Don Quixote*: Manuscripts Found and Lost'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 11, no. 1 (1991): pp. 45–59.
Goetsch, Paul. 'Charles Dickens's *The Pickwick Papers* and *Don Quixote*'. In *Cervantes in the English-Speaking World: New Essays*, edited by Darío Fernández-Morera and Michael Hanke, pp. 143–57.
Gordon, Scott Paul. 'Female Quixotism: Charlotte Lennox and Tabitha Tenney'. In *Cervantes in the English-Speaking World: New Essays*, edited by Darío Fernández-Morera and Michael Hanke, pp. 127–41.
Greenblatt, Stephen, *The Cardenio Project: An Experiment in Cultural Mobility*. <http://www.fas.harvard.edu/~cardenio/>, (accessed 28 September 2016).
Hammond, Brean S. 'Mid-Century English Quixotism and the Defence of the Novel'. *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 10, no. 3 (1998): pp. 247–68.
Hammond, Brean S. 'The Cervantic Legacy in the Eighteenth-Century Novel'. In *The Cervantean Heritage*, edited by J.A.G. Ardila, pp. 96–103.
Jackson, Macdonald P. 'Looking for Shakespeare in *Double Falsehood*: Stylistic Evidence'. In *The Quest for Cardenio*, edited by David Carnegie and Gary Taylor, pp. 133–61.
Kleber, Felicitas. 'Laurence Sterne's *Tristam Shandy* and *Don Quixote*'. In *Cervantes in the English-Speaking World*, pp. 65–80.
Lázaro Lafuente, Alberto. 'Estampas del *Quijote* en la novela británica contemporánea'. In *La huella de Cervantes y del Quijote en la cultura anglosajona*, edited by José Manuel Barrio Marco and María José Crespo Allué, pp. 253–77.
Levin, Harry. 'The Quixotic Principle: Cervantes and Other Novelists'. *Harvard English Studies* 1 (1970): pp. 45–66.
Luis-Martínez, Zenón and Luis Gómez Canseco (eds). *Entre Shakespeare y Cervantes: Sendas del Renacimiento/Between Shakespeare and Cervantes: Trails along the Renaissance* (Newark: Juan de la Cuesta, 2006).
Madariaga, Salvador de (1926). *Guía del lector del Quijote* (Barcelona: Stella Maris, 2016).
Mancing, Howard. *Cervantes's* Don Quixote*: A Reference Guide* (London: Greenwood, 2006).
Mancing, Howard. 'The Quixotic Novel in British Fiction of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries'. In *The Cervantean Heritage*, edited by J. A. G. Ardila, pp. 104–16.
Middleton, Thomas. *The Lady's Tragedy*, edited by Julia Briggs. In *The Collected Works of Thomas Middleton*, edited by Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino, pp. 833–906.
Middleton, Thomas. *Your Five Gallants* (1607), edited by Ralph Alan Cohen and John Jowett. In *The Collected Works of Thomas Middleton*, edited by Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino, pp. 594–636.
Mora, María José. 'The Casting of Sancho in Durfey's *The Comical History of Don Quixote, Parts I-II* (1694)'. *SEDERI* 25 (2015): pp. 155–67.
Nicoll, Allardyce. *A History of Restoration Drama: 1660–1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1923).

Pardo (García), Pedro Javier. 'El Siglo de Oro del *Quijote* en la literatura inglesa, 1740–1780'. In *La huella de Cervantes y del Quijote en la cultura anglosajona*, edited by José Manuel Barrio Marco and María José Crespo Allué, pp. 133–58.

Pardo (García), Pedro Javier. 'Formas de imitación del *Quijote* en la novela inglesa del XVIII: *Joseph Andrews* y *Tristam Shandy*'. *Anales Cervantinos* 33 (1995–97): pp. 133–64.

Pardo (García), Pedro Javier. 'La tradición cervantina en la novela inglesa: de Henry Fielding a William Tackeray'. In *Entre Cervantes y Shakespeare*, edited by Zenón Luis-Martínez & Luis Gómez Canseco, pp. 73–111.

Pardo (García), Pedro Javier. 'Tobias Smollett's *Humphry Clinker* and the Cervantine Tradition in Eighteenth-Century England'. In *Cervantes in the English-Speaking World: New Essays*, edited by Darío Fernández-Morera and Michael Hanke, pp. 81–106.

Pawl, Amy J. 'Feminine Transformations of the *Quijote* in Eighteenth-Century England: Lennox's *The Female Quixote* and Her Sisters'. In *The Cervantean Heritage*, edited by J. A. G. Ardila, pp. 166–75.

Portillo García, Rafael. 'El *Quijote* en el teatro de la Restauración inglesa (1660–1714): El caso de Thomas D'Urfey'. In *La huella de Cervantes y del Quijote en la cultura anglosajona*, edited by José Manuel Barrio Marco and María José Crespo Allué, pp. 93–101.

Proudfoot, Richard. 'Can *Double Falsehood* be a Mere Forgery by Lewis Theobald?'. In *The Quest for Cardenio*, edited by David Carnegie and Gary Taylor, pp. 162–79.

Pujante, Ángel-Luis. 'El *Cardenio*, o los avatares de una obra perdida'. *Monteagudo* 10 (2005): pp. 51–63.

Pujante, Ángel-Luis. 'Nostalgia for the Cervantes-Shakespeare Link: Charles David Ley's *Historia de Cardenio*'. In *The Quest for Cardenio*, edited by David Carnegie and Gary Taylor, pp. 318–28.

Pulver, Andrew. 'Terry Gilliam Gets Greenlight to Restart Don Quixote Film'. *The Guradian*, 1 April 2016. https://www.theguardian.com/film/2016/apr/01/terry-gilliam-to-restart-don-quixote-cervantes-film-john-hurt-jack-o-connell (accessed 28 September 2016).

Randall, Dale B. and Jackson C. Boswell. *Cervantes in Seventeenth-Century England: The Tapestry Turned* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

Riley, Edward C. 'Cervantine Succession. Review of Robin Chapman, *The Duchess's Diary*'. *Times Literary Supplement*, 29 February 1980, p. 238.

Rosenbach, Abraham S. Wolf. 'The Curious-Impertinent in English Dramatic Literature before Shelton's Translation of *Don Quixote*'. *Modern Language Notes* 17, no. 6 (1902): pp. 179–84.

Samson, Alexander. '"Last thought upon a windmill"?: Cervantes and Fletcher'. In *The Cervantean Heritage*, edited by J.A.G. Ardila, pp. 223–33.

Sánchez Imizcoz, Ruth. 'La influencia de *Don Quijote* en *El caballero del pistadero ardiente*'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 15, no. 2 (1995): 75–82.

Schenkel, Elmar. 'G. K. Chesterton: *The Return of Don Quixote*'. In *Cervantes in the English Speaking World*, edited by Darío Fernández-Morera and Michael Hanke, pp. 169–80.

Schevill, Rudolph. 'Theobald's *Double Falsehood*?'. *Modern Philology* 9, no. 2 (1911): pp. 269–85.

Scott, Sir Walter. *Waverley, or 'Tis Sixty Tears Since* (London: J. M. Dent, 1906).

Shelley, Mary. 'Life of Cervantes'. In *Lives of the Most Eminent Literary and Scientific Men of Spain and Portugal* (London: Longman, 1837), pp. 120–88.

Smollett, Tobias. 'Life of Cervantes'. In *The History and Adventures of the Renowned Don Quixote . . . In Four Volumes*, translated by Smollett, vol. I (Dublin: John Chambers, 1796.

Smollett, Tobias. *The Adventures of Roderick Random*, edited by Paul-Gabriel Boucé (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981).

Smollett, Tobias, *The Adventures of Sir Launcelot Greaves, Together with The History & Adventures of an Atom* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1926).

Smollett, Tobias. *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker*, edited by Lewis M. Knapp (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988).

Staves, Susan, 'Don Quixote in Eighteenth-Century England'. *Comparative Literature* 24, no. 1 (1972): pp. 193–215.

Sterne, Laurence. *The Life and Opinions of Tristam Shandy*, edited by Graham Petrie (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1967).

Tabarés Pérez, Patricia and Leonor Pérez Ruiz. 'The Praise of Quixotic Delicacy in David Hume's "Of the Standard of Taste"'. In *La huella de Cervantes y del Quijote en la cultura anglosajona*, edited by José Manuel Barrio Marco and María José Crespo Allué, pp. 121–31.

Tave, Stuart. *The Amiable Humorist: A Study in the Comic Theory and Criticism of the 18th and 19th Centuries* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960).

Taylor, Gary. 'The History of Cardenio: 1612–2012'. In *The Creation and Re-Creation of Cardenio: Performing Shakespeare, Transforming Cervantes*, edited by Terri Bourus and Taylor (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp. 235–316.

Taylor, Gary. 'The History of *The History of Cardenio*'. In *The Quest for Cardenio*, edited by David Carnegie and Gary Taylor, pp. 11–61.

Taylor, Gary and John Lavagnino, general editors. *Thomas Middleton: The Collected Works* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

Taylor, Gary and John V. Nance. 'Four Characters in Search for a Subplot: Quixote, Sancho, and *Cardenio*'. In *The Quest for Cardenio*, edited by David Carnegie and Taylor, pp. 192–213.

Theobald, Lewis. *Double Falsehood or The Distressed Lovers*, edited by Brean Hammond (London: Methuen, 2010).

Torralbo Caballero, Juan de Dios and Cristina María Gámez Fernández. 'La influencia de *Viaje del Parnaso* en *The Battle of the Books*'. In *La huella de Cervantes*, edited by José Manuel Barrio Marco and María José Crespo Allué, pp. 113–20.

Vega Rodríguez, Pilar. '*El regreso de D. Quijote* de Chesterton. Tradición y utopía'. *Anales Cervantinos* 37 (2005): pp. 239–51.

Wilkins, George. *The Miseries of Inforst Marriage* (London: George Vincent, 1607).

Wilson, Diana de Armas. *Allegories of Love: Cervantes's* Persiles and Sigismunda (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991).

CHAPTER 27

CERVANTES IN/ON THE AMERICAS

DIANA DE ARMAS WILSON
University of Denver

> Don Quixote is the True American. You do not have to look into many American eyes to suddenly meet somewhere the beautiful grave lunacy of his gaze.
>
> —Tennessee Williams

Peru and Plymouth Rock

'En un lugar de las Indias' ['In a place in the Indies'] mimics the opening line of *Don Quixote* and serves as the title of a short story by the Colombian writer Pedro Gómez Valderrama about Cervantes in America. In this witty fiction, unlike in life, Cervantes manages to secure a post in Cartagena de Indias. This was, in fact, one of four vacant managerial positions for which the real-life Cervantes, a maimed veteran of Spain's wars against the Ottomans, unsuccessfully petitioned the Council of the Indies in 1590. A bureaucrat's utopian response to his application, in a marginal note using the discourse of chivalry, suggested that Cervantes should confine his job search to Spain: 'busque por acá en qué se le haga merced' ['look around here for favours'].[1]

In Gómez Valderrama's story, however, a middle-aged Cervantes on the verge of applying for public charity is suddenly offered a job as auditor of the galleys in Cartagena.

[1] Petition found in the *Archivo de Indias Patronato* 253 R.1/1/5. Dated 21 May 1590, the petition displays a marginal response by a Doctor Núñez Morquecho. Apart from the available Cartagena position, the other three were for the comptroller of the New Kingdom of Granada, the governor of Soconusco in Guatemala, and the magistrate of the city of La Paz in present-day Bolivia (Canavaggio, p. 199).

Sailing out of Seville, this fictional Cervantes arrives in the New World in time to witness an *auto de fe* in Cartagena's Plaza Mayor. Tropical torpor slowly converts him into a stereotypical *indiano*, an indolent Spanish colonist. Consumed by alcohol and lust for his *mulata* servant, he comes to a melancholy end and burns his books. This cautionary tale suggests that securing his desired New World position kept Cervantes from writing a masterpiece. A different fictional ending might have portrayed him writing *Don Quixote* while working in Cartagena. Such a happy finale, however, might distress Cervantes's French biographer Jean Canavaggio, who claims that the 'renown' of Don Quixote would have suffered had he come 'into the world under the skies of Colombia or Guatemala'.[2]

Although the historical Cervantes was denied a post in the Indies, his 'hijo feo'[3] or 'ugly son',[4] as Don Quixote is called in the novel's Prologue, went there in his place. A Cuban legend would have it that a copy of *Don Quixote* arrived in the belly of a shark captured off the island's waters in 1936.[5] Centuries earlier, however, seventy-two copies of Juan de la Cuesta's first edition of the novel made it to the Indies in 1606 as part of a larger consignment of books shipped from Seville by the book dealer Juan de Sarria. His son met the shipment at the coastal town of Puertobelo and escorted the books on a pack train of mules across the isthmus to Old Panama, a steamy Pacific coastal city surrounded by pirates and *cimarrones*, or fugitive slaves. The books then sailed down the Pacific coast to Lima, arriving there in mid-1606. Nine repacked copies of this *princeps* edition would take a further harrowing two-month mule trip up the cold *punas* of the Andes, across swinging rope bridges, to arrive in Cuzco. We know about this bookish journey thanks to the discovery, by Irving A. Leonard, of a receipt of delivery that had for centuries languished in the National Archive of Peru.[6] Leonard's tracing of this single consignment of books has been justly called the 'greatest contribution' in the annals of book-trade transactions.[7]

The year 1606 was only the beginning of Don Quixote's itinerary in the Americas. By 1607—the same year that the English were founding the Jamestown settlement in Virginia—an obscure Peruvian mining town called Pausa was celebrating a knightly joust with masquerades. The prize-winning entry in these lists was by one Luis de Gálvez from Córdoba, who received an award of four yards of purple satin for his burlesque impersonation of *El caballero de la triste figura* [The Knight of the Sad Countenance]. Raquel Chang-Rodríguez provides readers a meticulous Spanish analysis of the workings of this celebration in colonial Pausa.[8]

A mere generation later, as this essay aims to show, readers arriving in colonial New England would give evidence that they knew Cervantes's knight. Mindful of the great distance between Pausa and Plymouth, Massachusetts, between a Peruvian silver mine

[2] Canavaggio, pp. 313 and 156. [3] Cervantes, *El ingenioso* . . . , p. 50.
[4] All quotations from Spanish have been translated by the author of this chapter unless otherwise noted.
[5] Romero-Díaz, 'Conclusion . . .', p. 307. [6] Leonard, pp. 270–312. [7] Adorno, p. xviii.
[8] Chang-Rodríguez, pp. 89–103.

and a Puritan 'city on the hill', I regard these two early American sites as curiously united by the reading of *Don Quixote*. Rather than comprehensive, the remarks that follow about Cervantes on/in the Americas are merely representative. For thirty-six pages of bibliographical entries on the matter of Cervantes and the Americas, see Corréa-Díaz. For Spanish works that address this vast topic, readers may turn to the following authors and/or editors: Santa, Illades and Iffland, López Martínez, Brioso Santos, and Miró Quesada Sosa. A collection in English, edited by Vélez-Sainz and Romero-Díaz, includes fifteen essays that further open out the topic. An essay in English by Finch and Allen provides a condensed but lively account of both North and South American writers influenced by Cervantes.

Cervantes on the Americas

Instead of Pausa, Cervantes would devote various references to Potosí, the most productive and, for the Andean Indians who worked there, the most deadly silver mine of the era. In the ornamental description in *Don Quixote* of Clavileño, the wooden horse is said to magically fly one day to France, the next to Potosí.[9] The Peruvian mine surfaces again when Don Quixote is fretting about how to reimburse Sancho for the lashes undertaken toward the disenchantment of Dulcinea: 'las minas de Potosí fueran poco para pagarte' ['the mines of Potosí would not suffice to pay you'].[10] Careful readers, including Herman Melville (see below), may find in Cervantes a darker glimpse of the original American connotations of *Potosí*.

Well beyond its silver mines, references to the New World abound in the Cervantine canon. In the novella *El celoso extremeño*, the rightly termed 'possessive and paranoid' Felipe de Carrizales sails off to the Indies at age forty-eight in quest of gold and fame.[11] In a discussion of this desire for fame, Don Quixote rounds off a series of examples from antiquity with a reference to Hernán Cortés, whose frenzy for renown drove him to arson in America. As Don Quixote puts it, fame moved 'el cortesísimo Cortés' ['the very courteous Cortés'] to burn his ships so that his soldiers would have no thought of retreat or desertion.[12] The use of the superlative *cortesísimo* here suggests an excess of knightly toadying. Cortés was much given to chivalric language, and the bombast evident in his formulaic challenges anticipates many of Don Quixote's own later challenges. Although Cortés died the same year Cervantes was born, the conquistador's fame underscores the cliché that old soldiers never die. Cortés rises again in the Cervantine canon, when the hero of *El licenciado Vidriera* mentions the 'gran Hernando Cortés, que conquistó la gran Méjico . . . espanto del mundo nuevo' ['the great Hernando Cortés, who conquered

[9] Cervantes, *El ingenioso* . . . , II.40.
[10] Cervantes, *El ingenioso* . . . , II.71.
[11] Clamurro, p. 30.
[12] Cervantes, *El ingenioso* . . . , II.8; see Chapter 42 of López de Gómara, who gave the age an account of Cortés's negotiations with men who would secretly scuttle his ships.

the great Mexico . . . the wonder of the new world'].[13] A less celebrated resident of Mexico materializes when the enchanted Dulcinea is bucked off her 'palfrey' and takes a running leap to remount it. At that point Sancho claims that she could teach 'a subir a la jineta al más diestro cordobés o mejicano' ['the most skilled Cordoban or Mexican rider about mounting a horse'].[14]

Palfreys abound in the books of chivalry, whose heroes generally subjugate a barbaric enemy—often a swarthy-faced infidel––and liberate a foreign princess or two. The codes of chivalric romance are generically fixed around love and war, around damsels in distress and infidels in need of liberation or salvation. The knightly figure who undertakes these salvific acts, and whose exploits enchant Don Quixote, is a demurely modest, high-minded, violence-attuned gentleman. The books of chivalry romanticized an imagined illustrious pseudo-Carolingian past while simultaneously serving the aims of the Habsburg empire's nobility. The term *chivalry* is as slippery as the term *empire*, but they are related through a shared ideology. Although chivalry has multiple meanings, from heavy cavalry to perfect manners, the term cannot be divorced from the following: a culture of horsiness, a frontier mentality, a role in imperial expansion, an ideology of good and evil, a respect for formulaic behaviour, an ease with violence, and a salvific complex ('cavalry to the rescue'). When transplanted to the Americas, chivalry replaced knights with conquistadors and cowboys. All three populations display links to the quixotic. As American myths go, the East was settled but the West was *won*. With a change of language and outfit, Don Quixote, an unbalanced man who lights out for the wilderness in the hopes of making history, could be translated into the American genre of the Western.

But how did Cervantes's knight shape the identities of America's first European settlers? The Peruvian scholar Raúl Porras Barrenechea once called *Don Quixote* 'una sátira benévola del conquistador de ínsulas o Indias' ['a benevolent satire of the conquistador of *ínsulas* or Indies'].[15] As targets of Cervantes's satire, both the fictional *ínsulas* and the real world Indies presume an understanding of Spain's imperial reach. Cervantes's posthumous *Persiles* continues the benevolent satire of the American conquest begun in *Don Quixote*. Cervantes moulded Amerindian subject matter into the 'dark conceit' that introduces the *Persiles*, a text that opens with a sustained six-chapter parody 'On Cannibals' that portrays the symbolic acts of a world conqueror.[16] Michael Armstrong-Roche elegantly sums up not only the major material features in Cervantes's *Persiles* that point to the New World—'the animal skins and bows and arrows, rafts, unminted gold ore and pearls for currency'—but also 'the motifs of island-hopping, shipwreck, captivity, and ritual cannibalism'. To these he adds a cluster of themes that trigger powerful American resonances: 'conversion, miscegenation, cultural alienation, translation, and barbarism'.[17] In works dealing with the Americas, Cervantes shows both the danger and costs of the imperial thrust. Sections of both *Don Quijote* and the *Persiles* allegorize for

[13] Cervantes, *Exemplary Novels II*, p. 68.
[14] Cervantes, *El ingenioso . . .*, II.10.
[15] Porras Barrenechea, *El Inca Garcilaso . . .*, p. 238.
[16] Wilson, *Allegories of Love,* 109–29.
[17] Armstrong-Roche, pp. 49–50.

us the transit of empire, its rise and fall, its victims and its barbarians. In *Cervantes, the Novel, and the New World*, I argue that the crazed hero contained by *Don Quixote* (or barely contained by it) ridicules, among other things, fantasies of global conquest.

Cervantes's recreation of New World themes suggests a powerful critique of wars of conquest, beginning with, although by no means confined to, the conquests in America. Spain's understanding of its imperial standing had been shifting across the sixteenth century, when the term *imperium* moved from its old Latinate sense of autonomous power to its newer sense of territorial dominion. By applying the term *conquistador* to their New World adventures, as Henry Kamen argues, Spaniards were 'claiming imperial status for the enterprise'.[18] And as Sir J. H. Elliott reminds us, Cervantes formed part of 'the last great imperial generation of Spaniards after the triumphs of the sixteenth century'.[19] He lived in an age when Spain's exorbitant empire was unravelling precipitously, 'foundering in mortgages and titles'.[20] Philip II's global wars––along with inflation, plagues, and bankruptcies––were ushering in a national decline. As a contemporary of Cervantes lamented: 'Never in seven hundred years of continuous war . . . has Spain as a whole been as ruined and poor as it is now.'[21]

Cervantes must be counted among the Spaniards who understood the perils of governing an American overseas empire. He created a figure who embodies, as Henry Higuera puts it, 'what is great and what is insane about Spanish imperialism'.[22] We all treasure what is great, even saintly, about Don Quixote. Our fondness for him, however, should not allow us to overlook certain imperial (and imperious) strains of his mania. As early as Part One, Chapter One, he already fantasizes himself wearing the crown 'del imperio de Trapisonda' ['of the empire of Trebizond'], a city mentioned by Marco Polo.[23] And well into Part Two, Don Quixote still dreams of becoming 'el mayor señor del mundo' ['the greatest lord of the world'].[24] Connected to this lordly ambition is his wild impulsivity in acts of liberation—from peasant boys to galley slaves to Carolingian puppets. Cervantes's novel is a profound exploration of human nature in an age of imperial crisis. The text of *Don Quixote* manages to do what the figure of Don Quixote can scarcely do in the text: to expose the chivalric spin that shored up a collapsing empire, to make us laugh *and* cry at gallant but doomed heroics, to suggest how normal it is to go mad in an age of iron.

Cervantes in the Americas

Although Cervantes's knight entered into the consciousness of countless Latin American writers, space here allows me to trace his impact on only a handful of their responses to his writings. Rubén Darío, the Nicaraguan poet and leader of Latin America's

[18] Kamen, pp. xxiii–xxviii. [19] Elliott, p. 264. [20] Benítez-Rojo, p. 15.
[21] The lament about Spain's poverty is by Luis Valle de la Cerda, cited by Elliott, p. 264.
[22] Higuera, pp. 1–2. [23] Polo, *Travels of* . . . , p. 17.
[24] Cervantes, *El ingenioso* . . . , II.39; see Pagden.

Modernistas, wrote a commemorative poem in 1905, 'Letanía de nuestro señor Don Quijote' ['Litany of Our Lord Don Quixote'], begging for an intercession.[25] The Cuban Alejo Carpentier claimed that 'Spain had no better ambassador down the ages than Don Quixote de la Mancha'.[26] For Carpentier, the entire history of Latin America was a chronicle of the 'the marvelous real'.[27] And that chronicle, as Edwin Williamson argues in an indispensable essay, had 'quixotic roots'.[28] The Guatemalan writer Miguel Angel Asturias wrote 'Los dos quijotes' ['The Two Quixotes'].[29] And the Mexican novelist Carlos Fuentes gave readers a long and influential essay called *Cervantes, or the Critique of Reading*. These writers may be numbered among the Latin American Magic Realists who loudly advertise their 'quixotic roots'.

A scholar of Colombia's Civil Wars, Arbey Atehortúa Atehortúa, has written instructively on the reception of *Don Quixote* in Colombia, noting that Cervantes moved this nation's novelists to explore such themes as metafiction, false authors, found manuscripts, and interpolated stories. In a short story titled 'El sueño de Cide Hamete Benengeli' ['The Dream of Cide Hamete Benengeli'], Colombia's Hugo Chaparro Valderrama pictures the captive Cervantes in his prison in Algiers dictating *Don Quixote* to Cide Hamete Benengeli, who jots down in Arabic a novel that entertains the city's Turkish-Algerian rulers. Experimental theatre on Cervantes has also flourished in Colombia, with performances of Santiago García's iconic adaptation of *El Quijote* staged by the Teatro La Candelaria in Bógota and New York. Alejandro González Puche has written and directed two enchanting meta-theatrical adaptations of Cervantes's works that have played as far as China and that I have seen in Colombia: *El coloquio de los perros* and *Pedro de Urdemalas*. Major Colombian critics include Amalia Muñoz Iriarte, who has published a collection of essays on *Don Quixote*, and María Antonia Garcés, an expert on Cervantes's captivity with an essay in this *Handbook*.

The Argentine writer Jorge Luis Borges (1899–1986) claimed to have read an English version of *Don Quixote* during his boyhood, maintaining, perhaps facetiously, that he always preferred it to the original Spanish. One of Borges's best-known stories is 'Pierre Menard, Author of *Don Quijote*', the paradoxical and meta-fictional tale of an obscure French poet who undertakes to write *Don Quixote* word for word. Apart from other short fictions and essays about Cervantes and his creations, Borges wrote poems that invoke his characters and his landscape. Among these is 'Un soldado de Urbina' ['A Soldier of Urbina'], which pictures Don Quixote and Sancho riding across the imagination of an impoverished and solitary old soldier, a man 'harto de su tierra de España' ['fed up with his Spanish homeland'], as Borges elsewhere puts it.[30]

Following Don Quixote from South to North America, we find him tilting at windmills as early as the 1630s in the New England colonies. When the *Mayflower* passenger and pilgrim Miles Standish attacked Thomas Morton for his sinful lifestyle—for erecting a maypole and singing drinking songs in Merrymount—the pilgrims chopped down the

[25] Cited by Stavans, pp. 96–7. [26] Carpentier, 'No tuvo España…', pp. 51–7.
[27] Carpentier, 'De lo real…', pp. 96–112. [28] Williamson, pp. 103–20.
[29] Asturias, pp. 197–9. [30] Borges, 'Un soldado de Urbina', p. 199.

maypole, had Morton arrested, carried across the ocean, and imprisoned. Morton compared the blows dealt him and other Puritan 'worthies' as akin to 'Don Kwik-sot against the Windmill'.[31] Apart from his merry pranks, Morton was clearly a reader of *Don Quixote*; those windmills were already available to him in the Thomas Shelton's 1612 English translation.

A few generations later, Cotton Mather would appropriate the same metaphoric windmills to vilify Roger Williams, whom he portrayed as 'not only the first rebel against the divine-church order in the wilderness', but also as a man with such a furious 'windmill' whirling in his head that 'a whole country in America' was likely 'to be set on fire' for it. The portrait of Cervantes's hero suggested here is of a crazed and dangerous rebel against 'the divine-church order', which tells us more about Cotton Mather than about Don Quixote.[32]

Until the publication of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in 1852, *Don Quixote* was the most popular novel in the United States. Even the Founding Fathers had read it. George Washington bought the Tobias Smollet translation in 1787, the same day the United States Constitution was adopted. The sixteen-year-old Benjamin Franklin wished that some 'great genius' would describe the actions of certain '*Saint-errants*' just as Cervantes had done of knights-errant in *Don Quixote*, whose aim was 'to free the World of Monsters, and to tame Gyants'.[33] Unlike the majority of his countrymen, Thomas Jefferson could read *Don Quixote* in the original Spanish and encouraged his children to do the same. In an 1822 letter to Benjamin Waterhouse, Jefferson wrote that 'Don Quixote undertook to redress the bodily wrongs of the world, but the re-dressment of mental vagaries would be an enterprise more than Quixotic'.[34]

A generation later, Herman Melville, whose library included a well-annotated edition of *Don Quixote*, embraced both the common man *and* Cervantes. Chapter 26 of *Moby Dick* closes with a stirring apostrophe that invokes Cervantes's disability and his poverty: 'O thou great democratic God! … Thou who didst clothe with doubly hammered leaves of finest gold, the stumped and paupered arm of Old Cervantes'. But Melville's theme of democratic dignity, his embrace of the common man, and his love of Cervantes feature even more prominently in *The Piazza Tales*, a parody of chivalry that both incorporates and associates Don Quixote and the Peruvian mine of Potosí. In this fiction, Melville creates a dejected narrator who spies a house at the top of a mountain that glows 'like the Potosí mine'.[35] The mountain is New England's ordinary Mt. Greylock, but Melville's narrator, in a fit of Carolingian chivalry, renames it 'Charlemagne'. En route to this radiant spot, the narrator pointedly identifies himself with Don Quixote, 'the sagest sage that ever lived', but upon arrival he discovers only the rotting cottage of a down-and-out couple, a seamstress and her brother, a man 'fagged out' from working in the local coal mines.[36] The chivalric quest here is pictured as fraudulent, not unlike the visit of Don Quixote to the Cave of Montesinos, where Charlemagne's Peers are discovered to

[31] Morton, p. 186–7. [32] Mather, p. 232.
[33] Franklin, cited in Parton, p. 67. [34] Jefferson, n.p. [35] Melville, pp. 3–5.
[36] Melville, pp. 6 and 9.

be silly and heartless, and their damsels, painted, aged, and even turbaned in the style of their Muslim enemy. The wheel of influence comes full circle with Melville, who reaches for Cervantes in order to return the coal mines of Massachusetts back to the earlier silver mine of Potosí.

A cluster of other major American novelists have been influenced by Cervantes. In Chapter 3 of *Hucklelberry Finn*, Mark Twain recommends *Don Quixote* as a cure for ignorance. In response to an inability to see 'elephants', 'A-rabs', and other such exotica in a Sunday-school picnic, Tom Sawyer scolds Huck Finn: 'He said if I warn't so ignorant, but had read a book called *Don Quixote*, I would know without asking.'[37] In an interview for the *Paris Review*, William Faulkner claimed to have read *Don Quixote* 'every year, as some do the Bible'.[38] Kathy Acker converted Don Quixote into a female knight. And various Chicano writers—Ron Arias in *The Road to Tamazunchale* and Daniel Venegas in *The Adventures of Don Chipote*—have used Don Quixote as a symbolic figure who resists Anglo-American culture.

Major North American literary critics such as Lionel Trilling and Harold Bloom have nothing but panegyrics for Cervantes's work. While Trilling claims that 'all prose fiction is a variation on the theme of *Don Quixote*',[39] Bloom—in a characteristic comparison of hypercanonical writers—considers Cervantes to be 'the only possible peer of Dante and Shakespeare in the Western Canon'.[40] The American critic Susan Sontag regarded *Don Quixote* as 'the first and greatest epic about addiction'.[41] She meant, of course, an addiction to books, specifically to the books of chivalry that crazed Cervantes's hero. Published during the childhood of the printing press, these books found their way into Don Quixote's culture, into his library and, finally, into his brain. The first wave in the history of mass media and the entertainment industry, books like *Amadis of Gaul* and its dozen sequels were the best-sellers of the sixteenth century. Distinguished by their courtly language and upscale cast of characters who often came in dynasties, these books were avidly consumed by readers who recognized their chivalric heroes as a brand. Our advance today into the worlds of the internet—with addictions to texting and roleplaying games—summons up a sense of déjà vu with Don Quixote's bibliomania.

North American scholars of Cervantes abound, although not many have focused on his connections with the Americas. James D. Fernández writes about Cervantes and the New World in 'The Bonds of Patrimony', and in her prize-winning book *Cervantes in Algiers*, María Antonia Garcés not only discusses Cervantes's Memorial to Philip II requesting a position in America, but also reminds us that 'Amerindians from Brazil and New Spain (Mexico)' crossed the Ocean Sea to become Algerian renegades.[42] As part of a serious exploration of Cervantes's engagement with history, Mary Gaylord provides a series of useful essays on his American involvements. On the topic of a new American language, William Childers has written a chapter on 'Chicanoizing Don Quixote' and

[37] Twain, p. 25. [38] Faulkner, n.p. [39] Trilling, p. 203.
[40] Bloom, p. 127. [41] Sontag, n.p. [42] Garcés, pp. 196–7 and p. 35.

another on moving 'Toward a Canon of Spanglish Literature'.[43] Ilan Stavans has given readers a useful companion to *Don Quixote*, subtitled *The Novel and the World*, which explains how Cervantes's knight has shaped the identities of countless nations, the Americas included. A challenging section of this book—at least for purists at the Spanish Royal Academy—celebrates the hybrid tongue of Spanglish: Stavans is now in the process of completing Part Two of *Don Quixote* in this crossbreed language, which he regards as 'beautiful'.[44]

On connections between Cervantes and American film, Bruce Burningham has established a dazzling connection between the meta-fictional Hollywood protagonist of David Lynch's postmodern *Mulholland Drive* (2001) and the Enchanted Dulcinea of the Cave of Montesinos.[45] Barbara Simerka and Christopher B. Weimer jointly explore the impact of Cervantes's meta-narrativity on Charlie Kaufman's meta-film *Adaptation*.[46] On the same topic of film, I would note an essay by Nieves Romero-Díaz, rightly subtitled 'A Quixotic Enterprise', which catalogues the difficulties of translating *Don Quixote* to US screens.

To close on the issue of Quixotic enterprises, the earliest recorded English usage of the term *quixotic* appeared in 1791. It was pressed into service not only by Thomas Jefferson, as noted above, but also by the nineteenth-century Harvard historian William Prescott, who lavishly applied the term to the Spanish *conquistadores*, praising their 'Quixotic enthusiasm' and 'Quixotic love of adventure'.[47] A rich array of definitions of the term *quixotic*, across a spectrum from chivalric idealism to delirious hallucination may be found in Howard Mancing's *The Cervantes Encyclopedia*.[48] The hallucinatory meaning would seem applicable to the US invasion of two Muslim countries not responsible for 9/11, based on a bogus case for a preemptive war, which has shattered the Middle East. A *New York Times* Op-Ed Column in 2004 alluded to President Bush's 'audaciously *quixotic* plan' and the same writer was still harping on it twelve years later with the claim that an 'arrogant and delusional administration pulled the wool over Americans' eyes about the Iraq invasion, which has ended up costing us trillions and killing and maiming hundreds of thousands'.[49]

As my epigraph on the 'beautiful grave lunacy' of certain American eyes suggests, *Don Quixote* might be the book of the moment for US citizens. Cervantes's narrative may make us think twice about the madness of reviving holy wars or expelling undesirable populations. After Cervantes identifies himself in his Prologue as the 'stepfather' of Don Quixote, nine chapters into Part I he suddenly grants the fatherhood of our would-be Christian knight to an Arab historian called Cide Hamete Benengeli. Pretending to find this Arab's lost manuscript, Cervantes then arranges for its translation by a *morisco*, a forcibly converted Hispano-Muslim. By granting both the authorship of his story *and* its fictional translation to a pair of *moriscos*, Cervantes dramatized the complexity of racial and religious interactions of his time and place. We are currently experiencing a

[43] Childers, pp. 194–242. [44] Stavans, pp. 201–4.
[45] Cervantes, *El ingenioso* . . . , II.23. [46] Simerka and Weimer, pp. 91–100.
[47] Kagan, p. 444. [48] Mancing, v. II, p. 598. [49] Dowd, n.p.

repeat in history of those interactions. Given our national ignorance of Spain's long Muslim history and the lunacy of our responses to the Middle East, *Don Quixote* may be the one European novel that can finally de-provincialize American culture.

Works Cited

Acker, Kathy. *Don Quixote: A Novel* (New York: Grove Press, 1986).

Adorno, Rolena. 'Introduction'. In *Books of the Brave*, by Irving Leonard (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992).

Arias, Ron. *The Road to Tamazunchale: A Novel* (Nevada: West Coast Poetry Review, 1975).

Armstrong-Roche, Michael. *Cervantes's Epic Novel: Empire, Religion, and the Dream Life of Heroes in* Persiles (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009).

Asturias, Miguel Ángel. 'Los dos Quijotes: la locura de Fray Bartolomé'. In *El 'Quijote' visto desde América,* edited by J. Garcia Sánchez (Madrid: Visor Libros, 2005).

Atehortúa Atehortúa, Arbey. *Narrativa de las guerras civiles colombianas*, 2 vols (Bucaramanga: UIS, 2009–10).

Atehortúa Atehortúa, Arbey. 'Recepción y Re-creación de Don Quijote de la Mancha en Colombia [Reception and Recreation of Don Quixote of La Mancha in Colombia]'. Paper delivered at the International Conference 'Personajes y escenarios en Cervantes' at Universidad los Andes, Bógota, Colombia, 24 February 2015.

Benítez-Rojo, Antonio. *Sea of Lentils*, translated by James Maraniss (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1991).

Bloom, Harold. *The Western Canon* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1994).

Borges, Jorge Luis. 'Un soldado de Urbina'. In *Obra poética* (Buenos Aires: Emecé, 2001).

Brioso Santos, Héctor. *Cervantes y América*, in collaboration with José Montero Reguera (Madrid: Fundación Carolina, Centro de Estudios Hispánicos e Iberoamericanos: Marcial Pons Historia, 2006).

Burningham, Bruce R. 'David Lynch and the Dulcineated World'. *Cervantes*: *Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 30, no. 2 (2010): pp. 33–56.

Canavaggio, Jean. *Cervantes*, translated Mauro Armiño (Madrid: Espasa–Calpe, 1986).

Carpentier, Alejo. 'De lo real maravilloso Americano'. In *Tientos y diferencias* (Montevideo: Arca, 1967).

Carpentier, Alejo. 'No tuvo España mejor embajador, a lo largo de los siglos que Don Quijote de la Mancha'. In *Don Quijote: meditaciones hispanoamericanas*, edited by Frederick Viña (Lanham, MD: UP of America, 1988), pp. 51–7.

Cervantes, Miguel de. *El ingenioso hidalgo don Quijote de la Mancha*, edited by Luis Andrés Murillo (Madrid: Clásicos Castalia, 1973).

Cervantes, Miguel de. *Exemplary Novels II* (*Novelas ejemplares*), general editor, B. W. Ife (Warminster: Aris & Phillips Ltd., 1992).

Chang-Rodríguez, Raquel. 'El periplo peruano de Don Quijote'. In *Cervantes and/on/in the New World*, edited by Julio Vélez-Sainz and Nieves Romero-Díaz (Newark, DE: Juan de la Cuesta Press, 2007), pp. 89–103.

Chaparro Valderrama, Hugo. 'El sueño de Cide Hamete Benengeli'. In *Autores del Quijote, 1605–2005*, edited by Sarah de Mojica and Carlos Rincón (Bógota: Editorial Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, 2005), pp. 87–94.

Childers, William. *Transnational Cervantes* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006).

Clamurro, William. *Cervantes's* Novelas Ejemplares: *Reading their Lessons from His Time to Ours* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2015).
Corréa-Díaz, Luis. Cervantes y América/Cervantes en las Américas: Mapa de campo y ensayo de bibliografía razonada (Barcelona: Edition Reichenberger, 2006).
Corréa-Díaz, Luis. *Una Historia Apócrifa de América: El Arte de La Conjetura de Pedro Gómez Valderrama* (Medellín: Coleccion Krenes, 2003).
Dowd, Maureen. *New York Times*, 15 January 2004 and 22 February 2016.
Elliott, J. H. *Spain and its World: 1500–1700* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989).
Faulkner, William. Interview by Jean Stein in the *Paris Review*, no. 12 (Spring 1956).
Fernández, James D. 'The Bonds of Patrimony: Cervantes and the New World'. *PMLA* 109, no. 5 (1994): pp. 969–81.
Finch, Patricia and John J. Allen. '*Don Quijote* across the Centuries'. In *Don Quijote: Miguel de Cervantes*, translated by Burton Raffel and edited by Diana de Armas Wilson (New York: W. W. Norton, 1999), pp. 767–74.
Fuentes, Carlos. *Don Quixote, or the Critique of Reading* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1976).
Garcés, María Antonia. *Cervantes in Algiers: A Captive's Tale* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2002).
Gaylord. Mary M. 'Don Quijote y los héroes americanos de la palabra'. In El Quijote desde América, edited by Gustavo Illades and James Iffland (Puebla: Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla-El Colegio de México, 2006), pp. 81–100.
Gaylord, Mary M. 'Don Quixote's New World of Language'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 27, no. 1 (2007): pp. 71–94.
Gaylord, Mary M. 'The True History of Early Modern Writing in Spanish: Some American Reflections'. *Modern Language Quarterly* 57, no. 2 (1996): pp. 213–25.
Gómez Valderrama, Pedro. 'En un lugar de las Indias'. *Cuentos completos* (Bógota: Alfaguara, 1996), pp. 93–8.
González Puche, Alejandro. *Pedro de Urdemalas, la aventura experimental del teatro cervantino* (Vigo: Academia del Hispanismo, 2012).
Higuera, Henry. *Eros and Empire: Politics and Christianity in 'Don Quixote'* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1995).
Illades, Gustavo and James Iffland (eds). *El Quijote desde América* (Puebla: Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla–El Colegio de México, 2006).
Iriarte, Amalia Muñoz, editor. *Don Quijote en las aulas* (Bógota: Siglo de Hombre Editores, 2006).
Jefferson, Thomas. *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, edited by Andrew H. Lipscomb, and Albert E. Bergh, 20 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Thomas Jefferson Memorial Association of the United States, 1903–4). https://www.monticello.org/site/research-and.../don-quixote-novel.
Kagan, Richard L. 'Prescott's Paradigm: American Historical Scholarship and the Decline of Spain'. *American Historical Review* 101/2 (1996): pp. 423–46.
Kamen, Henry. *Empire: How Spain Became a World Power, 1492–763* (New York: HarperCollins, 2003).
Leonard, Irving A. *Books of the Brave* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992).
López de Gómara, Francisco. *Historia general de las Indias y vida de Hernán Cortés. Prólogo y Cronología por Jorge Gurría Lacroix*, vol. 64 (Caracas: Biblioteca Ayacucho, 1979).
López Martínez, Héctor. *El Quijote en América* [electronic resource], edited by Friedhelm Schmidt-Welle and Ingrid Simson (Amsterdam & New York: Rodopi, 2010).

Mancing, Howard. *The Cervantes Encyclopedia*, 2 vols (London: Greenwood Press, 2004).
Mather, Cotton. *The Heath Anthology of American Literature*, vol. I (Toronto: D. C. Heath and Co., 1990).
Melville, Herman. *The Piazza Tales*, edited by Harrison Hayford et al., vol. 9 (Evanston, IL: Northwestern-Newberry, 1987).
Miró Quesada Sosa, Aurelio. *Lope de Vega y el Perú; Cervantes, Tirso y el Perú; El primer virrey-poeta en América* (Lima: Sucesión Aurelio Miró Quesada Sosa, 2001).
Morton, Thomas. *The Heath Anthology of American Literature,* vol. 1 (Toronto: D. C. Heath and Co., 1990).
Pagden, Anthony. *Lords of all the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain and France c. 1500–c. 1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995).
Parton, James. *Life and Times of Benjamin Franklin*, vol. 1 (New York: Mason Bros., 1864).
Polo, Marco. *The Travels of Marco Polo*, edited by Manuel Komroff and translated by William Marsden (New York: The Modern Library, 2001).
Porras Barrenechea, Raúl. 'Cervantes y el Perú'. *Arbor* 9 (1945): pp. 537–44.
Porras Barrenechea, Raúl. *El Inca Garcilaso en Montilla (1561–1614)* (Lima: Editorial San Marcos, 1955).
Romero-Díaz, Nieves. 'Conclusion: Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, and the New World: Endless Adventures'. In *Cervantes and/on/in the New World*, edited by Julio Vélez-Sainz and Romero-Díaz (Newark, DE: Juan de la Cuesta Press, 2007), pp. 307–21.
Romero-Díaz, Nieves. 'Translating Cervantes and Don Quixote for the US Screens: A Quixotic Enterprise'. In *Cervantes and/on/in the New World*, edited by Julio Vélez-Sainz and Romero-Díaz (Newark, DE: Juan de la Cuesta Press, 2007), pp. 213–30.
Santa, Eduardo. *Don Quijote por los caminos de América: edición conmemorativa del IV centenario del Ingenioso Hidalgo Don Quijote de La Mancha* (Bogotá: Editorial El Buho, 2005).
Simerka, Barbara and Christopher B. Weimer. 'Duplicitous Diegesis: *Don Quijote* and Charlie Kaufman's *Adaptation*'. *Hispania* 88, no. 1 (2005): pp. 91–100.
Sontag, Susan. *The Boston Globe*, Book Section (9 March 1986).
Stavans, Ilan. Quixote*: The Novel and the World* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2015).
Trilling, Lionel. *The Liberal Imagination* (New York: Viking, 1950).
Twain, Mark. *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn,* edited by Thomas Cooley (New York: W. W. Norton, 1999).
Vélez-Sainz, Julio and Nieves Romero–Díaz (eds). *Cervantes and/on/in the New World* (Newark, DE: Juan de la Cuesta Press, 2007).
Venegas, Daniel. *Las aventuras de Don Chipote* (Houston: Arte Público Press, 1999).
Williamson, Edwin. 'The Quixotic Roots of Magic Realism. History and Fiction from Alejo Carpentier to Gabriel García Márquez'. In *Cervantes and the Modernists: The Question of Influence*, edited by Williamson (London: Tamesis, 1994).
Wilson, Diana de Armas. *Allegories of Love: Cervantes's* Persiles and Sigismunda (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991).
Wilson, Diana de Armas. *Cervantes, the Novel, and the New World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

SECTION 7

RECEPTION

CHAPTER 28

CERVANTES'S BIOGRAPHERS

KRZYSZTOF SLIWA
Universidad del Atlántico, Barranquilla, Colombia

Translated by
AARON M. KAHN

The objective of this chapter is to present the major scholarly contributions to the development of a clear profile of Cervantes the man, from the first biography by Mayáns to present times. My goal is to analyse and meticulously compare all the major biographies in order to determine the vision obtained by the biographers of the hero of Lepanto and to study the development of knowledge in relation to Cervantes's life and academic ideologies concerning his works. It is worth emphasizing that in my discussion of each biographer, I have tried not to repeat information already examined in the previous one. The principle reasons for this study are the following:

1. No one until now has examined the scholarly contributions, which are undoubtedly important, to the development of a narrative of Cervantes's life.
2. Biographies of Cervantes are the only resources in which we can find the trajectory of his life, despite some contradictory information.
3. These scholarly studies each prompt special interest and they deserve admiration for their content, their discoveries, and their different concepts and criteria for presenting the life of the hero of Algiers.
4. Each new biography, despite recounting information, provides new discoveries that shed light on the life of Cervantes.
5. Cervantine scholars are still in search for a definitive biography of the author of *Don Quixote*.

An analysis of this kind is necessary owing to the numerous publications about the life of Cervantes based on legends, fantasies, false documents, poorly or partially interpreted Cervantine works, and various other errors. The biographers will be studied in chronological order. These biographies are considered scholarly works, recognized globally for their reliable content about Cervantes's life, and based above all on the discovery and scrutinized study of documentation. Each one of the nine biographers studied here represents the next phase in establishing a vision of Cervantes's life.

Gregorio Mayáns y Siscar

Gregorio Mayáns y Siscar, Valencian polygraph, writer, and Spanish scholar, was born on 9 May 1699 in Oliva (Valencia). He was baptized in the parish of Santa María. In 1706 he studied Latin grammar in the Colegio de Coredelles, governed by the Jesuits in Barcelona. In July of 1713, he was in Oliva and by the end of this year he was a student of Philosophy in Valencia, finishing his studies in March of 1716. In 1713 he began studying Law, concentrating on the legal doctrine of Arnold Vinnen. In October of 1719 he began studying Jurisprudence at the University of Salamanca, and on 22 June 1722 he returned to Oliva. On 21 November he received his doctorate from the University of Valencia, and on 1 July 1723 he became a professor of Law (1722–33). On 6 October 1733 he became royal librarian in Madrid, where he found the manuscripts of Nicolás Antonio on 5 December of that year. In 1737 he published the first biography of Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, and two years later he returned to his village of birth, where he dedicated himself to scholarship. On 28 February 1740 he contracted marriage with Margarita Pascual. In 1754 he was named an honorary member of the Academica Latina de Jena, for which he wrote. In 1757 he published *Retórica* (Valencia) and at the end of 1766 he visited court with the objective of being named Alcalde Honorario de Casa y Corte. His scholarly works were published in the Netherlands, Germany, Portugal, Spain, and Switzerland. In some of his writings he used the pseudonym Don Plácido Veranio.

Mayáns died on 21 December 1781. For his tireless literary activity, scrupulousness, and love for accuracy, he is one of the writers who best represents scholarship and the critical spirit characteristic of the eighteenth century. He communicated with many Spanish and foreign scholars. His abundant correspondence in Latin and in Spanish, dispersed and largely unpublished, frequently addresses historical and literary themes. He published *Orígenes de la lengua española* (Madrid, 1737), which consists of two volumes; the first is composed of a long discourse by Mayáns about the corruption of the Latin language in Spain, and the way in which the Spanish language took form. The second volume is a collection of various beautiful tracts among which figures, published for the first time, the *Diálogo de la lengua* (Madrid, 1737) by Juan de Valdés. His 'Latin Letters' were much celebrated in Europe. His *Retórica* is the definitive study and

anthology of Castilian prose in the eighteenth century. He also published *Idea de la Academia valenciana* (Valencia, 1742); *Obras y traducciones poéticas de fray Luis de León*, with his life (Valencia, 1761), and *Gramática de la lengua latina en cinco libros* (Valencia, 1768–70).

Mayáns also traversed the notes made by Nicolás Antonio to form his *Bibliotheca hispana nova, sive hispanorum scriptorum qui ab anno MD. ad MDCLXXXIV floruere notitia.* (Matriti, 1788). Mestre believes that the biographer, before receiving 'the first letter from Hordeñana, already possessed a copy of Cervantes's baptismal certificate and even more obtained news about the marriage of the author of the *Quixote* in Esquivias'.[1] Mayáns's *Vida de Cervantes* 'contrasts with later studies. Vicente de los Ríos, Juan Antonio Pellicer, and, above all, Fernández de Navarrete, who's *Life* came long after Mayáns's death and clearly belongs in the nineteenth century cede more importance to the original documents related to the family and to concrete circumstances in the life of the *Manco de Lepanto*. Only the search for original documents constituted, in those times, the means to advance the biography of Cervantes'.[2]

Gregorio Mayáns y Siscar contributed the following work on Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra:

Mayáns y Siscar, Gregorio. *Vida de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra* (Madrid, 1737).

The sources for the biography of Miguel de Cervantes by Gregorio Mayáns y Siscar were the following:

Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de. *La Galatea* (Madrid, 1736).

Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de. *Novela del cautivo* en *Primera y Segunda parte del ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha* (Madrid, 1662).

Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de. *Novelas ejemplares* (Madrid, 1664).

Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de. *Ocho comedias y ocho entremeses* (Madrid, 1615).

Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de. *Los Trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda* (Madrid, 1625).

Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de. *Viaje del Parnaso* y *La Adjunta* (Madrid, 1614).

Espinel, Vicente. *Diversas rimas* (Madrid, 1591).

Vicente de los Ríos

Vicente de los Ríos was born on 8 February 1736 in Córdoba and died on 2 June 1779 in Madrid. He began his military career in the Regimiento de Dragones de Villaviciosa on

[1] Mestre, p. lxxvii. [2] Mestre, pp. xc–xci.

30 August 1757, and on 22 July 1760 he was promoted to under lieutenant of the Royal Corp of Artillery, where he continued serving as captain with the rank of lieutenant colonel. He was a teacher of military sciences at the Segovia School, and during the war with Portugal, he was present at the siege and conquest of Almeida (1762). He was raised to a knighthood in the Order of Santiago on 20 February 1779, named an honorary individual of the Real Academia Española on 12 January 1773, supernumerary member on 11 March of the same year and an honorary member on 17 September 1777. He belonged as well to the Academia de la Historia and to the Academia de Buenas Letras in Seville. His first literary work was *Elogio histórico de Cervantes* [*Historical Praise of Cervantes*], with an analysis or critical judgment of his works. He had already concluded this work when he joined the Academia Española, where in March of 1773 he gave a reading of it that received applause from the Corporation, and he had the idea of undertaking a correct and opulent edition of *Don Quixote*. The Academia applied for and obtained the correct license to do this edition; but because they deemed it better to have a new *Vida de Cervantes* and an analytical approach to his works, the Academia expressed their preference for Ríos to continue his studies in this manner and not in the form of an elegy. He complied, improving his previous studies and proposing the title *Memorias de la vida y escritos de Cervantes* [*Memories of the life and Writings of Cervantes*], in three parts. The first part was a biographical account, the second a critical study of Cervantes's works, and the third consisted of all the documentation that supported the facts referred to in his life. With this plan, he rewrote the first part that he read to the Academia on 21 March 1776, and the following year he presented various observations and notes about Cervantes's lineage, which should have then been incorporated into the third part of his study. Unfortunately, death surprised him before he could see the first part of his work published in the Academia's edition of the *Quixote* and leaving the second part unfinished. In addition to this study, he wrote *Discurso sobre los ilustres autores e inventores de Artillería que han florecido en España* (Madrid, 1767); *Discurso para la apertura de la Escuela de Táctica de Artillería, dicho en el Real Colegio de Segovia* (Madrid, 1773); and *Discurso sobre la necesidad de la Táctica de Artillería* (Madrid, 1888). His name appears in the 'Catálogo de Autorida des de la Lengua de la Academia' ['Catalogue of Authorities of the Language Academy'] included in the *Diccionario de autoridades* (the original title being *Diccionario de la lengua castellana* (1726)).[3]

Vicente de los Ríos contributed the following work about Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra:

> Ríos, Vicente de los. 'Vida de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra', 'Análisis del *Quijote*,' y 'Plan cronológico del *Quijote*'. In *El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha*, by Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1780), pp. iii–xlii; xliii–clii; cliii–clxiv.

[3] Based on information from the *Diccionario enciclopédico Espasa*, vol. 10, p. 788 and *Enciclopedia vniversal ilvstrada europeo–americana*, vol. 51, p. 752.

Juan Antonio Pellicer y Pilares

Juan Antonio Pellicer y Pilares[4], Spanish scholar, was born in Encinacorba (Zaragoza) in 1739 and he died in Madrid in 1806. He went to Madrid as a very young child where he studied Latin, Philosophy, Religion, and Canon Law at the University of Alcalá de Henares. In 1762 he was admitted to the Biblioteca de Palacio, the library of the Royal Palace, spending many years on the *Adiciones y correcciones* [*Additions and Corrections*] of the Biblioteca Hispana by Nicolás Antonio. He was named professor of History, performing the role of librarian. He published his acclaimed *Ensayo de una biblioteca de traductores españoles, donde se da noticia de las traducciones que hay en castellano de las Sagradas Escrituras, Santos Padres, filósofos, etc.* [*Survey of a Library of Spanish Translators, where can be found Translations that Exist in Spanish of the Holy Scriptures, Holy Fathers, Philosophers, etc.*] (1778). He proved himself as a Cervantes specialist with his edition of *Don Quijote de la Mancha* (1797), with new notes, analyses, and a documented *Vida de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra* (1797).

This biography was amplified by 'Documentos que acreditan algunos sucesos descubiertos nuevamente de la vida de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra' ['Documents that confirm certain events recently discovered about the life of Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra']. Also supporting this study was a letter in Spanish with a postscript in many multiple languages in which Don Juan Antonio Pellicer and Don Josef Antonio Conde, individuals in the Royal Library of His Majesty, respond to the critical letter that an anonymous writer directed to the author of the *Notas del Don Quijote*, condemning some of its findings (1800). The edition of *Don Quixote* with notes had been very highly regarded and Pellicer was the first one to establish the place and date of Cervantes's birth through the discovery of his baptismal records, dated Alcalá de Henares on 9 October 1547.

Juan Antonio Pellicer y Pilares wrote and participated in the publication of the following works on Cervantes:

Pellicer y Pilares, Juan Antonio. 'Notas críticas y curiosas'. In *El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha*, by Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra (México, 1833).

Pellicer y Pilares, Juan Antonio. 'Una noticia biográfica de Cervantes'. In *The Life and Exploits of the Ingenious Gentleman Don Quijote de la Mancha* (London, 1809).

Pellicer y Pilares, Juan Antonio. *Examen crítico del tomo primero de El anti–Quixote* (Madrid, 1806).

Pellicer y Pilares, Juan Antonio. 'Carta en castellano pon posdata políglota'. In *Ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha* (Madrid, 1800).

[4] Esta biografía está basada en las siguientes obras: *Enciclopedia vniversal ilvstrada evropeo–americana*, pp. 151–2; *Diccionario enciclopédico Peuser*, vol. 5, p. 410; and *Gran Enciclopedia Larousse*, pp. 68–9.

Pellicer y Pilares, Juan Antonio. *Discurso preliminar al Don Quixote* (Madrid, 1797).

Pellicer y Pilares, Juan Antonio. *Ensayo de una biblioteca de traductores españoles* (Madrid, 1778).

Martín Fernández de Navarrete

Martín Fernández de Navarrete, Spanish sailor, hydrographer, writer, and learned historian, was born on 9 November 1765 in Ávalos, Logroño, in Calahorra. In 1780 he joined the navy and participated in the siege of Gibraltar of 1782. From 1780 to 1808 he took part in different actions and campaigns, among them the taking of Tolón and the blockade of the French fleet in the Bay of Rosas. After a period in Madrid, where he frequented learned societies, he was destined for Cartagena in 1784, and there he began to publish works of little merit. He dedicated himself to the study of sublimate mathematics with applications to astronomy, navigation, military manoeuvres, and naval architecture. In 1787 he was named a royal ensign. In 1789 he was promoted to a frigate lieutenant, and he was put in charge of reading through various archives to find notes and manuscripts referring to the navy for the maritime museum in Cádiz. On this occasion, he discovered the accounts of Christopher Columbus's first and third voyages written in the hand of Bartolomé de las Casas. In 1792, he became a member of the Real Academia Española, and a few days later of the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando. Upon war being declared with Revolutionary France, he requested a return to active service and fought in numerous campaigns between 1793 and 1796, the year in which he returned to Madrid as a civil servant of the Ministry of the Navy. In 1800, he was named an academic of history. In 1803, he was promoted to senior official of the Secretariat, and in 1807 he was named chief finance minister of the Supreme Court of Almirantazgo. On the French invasion of Spain, Napoleón named Fernández de Navarrete a state advisor and superintendent of the Navy, posts that he renounced and he retired to a private life, staying in Madrid until 1812. Afterwards, he was named secretary of the Real Academia de Bellas Artes in 1815 and president of the Academia de Historia in 1824, a post from which he pushed for the publication of the *Colección de documentos inéditos* [*Collection of Unpublished Documents*]. At the Real Academia, of which he was librarian from 1816, he worked on an updated *Ortografía*, and he published a magnificent version of the *Quixote*, extended with the most complete biography of Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra written at that time.

Martín Fernández de Navarrete wrote and participated in the following publications about Cervantes:

Fernández de Navarrete, Martín. 'Bosquejo histórico sobre la novela española.' *Biblioteca de autores españoles* 33 (1914): pp. 5–100.

Fernández de Navarrete, Martín. *El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha* (Barcelona, 1832–4).

Fernández de Navarrete, Martín. *Notas cervantinas* (Barcelona: Casa Provincial de Caridad, 1943).

Fernández de Navarrete, Martín. *Novelas posteriores a Cervantes. Con un estudio de las obras en prosa de Cervantes* (Madrid, 1871).

Jerónimo Morán

Jerónimo Morán[5] was born on 11 March 1817 in Valladolid, and he died on 21 December 1872 in Madrid. He was a romantic poet, founder and director of the newspaper *La Guirnalda* (Madrid, 1867), and he had a reasonably long and prosperous life. He collaborated on *El Teatro* (Madrid, 1864), *Flor de la Infancia* (Madrid, 1868), and other publications. He held some posts in the War Department and in the Tax Office, the position of officer of the Biblioteca Nacional, and an official in the Ministry of Development. Morán wrote numerous poems, a *Historia de las órdenes de caballería* [*History of Chivalric Orders*], and a *Vida de Miguel de Cervantes* [*Life of Miguel de Cervantes*] (Madrid, 1863). He was the first to publish 'La epístola a Mateo Vázquez' ['Letter to Mateo Vázquez'], on 3 May 1863 in *Museo universal*. He composed various dramatic works and a comedy, as well as being the author of a book of moral maxims in verse entitled *Doctrina de Salomón* [*Salomon's Doctrine*] (Valladolid, 1849).

James Fitzmaurice-Kelly

James Fitzmaurice-Kelly[6] was born on 20 June 1857 in Glasgow and he died on 30 November 1923 in Sydenham, London. He was a man of letters, a Hispanist, a teacher, and a scholar. From a young age, he dedicated himself to the study of Spanish history and literature, contributing with his works to making known in the English-speaking world everything referring to Spain; he was even invited on various occasions to the United States to teach special courses at different universities. At his death, he held the Cervantes chair, created for him at the University of London. In 1909, he was named professor of Spanish language and literature at the University of Liverpool, moving in 1916 to the University of London to work in the same capacity. Amongst his achievements, he served successively as correspondent of the Royal Academy of Language (1895), the Royal Academy of History (1912), and the Royal Academy of *Buenas Letras* in

[5] Information is based on the following sources: *Diccionario de literatura española e hispanoamericana*, vol. 1, 477; *Manuel del librero hispanoamericano,* vol. 10, p. 208; *Manuel de biografía* . . . , vol. I, p. 210.

[6] Information is based on the following sources: *Diccionario enciclopédico Espasa*, vol. 6, p. 435; *Diccionario enciclopédico Salvat Universal*, vol. 11, p. 200; *Enciclopedia vniversal ilvstrada evropeo–americana*, vol. 23, p. 1620; *Diccionario enciclopédico U.T.E.H.A.*, vol. V, p. 96; *Gran enciclopedia Larousse*, vol. 8, p. 883.

Barcelona, and the Royal Academy of Science in Lisbon (1922). He was also the member of a good number of Hispanist organizations in the UK and North America, and he was a knight commander in the Order of Alfonso XII. He held chairs at Oxford and Cambridge and was a professor at Kings College London and Liverpool.

He published numerous works about the Spanish language and literature in which he passionately demonstrates his love for Spain through scholarly study, and all the works are the product of deep, patient studies and a great enthusiasm that he maintained until his final days. His most highly acclaimed work was his *Historia de la literatura española* [*History of Spanish Literature*] (Madrid, 1898), accompanied by a select bibliography. It had various editions printed in Spanish, French, and English. He dedicated a great part of his research to the life of Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, writing a biography entitled *Vida de Cervantes* (London, 1892), and he published Spanish anthologies, an edition of Garcilaso's poetry, a book on Fray Luis de León (Oxford, 1921), the *Oxford Book of Spanish Literature* (Oxford, 1913), a book on Góngora (Oxford, 1918), the *Cambridge Readings in Spanish Literature* (Cambridge, 1920), a study entitled *Lope de Vega and Spanish Drama* (Glasgow, 1902), and works about other classical and modern writers. He contributed to the *Homenaje a Menéndez Pelayo*, collaborated on the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and on the *Cambridge Modern History*. Finally, he directed the section on Romance languages for the *Modern Review*.

James Fitzmaurice-Kelly wrote and published the following works about Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra:

Fitzmaurice-Kelly, James. 'An Alleged 1604 Edition of *Don Quixote*'. *Athenaeum* 638 (1897): pp. 99–100.

Fitzmaurice-Kelly, James. 'Artículo bibliográfico'. *Revista crítica de historia y literatura españolas, portuguesas e hispano-americanas* (1897): pp. 201–4.

Fitzmaurice-Kelly, James. 'Cervantes'. *The Year Book of Modern Languages* (Cambridge University Press, 1920): pp. 139–50.

Fitzmaurice-Kelly, James. 'Cervantes and Shakespeare'. *British Academy Proceedings* 6 (1915–16): pp. 297–317.

Fitzmaurice-Kelly, James. 'Cervantes in England'. *British Academy Proceedings* 2 (1905–6): pp. 11–29. Rev. by H. Oelsner. *Modern Language Review* 1 (1905–6): pp. 258–59.

Fitzmaurice-Kelly, James. *The Complete Works of Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra.* Edited by James Fitzmaurice-Kelly. Translated by John Ormsby (Glasgow: Gowans & Gray, 1901–3). Rev. by A. M.–F. *Bulletin Hispanique* 3 (1901): pp. 425–6; Rev. by H. A. Rennert. *Modern Language Notes* 17 (1902): pp. 178, 180–1.

Fitzmaurice-Kelly, James. *Don Quixote.* Edited by James Fitzmaurice-Kelly (Glasgow: Gowans & Gray, 1901).

Fitzmaurice-Kelly, James.'*Don Quixote* in Gujarati and Japanese'. *Revue Hispanique* 7 (1900): pp. 510–11.

Fitzmaurice-Kelly, James. *Don Quixote,* by Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra. Translated by Charles Jervas, with notes and an introduction by Fitzmaurice-Kelly (London–New York–Toronto: Henry Frowde, [1909]): p. 291

Fitzmaurice-Kelly, James. *Don Quixote,* by Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra. Edited with notes and an introduction by Fitzmaurice-Kelly (London & New York: Henry Frowde, 1907).

Fitzmaurice-Kelly, James. *Historia de la literatura española* (Madrid: Librería de Suárez, 1921): pp. 203–20.

Fitzmaurice-Kelly, James. *The History of Don Quijote of la Mancha. Revue Hispanique* 3 (1896): pp. 353–5.

Fitzmaurice-Kelly, James. *El ingenioso hidalgo don Quixote de la Mancha,* de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra. Primera edición del texto restituido, con notas y una introducción por Jaime Fitzmaurice-Kelly y Juan Ormsby (London–Edinburgh, 1898–9). Rev. by H. A. Rennert. *Modern Language Notes* 15 (1900): pp. 422–6; Rev. by R. Foulché–Delbosc. *Revue Hispanique* 7 (1900): pp. 546–50.

Fitzmaurice-Kelly, James. *The Ingenious Gentleman Don Quijote of la Mancha,* by Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra. *Revue Hispanique* (London, 1895): pp. 353–9.

Fitzmaurice-Kelly, James. 'The Life of Cervantes. The Works of Cervantes'. *Chapters on Spanish Literature* (London: Archibald Constable and Company, 1908): pp. 120–62.

Fitzmaurice-Kelly, James. 'Introduction'. *The Exemplary Novels* (Glasgow: Gowans & Gray, 1902): pp. vii–xiv.

Fitzmaurice-Kelly, James. *Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra; biografía* (Santiago de Chile: Imprenta, Litografía y Encuadernación Barcelona, 1915). Rev. by M. T. Wyzewa. *Revue de deux mondes* 20 (1914): pp. 457–68; *Athenaeum* 4498 (1914): p. 58; Rev. by A. Ámel. *Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie* 36 (1915): pp. 229–30; Rev. by E. O. *Mercurio* (July 12, 1915). *Anales de la Universidad de Chile* 134 (1914): pp. 885–918; 135 (1914): pp. 21–96; 136 (1915): pp. 59–128, 395–439.

Fitzmaurice-Kelly, James. *Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra. A Memoir* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913). Rev. by H. A. Rennert *Modern Language Review* 9 (1914): pp. 421–3; Rev. by G. T. Northup. *Modern Language Notes* 29 (1914): pp. 145–8; Rev. by J. D. Fitz–Gerald. *Romanic Review* 5 (1914): p. 391.

Fitzmaurice-Kelly, James. 'Notes sur la bibliographie française de Cervantes'. *Reuve Hispanique* 1 (1894): pp. 336–7.

Fitzmaurice-Kelly, James. 'Phantasio–Cratuminos sive Homo Vitreus, by Caspar Ens. Reissued with a note on *El licenciado Vidriera*'. *Revue Hispanique* 4 (1897): pp. 45–70.

Fitzmaurice-Kelly, James. 'A Roumanian Translation of *Don Quijote*'. *Revue Hispanique* 6 (1899): pp. 203–4.

Fitzmaurice-Kelly, James. *Spanish Bibliography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1925).

Luis Astrana Marín

Luis Astrana Marín was born in Villaescusa de Haro (Cuenca) on 5 August 1889 and he died in Madrid in 1959. When he was a child he already showed signs of his extraordinary literary abilities, writing poetry and stories with great ease. He soon began his studies in the Colegio de Franciscanos Descalzos in Belmonte, where he completed his schooling, specializing in Latin, which he translated with great skill when he was barely eleven years old. In 1906 he began at the Seminary of Cuenca to pursue a career as a priest and studied philosophy, theology, and various other subjects, especially languages; he perfected and expanded his knowledge of Latin, while learning Greek, Italian, French, and English, simultaneously pursuing music and other disciplines. After 1909 he embarked on a long journey covering many parts of Europe (Italy, France, the United Kingdom, and Portugal) and upon his return in 1911 he settled definitely in Madrid. Luis Astrana Marín was a man of letters, a journalist, a translator, and a dedicated scholar of literature. He developed a fruitful career as a journalist and he wrote novels and theatrical works. He was the first person to translate the complete works of Shakespeare, with many saying that among Spanish people he knows the works of Shakespeare the best. His critical output is considerable, including *Obras completas de Quevedo* (Madrid, 1934), his *Vida inmortal de William Shakespeare* (Madrid, 1930 and 1940), and his annotated editions of the works of the great English playwright. We are indebted to him as well for his *Vida azarosa de Lope de Vega* (Barcelona, 1935), *Vida turbulenta de Quevedo* (Madrid, 1945), *Ensayos, Cristóbal Colón, su patria, sus restos y el enigma del descubrimiento de América* (Madrid, 1929), *Obras completos de William Shakespeare* (Madrid, 1941), *Una visita de la reina Mab. Novela corta* (Madrid, 1923). *Las obras teatrales son Gitanos* y *Luz de playa* (Madrid, 1926). Finally, we have *Obras completas de William Shakespeare* (Madrid, 1930); *Sonetos de Shakespeare* (Madrid, 1944), *Epistolario completo de D. Francisco de Quevedo y Villegas* (Madrid, 1946), and *Vida genial y trágica de Séneca* (Madrid, 1947). Furthermore, he left us with an incomplete biography of Fray Luis de León and his articles appeared in mainstream newspapers, such as *El liberal*, *La mañana*, *La correspondencia de España*, and *El Heraldo de Madrid*. Astrana Marín is of the most original of writers, journalists, scholars, and critics.

Luis Astrana Marín wrote and contributed to the following publications on the life and works of Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra:

Astrana Marín, Luis. 'El Ángel que conoció Cervantes'. *Finisterre* (1948): pp. 291–309.

Astrana Marín, Luis. 'La carta del autor de *La Galatea*. Cervantes quería irse a América'. *ABC* (3 de noviembre de 1954).

Astrana Marín, Luis. 'Una carta inédita de Cervantes'. *ABC* (21 de octubre de 1954).

Astrana Marín, Luis. 'El IV Centenario de Cervantes'. *La Prensa* (12 de agosto de 1941).

Astrana Marín, Luis. 'Cervantes en la Palma del Condado. Documentos inéditos'. *ABC* (29 de enero de 1952).

Astrana Marín, Luis. 'Cervantes y Shakespeare'. *Lecturas dominicales* (24 de junio de 1934).

Astrana Marín, Luis. 'Cervantina'. *La Prensa* (6 de agosto de 1945).

Astrana Marín, Luis. *Cervantinas, y otros ensayos* (Madrid: Afrodísio Aguado, 1944).

Astrana Marín, Luis. 'Cómo se hizo el *Quijote* y dinero que Cervantes ganó con él'. *ABC* (23 de abril de 1954).

Astrana Marín, Luis. *El cortejo de Minerva. [Cervantes]* (Madrid: Espasa–Calpe, [1930]).

Astrana Marín, Luis. *Don Quijote de la Mancha* (Madrid: Editorial Castilla, 1947).

Astrana Marín, Luis. 'Fecha verdadera del fallecimiento de Cervantes'. *Diario de Barcelona* (23 de abril de 1954).

Astrana Marín, Luis. 'La Ínsula Barataria y las relaciones de Cervantes con Zaragoza'. *Zaragoza* 3 (1956): pp. 125–42.

Astrana Marín, Luis. 'Los libros y manuscritos de Cervantes, ¿pasaron a su cuñado, Fray Antonio de Salazar? A la villa de Pastrana habrán de dirigirse las investigaciones, según un documento cervantino hasta ahora inédito? *Ya* (23 de abril de 1957).

Astrana Marín, Luis. 'La madre de Cervantes'. *Diario de la marina* (21 de julio de 1946).

Astrana Marín, Luis. 'La madre de Cervantes'. *El Sol* (9 de octubre de 1947).

Astrana Marín, Luis. 'Las mujeres en la vida de Cervantes'. *ABC* (23 de abril de 1957).

Astrana Marín, Luis. 'Nuevos documentos cervantinos en Carmona'. *ABC* (23 de febrero de 1952).

Astrana Marín, Luis. 'Nuevos documentos inéditos cervantinos. El códice de San Andrés, la familia Villafranca y la amante de Miguel de Cervantes'. *ABC* (January 29, 1960).

Astrana Marín, Luis. 'La primera biografía de Cervantes'. *Diario de Yucatán* (18 de mayo de 1947); *Revista javeriana* 27 (1947): pp. 262–64.

Astrana Marín, Luis. 'La primera traducción impresa del autor del *Quijote* [Le curieux impertinent]'. *ABC* (23 de abril de 1955).

Astrana Marín, Luis. 'Queda identificada la antigua y lóbrega posada de Cervantes'. *Ya* (23 de abril de 1958).

Astrana Marín, Luis. 'Quién fue el Caballero del Verde Gabán, hidalgo de cruz y aldea'. *La Nación* (1 de noviembre de 1947).

Astrana Marín, Luis. 'Los Ricotes de Esquivias y el tendero morisco del *Quijote*. *Diario de Barcelona* (20 de agosto de 1949).

Astrana Marín, Luis. 'Supercherías y errores cervantinos'. *ABC* (23 de abril de 1948); *Diario de Yucatán* (9 de mayo de 1948).

Astrana Marín, Luis. 'En el CCCXXXVI aniversario de la muerte de Cervantes *Don Quijote,* fraile agustino'. *ABC* (23 de abril de 1952).

Astrana Marín, Luis. 'En el CCCXXXVI aniversario de la muerte de Cervantes Nicolás de Ovando, fraile Benito'. *Diario de Barcelona* (23 de abril de 1952).

Astrana Marín, Luis. 'En el CCCXXXIX aniversario de la muerte de Cervantes; La primera traducción impresa del autor del *Quijote*'. *ABC* (23 de abril de 1955).

Astrana Marín, Luis. 'En el CCCXL aniversario de la muerte del autor del *Quijote*. Una carta inédita de Cervantes'. *ABC* (3 de noviembre de 1954; 21 de abril de 1956).

Astrana Marín, Luis. 'En el CCCXL aniversario de la muerte de Cervantes; Imitaciones extranjeras del *Quijote*. El Caballero de la Ardiente Mano de Almirez'. *Diario de Barcelona* (22 de abril de 1956).

Astrana Marín, Luis. 'En el CCCXLI aniversario. Los herederos de Miguel de Cervantes. Tres documentos cervantinos inéditos'. *ABC* (23 de abril de 1957).

Jean Canavaggio

Jean Canavaggio was born on 23 July 1936 in Paris (16e), and he is married to Perrine Ramin, a palaeographic archivist. Through his biographical studies, Canavaggio effectively puts forth the idea that it is impractical to write of the life of Cervantes without scrutinizing his works in detail, separating them from other documentation, as Fitzmaurice-Kelly did. Instead of citing documents or fragments of information, he demonstrates his brilliant knowledge of Cervantes's works and focuses on the autobiographical elements within them. As a result, the omission of testimonial documentation requires the reader to know Cervantes's biographical information and his works in great detail because both are interrelated. What is more, Canavaggio's biography is directed exclusively at researchers advanced in the knowledge of Cervantes's life, works, and documentation, since many times he does not explain his findings via documentation, as Astrana Marín and Fitzmaurice-Kelly did. Finally, Canavaggio's biography is an analysis of the autobiographical fragments in the works, especially in *Los baños de Argel*, *el Trato de Argel*, *Don Quixote de la Mancha*, and *La Galatea*, and for this reason one must know very well Cervantes's life in order to be able to understand the pertinent aspects of his works.

Jean Canavaggio wrote and contributed to the following publications on the life and works of Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra:

Canavaggio, Jean. *Anthologie des Littératures européennes du XIe au XXe siècles*, sous la dir. de J. Bersani, en collab. av. R. Boyer, J. Gattegno, J.P. Lefebvre, J.M. Luccioni, G. Nivat, G. Quinsat. (Paris: Hachette Référence, 1995).

Canavaggio, Jean. 'Aproximación al proceso Ezpeleta'. *Cervantes* no. 17.1 (1997): 25–45.

Canavaggio, Jean. *Cervantès* (Paris, Mazarine, 1986).

Canavaggio, Jean. *Cervantes: en busca del perfil perdido* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1991).

Canavaggio, Jean. *Cervantes, entre crítica y creación*. (Alcalá de Henares: Centro de Estudios Cervantinos, 2000).

Canavaggio, Jean. *Cervantes y Valladolid* (Castilla: Estudios de Literatura, 2009).

Canavaggio, Jean. 'Un compagnon de captivité de Cervantes: don Fernando de Ormaza'. *Melanges de la Casa de Velázquez* (1966): pp. 339–43.

Canavaggio, Jean. *Dictionnaire universel des Littératures*, sous la direction de Béatrice Didier (Paris: PUF, 1994).

Canavaggio, Jean. *Retornos a Cervantes* (New York: Instituto de Estudios Auriseculares, 2014).

Works Cited

Diccionario de literatura española e hispanoamericana, edited by Ricardo Gullón (Madrid: Alianza, 1993).

Diccionario enciclopédico Espasa, 13 vols (Madrid: Espasa–Calpe, 1978).

Diccionario enciclopédico Peuser, 6 vols (Buenos Aires: Peuser, 1962–63).

Diccionario enciclopédico Salvat Universal, 20 vols (Barcelona–Madrid–Buenos Aires–Caracas–Bogotá–Quito–Santiago–Río de Janeiro: Salvat Editores, 1969).

Diccionario enciclopédico U.T.E.H.A., 10 vols (México: Unión tipográfica editorial hispano–americana, 1951)

Enciclopedia vniversal ilvstrada europeo–americana, 19 vols (Madrid: Espasa–Calpe, 1905).

Gran Enciclopedia Larousse, 10 vols (París: Larousse, 1967).

Manuel de biografía y de bibliografía de los escritores del siglo XIX, 2 vols (París: Librería de Rosa y Bouret, 1859).

Manuel del librero hispanoamericano, edited by Antonio Palau y Dulcet, 18 vols (Barcelona: Librería Palau, 1957).

CHAPTER 29

CERVANTES ON SCREEN

DUNCAN WHEELER
University of Leeds

In April 2016, James Badcock asked: 'Is it fair for Shakespeare to overshadow Cervantes?'[1] Rather than offer a response, he enumerates some reasons as to why the centenary celebrations for the Spanish literary giant were lacking in comparison with his English counterpart; a lack of state investment and planning alongside a relatively low number of film adaptations are highlighted, compounded by the statistic that only one in ten Spaniards claim to have read the *Quixote*. Notwithstanding the fact that the writer for the BBC does not always compare like with like (fifty film adaptations of *Don Quixote* versus over a thousand of Shakespeare's thirty plus plays),[2] he also fails to take into account that, as Barbara Fuchs notes: 'If the Spanish Golden Age, and particularly Cervantes's novel as its masterpiece, is perceived to mark the beginning of the end for Spain, England's Elizabethan production is presented as evidence of its incipient glory.'[3]

The debut cinematic adaption of *Don Quixote* was produced in France, and was first screened in the same year that Spain lost the final vestiges of empire following defeat in the Spanish-American War. As Germán Labrador Méndez has explored, the individual and collective self-questioning that ensued returned (compulsively?) time and again to Cervantes's novel—'It is, perhaps, more accurate to call the Generation of '98 the "Quixote Generation," if one compares the large quantity of Quixotist-inspired literature that was produced to the scant discussions on the "Disaster" '[4]—forming an important constitutive role in the forging of Hispanidad, 'a universal trans-oceanic empire of language and spirit',[5] which took on a less overtly bellicose and more compensatory role in the wake of 1898. Beyond the Spanish-speaking world, *Don Quixote* performed an important ambassadorial role, with many of the world's great film directors (Jean-Luc

[1] Badcock, available at http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/magazine-36055236.

[2] Alba Carmona has produced the most accurate and detailed comparison of film adaptations of Spanish and English literary giants. Although her primary focus is on Lope de Vega, she has also traced the frequency with which Cervantes has been adapted for the cinema and television over different periods since the beginning of the twentieth century (p. 412).

[3] Fuchs, p. 324.

[4] Labrador Méndez, p. 194.

[5] Labrador Méndez, p. 192.

Godard, G.W. Pabst, Éric Rohmer, Orson Welles, etc.) expressing their admiration for and interest in Cervantes's most famous creation, a subject that Rob Stone's upcoming project, for which he provided a fascinating trailer in a panel discussion on 'Don Quixote in Words, Pictures, and Film' held at the British Library on 1 April 2016, will explore more fully. The remit of this chapter is more localized: to build upon the descriptive approach that predominates in the existing bibliography[6] in order to explore the dialectic between commemorative culture and Spanish screen fictions based on the life and works of Cervantes.

Francoism and Spain, Four Centuries after the Birth of Cervantes

In his book *Reflexivity in Film and Literature: From Don Quixote to Jean-Luc Godard*, Robert Stam observes how 'Quixote's utopianism operates in the nostalgic mode; he denies the present in the name of a golden age'.[7] Unlike his character, however, the novelist, a 'proleptically modernist writer',[8] anticipates not only Cartesian doubt but also false consciousness: 'the Marxist critique of the ideological fiction of the bourgeois social order can be seen as a working out, a deepening, of certain features of the Cervantic critique'.[9]

In this section, I would like to suggest that some of the internal contradictions of the Franco regime (1939–75) were brought to the fore as it attempted to patent and commemorate Spain's most renowned literary figure as a means of resurrecting the Golden

[6] See, for example, Armero; Cervera y Iriarte; García Rayo and Paz Gago; España; Heredero, *Espejos*; Ministerio de Cultura; Payán; Rosa, González, and Medina; Santos.

[7] Stam, p. 210. This can, for example, be seen in the following speech delivered by Don Quixote to his squire:

> Sancho amigo, has de saber que yo nací, por querer del cielo, en esta nuestra edad de hierro, para resucitar en ella la de oro, o la dorada, como suele llamarse. Yo soy aquel para quien están guardados los peligros, las grandes hazañas, los valerosos hechos. Yo soy, digo otra vez, quien ha de resucitar los de la Tabla Redonda, los Doce de Francia y los Nueve de la Fama, y el que ha de poner en olvido los Platires, los Tablantes, Olivantes y Tirantes, los Febeos y Belianises, con toda la canterva de los famosos caballeros andantes del pasado tiempo, haciendo en este en que me hallo tales grandezas, extrañezas y fechos de armas, que escurezcan las más claras que ellos ficieron (Cervantes, *El ingenioso hidalgo*…, p. 246).
>
> [Sancho, my friend, I would have you know that I am was born by heaven's decree into this iron age of ours to revive the age of gold, commonly known as the Golden Age. I am the one for whom are reserved perils, great accomplishments, and valiant deeds. I am, I say again, the one destined to resurrect the Knights of the Round Table, the Twelve Peers of France, and the Nine Worthies—the one who will consign to oblivion the Platires, and Tablantes, the Olivantes and Tirantes, the Febos and Belianises, and that whole horde of famous knights-errant of ages past by performing in the present age in which I find myself such prodigious deeds, wonders and feats of arms that they will eclipse the most brilliant ones ever performed by them] (Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, p. 126).

[8] Stam, p. 2. [9] Stam, p. 209.

Age in a manner more quixotic than Cervantine. The fourth centenary of the writer's birth, in 1947, took place in a climate in which the nascent dictatorship promoted what Esther Martínez Tórtula terms the 'anti-leyenda negra' [anti-Black Legend].[10] In line with this conception, 'history education was conceived as therapy—a wellspring of inspirational and community-building assertions about national values and purposes that could cure the unjustified inferiority from which Spaniards had suffered since the eighteenth century'.[11]

Don Quixote was obligatory reading for schoolchildren of all ages and, in the words of Fernando Valls:

> The study of Cervantes … was always surrounded by non-literary considerations. Judgements almost invariably verged on rhetorical veneration and the thoughtful serious analysis of his work was conspicuous by its absence. It is fair to say that our school-children knew Cervantes's biography alongside his patriotic exaltation better than his important works.[12]

This is the context in which to locate the 1940s vogue for historical epics, retrospectively referred to in such pejorative terms as papier mâché cinema, which have come to function as a metonym for the regime's attempt to patent film for propagandistic and patriotic ends.

Although the Valencian production company CIFESA operated during the Second Republic (1931–6), by the 1940s it was very much seen to be the dictatorship's dream factory, offering the closest Spanish equivalent to Hollywood studios. From the pages of *Primer Plano*, a magazine run by the Falange, the proto-fascist movement instrumental to General Franco's victory in the Civil War (1936–9), there were repeated calls for the edifying past to be employed as the spiritual building blocks for a brave new world: 'historical cinema was one of the first Falangist demands made in the name of a national cinema that would respond to the needs of the new State'.[13]

During the so-called *años de hambre* [hunger years], CIFESA received huge subsidies for what quixotically were hoped to be spiritually nourishing blockbusters: the task of commemorating Cervantes's birth through a cinematic adaptation of the first European novel was entrusted to Rafael Gil, the regime's cinematic laureate, and CIFESA's chief executive, Vicente Casanova. The latter was bullish about potential distribution for *Don Quijote* (1948) in foreign markets.[14] Such optimism was not born out in reality despite, or perhaps because of, the film being heavily championed in a clumsily expressed document produced for an English-speaking readership by the Spanish Diplomatic Office. Claiming the 'supreme distinction between some countries and others is the predominance of the spirit in the course of their history, with its impulses towards ardent and exemplary civilizing enterprises, and not that of an insatiable materialism bent on

[10] Martínez Tórtula, p. 173. [11] Boyd, Carolyn p. 240.
[12] Valls, p. 149; all translations into English are by the author of this chapter unless otherwise noted.
[13] Fanés, p. 164. [14] Fanés, p. 183.

ambitious commerce',[15] the document offers to provide an unlimited supply of Spanish spiritual truths in exchange for material investment. The national cinema being insufficiently integrated into international distribution networks is purported to be to everyone's detriment when:

> The most various themes and genres, present very special nuances of their own in Spain, as her literature and painting show. In defence of the highest ideals as they are, their historical development is exalted by a heroism always clad in joyous simplicity… It is only these events which with their everlasting interest, that deserve to be recalled on the screen.[16]

The Civil War was, in many respects, a conflict over the right not only to rule but also to define Spain. If Republican forces looked to adapt Golden Age works to fit the needs of the present, Nationalist forces saw the needs of the present to be rooted in the past.[17] In keeping with this ethic and aesthetic, Republican cinematic and theatrical adaptations were dismissed as perversions of their author's intentions, whilst the rebels prided themselves as staying true to their original meanings. In truth, the literary types most familiar from the Golden Age in 1940s Spain were the picaroons and *hidalgos*. At a time when corruption was rife, a small number of illicit fortunes were to be made. Early Modern gentlemen would carry tooth picks to give the impression of having just eaten whilst, as described in Camilo José Cela's *La colmena*, clients desperate to make ends meet would wear their only smart set of clothes and nurse a single shot of coffee whilst idling their time away in cafes.

Gil prided himself on the fact that all of the dialogue contained in his film adaptation was purportedly taken from Cervantes's novel.[18] This very literal interpretation hardly provides a hospitable environment to render what Anthony J. Cascardi terms the 'portal to literary modernity' on celluloid.[19] There is a clear tension between the epistemological framework of a dictatorship that claims a monopoly on truth and what E.C. Riley terms 'a novel of multiple perspectives. Cervantes observes the world he creates from the viewpoints of characters and reader as well as author. It is although he were playing a game with mirrors, or prisms'.[20] Gil's positioning of himself and the film allows for no such freedom, either ethically or aesthetically, whilst failing to acknowledge that 'when language is used in the cinema, it forms part of a whole: the raw material of cinematic expression is an indissoluble combination of picture, movement, and sound'.[21]

Given this backdrop, the quality of the resulting film is, perhaps, surprisingly high, with celebrated Spanish film critic José Luis Castro de Paz going as far as to describe it as 'the most coherent cinematic adaptation of Cervantes in the history of cinema'.[22] The performances are generally strong and feature early screen appearances from Sara Montiel—Spanish cinema's leading lady of the 1950s and 1960s—and Fernando Rey,

[15] Spanish Diplomatic Office, p. 15. [16] Spanish Diplomatic Office, p. 14.
[17] See Wheeler, '¿La película duende…'; and *Golden Age Drama*…, pp. 17–27.
[18] Cited in Vilches, n.p. [19] Cascardi, p. 123. [20] Riley, p. 129.
[21] Sorlin, p. 27. [22] Castro de Paz, p. 199.

who would go on to be a staple in many of Luis Buñuel's films, as Antonia Quijano, Don Quixote's niece, and the student Sansón Carrasco respectively. Although all the dialogue contained in the film can be found in the novel, Gil does carry out an effective act of synthesis, effectively establishing a hierarchy whereby Don Quixote and Sancho's sallies are, for example, given priority over the interpolated tales, which make selective appearances; Cardenio makes a fleeting appearance, but there is no mention of Catalan bandit Roque Ginart. Although the first part of the novel takes place in a circumscribed geographical area, characters and tales serve to locate Don Quixote's exploits and journeys within a broader milieu that is largely excised from Gil's film adaptation. The iconic topography of La Mancha is afforded visual prominence in the film, almost a character in and of itself.

This is, perhaps, a legacy of 'Las rutas del *Quijote*', a series of picturesque touristic features that Luis Buñuel chose to exhibit in the Spanish Pavilion at the Paris Universal Exposition in 1937,[23] and a precursor to *Volver* (Pedro Almodóvar, 2006) in which the combination of windmills (or turbines) and arid landscapes serve to locate the viewer in a specific socio-cultural geographical milieu. In the post-war period, La Mancha was particularly amenable to a project of national literary recuperation at a time when the 'essence of the Spanish character was usually seen as being embodied in the virtues of the Spanish small-holding peasantry of Castile'.[24] What this bypasses is the underlying tragicomedy of the fact it 'was a region associated with backward rusticity, thus a fittingly ironic context for the hero's idealised literary fantasies'.[25]

The messianic nostalgia for Spain's former greatness echoed Don Quixote more clearly than it did Cervantes. In line with this disparity, Gil's film domesticates the source-text, bypassing the author's transgressive irony rendering, for example, the denouement, in terms of an unequivocally redemptive narrative. As Carlos F. Heredero notes: 'In this Christianized *Quixote* made to measure for National-Catholocism, the gentleman repents for his madness and dies calling upon Jesus. The conversion of the prosaic truth of orthodox reality with no alternatives is forcefully imposed'.[26] This is not, however, to say, that there are no fissures through which the harsher and more ambivalent realities of the material world do not encroach. Although never coming close to registering the poverty and hunger with which a high proportion of Spaniards lived during the post-Civil War years, a number of scenes showing peasants at work in the fields or at play in the inn are, especially when viewed from the present, remarkably similar to the neo-realism being championed as a form of cinematic expression and social protest in Italy. The tension between the folkloric appeal of rustic continuity and the harsh reality of economic underdevelopment would also come to the fore visually through a series of documentaries—e.g. *Por tierras de Don Quijote* [*In the Land of Don Quixote*] (José María Elorrieta, 1946) and *Los caminos de Don Quijote* [*Don Quixote's Pathways*] (Luciano G. Egido, 1961)—which increasingly found a ready outlet in the nascent television industry. Belying the celebratory aims of the programme-makers, present-day

[23] See Zunzunegui, 'La ruta…'. [24] Richards, p. 163.
[25] Close, p. 28. [26] Heredero, '*Don Quijote*…', p. 73.

images of prematurely aged peasants going about physically arduous rural labour lend themselves to be interpreted in a critical vein. Even in a clearly propagandistic endeavour, the novel was never completely domesticated and, unwittingly, the most faithful aspect of Gil's film is how it adheres to 'the mixture of high romance and precise documentary detail' that Barry W. Ife highlights as Cervantes's trademark.[27] Lacking, however, is what Stephen Boyd characterizes as Cervantes's 'profound respect for the mystery and unfathomability of reality itself',[28] similarly a hallmark of much of the finest cinema.

Cervantes Biopics under Dictatorship and Democracy

In the prologue to a literary biography of Cervantes published in 2015, Jordi Gracia writes: 'The identification of his life with his fictional work is such a false and miserable enterprise that it was retired years ago'.[29] This is not, of course, to say that the experiences of this early modern writer did not impact on his literary production. Gracia, for example, charts a trajectory by which real-life disillusionment makes Cervantes more self-aware, allowing him to conquer irony and produce his masterpieces late in life. In a major English-language literary biography produced for the fourth centenary of Cervantes's death, William Egginton arrives at a similar conclusion:

> he responded to the despair of his failed expectations with the equally caustic and generous wit of his fiction, turning the word and all its false promises into the canvas for his newfound prose, and instilling his characters with an emotional depth and reality that has never been seen before.[30]

In more concrete terms, María Antonia Garcés prefaces her textual analysis with literary biography, by encouraging an affirmative response to a formulation of her own: 'One wonders if Cervantes would have become the great literary creator he was if he hadn't suffered the traumatic experience of his Algerian captivity'.[31]

Whilst there is something suspiciously neat about the straightforward equation of failure in life with success in letters, alongside personal suffering with empathy for others, this narrative does provide an antidote to the moral and heuristic triumphalism which, for example, led the magazine of the national military legion to patent Cervantes's as 'the foremost plume of Spanish arms; if the *Quixote* is righteous and carries the foundations of the Spanish gentleman's code in a perpetually universal air it is because it carries with it something of the essence and power of the first book of the military

[27] Ife, 'The historical…', p. 11. [28] Boyd, Stephen p. 43. [29] Gracia, p. 15.
[30] Egginton, p. 186. [31] Garcés, p. 28.

profession (The Ordnances)'.[32] Whilst the patenting of giants of the Golden Age such as Lope de Vega or Calderón de la Barca has ensured that they continue to be considered reactionary figures in Spain,[33] the author of *Don Quixote* has evaded this fate largely because, 'he was at the same time inside and outside the mainstream of Spanish life'.[34]

In sharp contrast to the Franco period, the 'social, cultural, national, and religious heterodoxy of the spaces of war, together with the porosity of the borders and contact zones in which the soldiers spent most of their daily lives, facilitated unexpected exchanges and solidarities'.[35] That 'Cervantes possessed a wealth of cross-cultural experience exceeding that of other writers of his time' makes his biography an attractive albeit expensive proposition for filmmakers.[36] *Dulcinea* (Vicente Escrivá, 1963)—the second cinematic adaptation of the eponymous play by Frenchman Gaston Baty—had been distributed internationally as *Girl from La Mancha*, reaching commercial cinemas in the United States; four years later, the high production values of French-Spanish-Italian coproduction *Cervantes* (Vincent Sherman, 1967) clearly showed aspirations for it to be a global blockbuster. A swashbuckling action adventure, the eponymous protagonist is depicted as a patriotic quixotic figure with an eye for the ladies, but whose first loyalty is to God and country. In sharp contrast to the seeming indifference of the Crown and ecclesiastical authorities to potential Muslim incursions into Southern Spain, Cervantes's motive for going to Rome is to provide support for a much beleaguered Catholic Church. Adopting poetic license, the soldier-author is depicted as an innocent abroad in a city that is both corrupt and corrupting, suffering his first major disillusionment when he falls in love with a woman, not realizing she is a prostitute.

The battle of Lepanto is shot in suitably epic style; a combination of the personal, political, and literary coming to the fore as Cervantes witnesses the death of a rotund comrade-in-arms, Sancho, an old friend from Alcalá de Henares. Veterans of the naval battle are given short shrift by the Crown, but Cervantes receives a letter of commendation from Don Juan de Austria. As was the case in real-life, this leads his captors to overestimate his economic standing and social importance when he is taken captive in Algiers. The historiographical question of how and why the real-life Cervantes was clearly awarded preferential treatment by the notoriously bloodthirsty King Hassan is explained away by the interpolated fictional conceit of them having previously met when Cervantes was his tour guide in Italy.[37] This benevolent treatment contrasts with the pitiful sight of ravaged old men with long beards who, in what is implied to be influences on the subsequent construction of the character of Don Quixote, are seen to have

[32] Macia Serrano, p. 31. [33] See Wheeler, 'Contextualising and contesting…'.
[34] Durán, p. 31. [35] Martínez, p. 5 [36] Mariscal, p. 206.
[37] In relation to this question, Jordi Gracia notes the temptation to assume that this may have been due to a Moorish woman who fell in love with him or as a result of Hassan's documented bisexuality (p. 68). William Egginton speculates that 'Hasan Pasha could not but have been struck by the audacity and valor of this crippled but handsome man with the piercing eyes, hooked nose, and light brown beard' (p. 74); but mixes historical and literary evidence to conclude it unlikely they had a homosexual relationship as Cervantes did not resemble the kind of lover Hassan was accustomed to and the author's work revealed 'nothing but scorn for prisoners who gave in to the temptations of either sex or apostasy to get for themselves a better life' (p. 74).

gone mad awaiting their release. In order to avoid this fate, Cervantes organizes a plan for escape alongside his brother. They are betrayed and the plan foiled but, even under torture, he refuses to give the name of his co-conspirators. A melodramatic twist is then applied to the historical record as Cervantes is on the executioner's block to be beheaded just as his ransom money arrives from Spain; whilst it is not quite sufficient, his fellow Spaniards each contribute a few coins until the stipulated quantity is amassed. By focusing only on the early part of the writer's life, the viewer is presented with a youthful hero whose subsequent writings from a largely disillusioned old age are foreshadowed but not depicted directly, thereby facilitating a more uplifting narrative than might otherwise have been possible. *Cervantes* is enjoyable enough but it failed to translate into international markets and, even at home, where audiences were arguably resistant to domestic heroic narratives after the more explicit indoctrination of the early Francoist period, the film was seen by 654,226 spectators.[38]

Although this was a respectable turn-out, it was likely insufficient to recoup the film's production costs. *Un diablo bajo la almohada* [*A Devil under the Pillow*] (José María Forqué, 1968), a much lower-budget Spanish-Italian coproduction loosely based on *El curioso impertinente*, was seen by marginally more viewers, attracting 790,697 spectators to the cinema. In a period of relaxed censorship, especially in terms of sexual mores, the tantric voyeurism that underpins the relationships between Anselmo, Lotario, and Camila provided ideal source material for a film featuring Alfredo Landa, fast emerging as the undisputed star of a nascent genre of Iberian sex-comedies. Although it is an interpolated tale contained in Part I of the *Quixote*, the structural, thematic and moral parallels between *El curioso impertinente* and Cervantes's *Novelas ejemplares* are well documented;[39] these concise narratives have not had as much of an international profile in film, but have proved popular choices for Spanish television.[40]

Short, self-contained pedagogic narratives were, in principle, ideally suited for the small screen, although their exemplarity did not always go uncontested. Celebrated filmmaker Basilio Martín Patino was commissioned to direct a version of *Rinconete y Cortadillo* for the state television channel as part of a series titled 'Tradiciones y leyendas españolas' ['Traditions and Spanish Legends']. Manuel Fraga, the Minister of Information and Tourism, nevertheless personally intervened to stop shooting. The filmmaker is unsure of the exact reasons but speculates that it might relate to concerns harboured by the municipal authorities in Seville as to how a depiction of the criminal underworld in the past would reflect on the city in the present, alongside the presence of

[38] Figures courtesy of the Spanish Filmoteca's database. See http://www.mcu.es/bbddpeliculas/cargarFiltro.do?layout=bbddpeliculas&cache=init&language=es. All other figures in this chapter are taken from this database.

[39] See Ife, 'Herodotus…'.

[40] The Filmoteca in Madrid contains fragments of a silent Spanish film version of *La ilustre fregona* (Armando Pou, 1927); the extant footage suggesting a dual focus of female beauty and male valour through physically expressive sword-play. *La gitanilla* (Fernando Delgado, 1940) and *El curioso impertinente* (Flavio Calzavara, 1953) have, unfortunately, possibly been lost forever. See Pérez Perucha, pp. 70–3.

Agustín García Poro, a university professor out of work due to his political idea(l)s.[41] *El licenciado vidriera* (Jesús Fernández Santos, 1974) was a less contested television adaptation, starring young heartthrob Emilio Gutiérrez Caba in the eponymous lead role, and featuring an introduction by Alonso Zamora Vicente, the-then-President of the Real Academia Española. The forty-five minute programme drew on both the Golden Age source-text and a reworking by Azorín published in 1915 in anticipation of the third centenary of Cervantes's death. In addition to functioning as an effective framing device, the presence of both a diegetic and an extra-diegetic narrator compensates for budgetary constraints as the graduate's journey to Italy is, for example, indicated through visual references to artworks and maps rather than location shooting.

Whilst television is primarily a domestic medium and *Cervantes* had failed to find a foothold in the international marketplace, the figure of Don Quixote alongside the equation of the Cervantes and his most famous literary creation was sufficiently universal to be registered in *Man of La Mancha* (Arthur Hiller, 1972)—a cinematic adaptation starring Peter O'Toole and Sophie Loren based on the Broadway play of the same name—and *Don Quijote cabalga de nuevo* [*Don Quixote Sets Forth Again*] (Roberto Gavaldón, 1973), a Mexican-Spanish coproduction in which Spanish actor Fernando Fernán-Gómez takes second billing to Cantinflas—the international star sometimes referred to as the Mexican Charlie Chaplin—as Sancho. Peter O'Toole and Fernando Fernán-Gómez are two of the best on-screen Quixotes largely due to their expressive faces and abilities to act through their bodies as with words, a characteristic generally shared by the more accomplished performances of Sancho.

In *Don Quijote cabalga de nuevo*, Cervantes comes across the two characters in his capacity as a tax collector. After witnessing Sancho deliver a showcase speech tailor-made for Cantinflas's persona on the fiscal abuses to which the poor are subject(ed), the writer notes down that he would make a good character for a novel; whilst, in the midst of hearing a diatribe by Don Quixote on the ethical advantages of subscribing to the ostensibly anachronistic values of virtue and justice, Cervantes crosses out his initial reference to this 'loco' [madman]. The framing device of *Man of La Mancha* is more intricate: Cervantes appears in a staged public parody of an *auto de fe*. As the fake flames depict his execution, all-too-real inquisitors appear in the town and arrest him. Thrown into jail, his fellow prisoners steal the manuscript of *Don Quixote* and tell him he can have it back if and only if he recounts the tale in a sufficiently compelling manner.

One of the challenges to the commercial prowess of *Don Quixote* is the fact its leading lady is 'una moza aldeana, y no de muy buen rostro, porque era carirredonda y chata' ['a village girl, and not a very pretty one at that, she being round faced and flat nosed'].[42] As with the cinematic makeover of *Dulcinea* or Gil's adaptation, the actresses cast for *Man of La Mancha* and *Don Quijote cabalga de nuevo* pertain more closely to Don Quixote's perception of reality. The two films develop the role largely by making her the victim of sexual harassment, somewhat distastefully depicted in an eroticized manner, a

[41] Martín Patino, p. 283.
[42] Cervantes, *El ingenioso hidalgo*…, II p. 110; *Don Quixote*, p. 462.

particularly unfortunate fashion in 1970s cinema. This was, however, nothing in comparison to *The Amorous Adventures of Don Quixote and Sancho Pancha* (Raphael Nussbaum, 1976), shot on location in Spain but produced by a North American studio. A slightly edited version was belatedly released in Spain in 1978, a revised title—*Las eróticas aventuras de Don Quijote* [*The Erotic Adventures of Don Quixote*]—shamelessly designed to capitalize on the trend for explicit sexual material following the death of Franco, and the ostensible end of film censorship. In an open letter to the admittedly reactionary *Arriba* newspaper, reader Marcelo Arriata-Jauregi demanded to know:

> What legal route remains for the justified protest against this fact, if it has been the Ministry of Culture—whose very name is similarly unfathomable in relation to this matter—who has authorized its regular release, in the name of a very literal interpretation of freedom of expression? The Madrid release date was quite possibly chosen to avoid protests from important cultural bodies—I am thinking of the various Royal Academies—who would immediately be given an official audience.[43]

The Royal Academies did not intervene with the Ministry of Culture, the rebranded Ministry of Information and Tourism, but Cervantes would increasingly be given explicit official recognition as a privileged icon of democratic culture and consolidation. As Sarah Bowskill notes, the Premio Cervantes, established in 1976, 'can be seen as responding to the new State's need for political legitimacy as well as its desire to reestablish a cultural profile on the world stage'.[44] The prize winner—convention dictates that writers from Spain alternate with those from Latin America—is announced in November or December, with the ceremony held in Cervantes's home-town of Alcalá de Henares in April of the following year to coincide with the anniversary of the writer's death and the National Book Day, in the presence of the recipient, the Minister of Culture, and the King of Spain.

In 1978, Televisión Española had an unexpected success in the former USSR and China with an animated version of *Don Quixote*, made incredibly profitable because the Spanish national television station was uninterested in the programmes offered in exchange, and brokered a deal by which they had rights to advertising on the state Chinese broadcaster, a slot then sold on to North American multinational Pepsi Cola.[45] More generally, resources available to the state broadcaster at a time when the absence of privately-owned channels ensured it had a monopoly on the lucrative advertising market is manifest in the heavily promoted nine-episode prestige biopic, *Cervantes* (Alfonso Ungría, 1981), a peripatetic narrative in which the beautiful interiors of the Alhambra in Granada stand in for Algiers.

Although historically well-documented in parts—much was made of the consultative role of Nobel-prize winner and member of the Royal Spanish Academy, Camilo José Cela—overall the series' eight-hour running time was needlessly long, the product and cause of a cumbersome narrative device by which a fictional character attempts to

[43] Arriata-Jauregi [44] Bowskill, p. 292. [45] Delgado, p. 132.

ascertain more details about the biography of an infirm old Cervantes in order to secure him a pension. References to the prejudices and travails of Spain's *morisco* population have been almost completely excised, whilst Moorish characters are, somewhat counter-intuitively, played by Spanish actors—a sharp contrast to the 1968 biopic, most likely a legacy of the close links fostered between Spain and Morocco immediately after the Civil War[46]—and a fetishistic delight is taken in registering their sadism in torturing flagellated Christian bodies.

The television series does admittedly critique false piety in Spain, with Cervantes bearing witness to a degree of poverty in his travels that had been intimated but not so much explicitly shown in earlier screen representations. By the closing episodes, the series had become resolutely bizarre. An increasingly dishevelled Cervantes has become something of a bystander to his own biography, listening to a dandyish Lope de Vega give forth on the *Novelas ejemplares* whilst having his hair cut, or attending a student adaptation of the *Quixote* at the University of Alcalá de Henares. The writer dies at the end of episode eight, with the final scene functioning as an epilogue of sorts whereby the graduate attempts to clear Cervantes's record with the Holy Office. This endeavour could hardly have been less successful, and flashbacks are used to reveal Cervantes's previous clashes with the establishment that serve to reinforce rather than counteract the black legend surrounding Spain's past. Hence, for example, we see Cervantes and his sister (Magdalena) mocked for being Jewish after they leave the public burning and torture of heretics by the Inquisition in front of a baying crowd. A Manichean division between the writer and the society that brought him forth is given undue weight through the incorporation of a voiceover being used for the first time in the series just before the closing credits to provide explicit commentary on the visual image of Cervantes's tombstone being shattered on Inquisition orders.

'Leaving aside its filmic innovations, *Cervantes* is, first and foremost, a plea for cultural dissidence and freedom of expression.'[47] Broadcast in the same year as an unsuccessful coup attempt when armed guards entering the national parliament, the controversy surrounding the liberties taken with the historical record, perceived by many as an attempt to impose an aggressively left-wing agenda, were such that an episode of the televised debate show *La clave* [*The Key on Cervantes*], which brought together members of the Real Academia Española alongside programme makers, was broadcast.[48] The privileging of ethics over aesthetics provides one likely explanation as to why, despite huge promotion, *Cervantes* was not that popular with audiences, achieving far lower viewing figures than equivalent literary adaptations and historical biopics such as *Fortuna y Jacinta* (Mario Camus, 1980) or *Teresa de Jesús* (Josefina Molina, 1984).[49] Many of these series, *Cervantes* included, pre-dated the 1982 election of the PSOE and Felipe González to national government—the first time the Spanish left had been in power since the Second Republic—but they heralded the arrival of a heritage

[46] See González González.
[47] Palacio, *La televisión*…, p. 331.
[48] Palacio, *La televisión*…, p. 333.
[49] Palacio, *La televisión*…, p. 332.

aesthetic and the generous funding of prestige literary products that would come to dominate state-funded cinema production.[50]

1992: A Cervantine Centenary?

A cultural priority from the outset of Socialist rule was the commemoration of the Fifth Centenary of Columbus's arrival in America that would take place a decade later.[51] Cervantes ostensibly has little relation with 1992, but he was a clear benefactor of state investment in commemorating the 'discovery' of the New World: there was a television series of Part I of the *Quixote*; a quasi-documentary reconstruction of Orson Welles's quixotic attempts to complete a modern-day cinematic version of the first European novel; and the baptism of a new cultural body—the closest equivalent to the British Council—as the Instituto Cervantes. If, in the Early Modern period, imperial and cultural hegemony were seen to be inextricably linked (it is no coincidence that the Genovese adventurer first set sail under the Spanish flag in the same year that the first systematic grammar of any European language, Antonio de Nebrija's *Gramática de la lengua castellana*, was made available), literature constituted the more diplomatic face of empire in late-twentieth century democratic Spain.

According to Giulia Quaggio, 'The creation of a network of Instituto Cervantes centres had the goal of putting colonial ghosts to rest, affirming Spain's condition as a country with an immense cultural heritage'.[52] This was clearly the message the PSOE wanted to convey, construing it as 'an occasion to celebrate cosmopolitanism and pluralism'.[53] If Cervantes lent himself to being appropriated as cosmopolitan pluralistic icon, then we must nevertheless remain alert to the fact that culture can serve to masquerade as well as to replace neo-colonial intentions. Spain is the largest investor in Latin America after the US, an economic reality cannily exploited by then-President Felipe González and his right-wing successor, José María Aznar, to optimize influence in the European context. As Stephanie Dennison observes:

> Spanish culture—for which Cervantes is an iconic figure and metonymic shorthand—cannot and should not be separated from broader patterns and processes from the last twenty-five years through which there has been a seeming pattern of re-colonisation by Spain of Latin America (this time including Brazil) as witnessed in both recent economic penetration, 'Hispanic' cultural initiatives being led by Spain, and the 'subaltern' position being assumed by a new wave of immigrants arriving in Spain from Latin America seeking work.[54]

Although, as Dennison rightly cautions, the repercussions of the financial crisis in Spain and the rise of some former European colonies nuances the situation, transatlantic

[50] See Faulkner, pp. 159–96. [51] Quaggio, p. 102. [52] Quaggio, p. 112.
[53] Maddox, p. 64. [54] Dennison, p. 6.

relations are underpinned by Spain being subject to a double ignominy: the spectre of empire combined with the absence of significant imperial loot in cultural, political, or economic terms.

Francoist Spain, replete with bullfighters and flamenco singers, constituted a pleasure playground and retreat for Orson Welles. In the words of James Naremore, 'we can sense Welles's nostalgia for pre-industrial innocence and his identification with the ageing knight. Clearly he wants to see this film (and his entire career) in some sense as an impossible, quixotic adventure'.[55] The filmmaker referred to his ongoing but never completed film of *Don Quixote* as 'El mio bambino',[56] and held an essentialist view of Cervantes seemingly informed by Francoist tropes: 'His scepticism was an affectation befitting an intellectual of his kind, and I believe that beneath his scepticism was a man who loved knight-errants as much as Don Quixote did'.[57] If it is axiomatic to the point of cliché to superimpose Don Quixote's psychological profile onto Cervantes, it also provides an attractive lineage for maverick creators who feel frustrated and/or underappreciated; this tendency most explicitly comes to the fore in *Lost in La Mancha* (Terry Gilliam, 2002),[58] a documentary about the filmmaker's financially disastrous attempts to bring *Don Quixote* to the big screen, in which British director Terry Gilliam clearly seeks to present himself as heir to both Welles and Cervantes. After years in the wilderness, the British-Spanish coproduction *The Man who Killed Don Quixote* (Terry Gilliam, 2018), starring Jonathan Pryce and Adam Driver, premiered at the Cannes Film Festival.[59] Reviews in Spain as elsewhere were respectful,[60] focusing on the septuagenarian director's illustrious career, despite the film being borderline offensive in its clichéd images of Cervantes's homeland, replete with flamenco and gypsies, and clumsy attempts to shoehorn contemporary concerns into a sprawling narrative. Gilliam describes his character Angélica, an innkeeper's daughter who first finds local fame in a short film aged fifteen before winding up an escort and a model when attempts to become a star in Madrid go awry: 'In the age of #MeToo, here's a girl who takes responsibility for her state'.[61]

The combination of great filmmakers and the Cervantine masterpiece is not guarantee of success. Welles's footage has circulated in numerous guises for many years. Greek director Costa Gavras assembled forty minutes of scenes to be screened at the Cannes Film Festival in 1986.[62] Largely funded by the Fifth Centenary Commemorations funds, Jesús Franco—a veteran director, specializing in sexually explicit exploitation films made at speed—was, however, charged with making a film out of the extant footage. Joseph McBride refers to the resulting film as the 'Franco fiasco';[63] whilst Jonathan Rosenbaum spoke of how he likes what he has seen of Welles's footage, but cannot stand

[55] Naremore, p. xiii. For more information on Welles's repeated attempt to make this film, see Brady, pp. 490–3; McBride, pp. 237–42; Riambau; Stainton; and Zunzunegui, *Orson Welles*, pp. 316–32.
[56] Stainton, p. 253. [57] Cited in Cobos, Rubio, and Pruneda, p. 383.
[58] For a solid overview of the film and its (un)making, see Donnell.
[59] For an account of the shooting of the film, see Concannon.
[60] See, for example, Bradshaw; and Ocaña.
[61] Gilliam cited in Pollard. [62] McBride, p. 238. [63] McBride, p. 240.

what Jesús's Franco editing did with it.[64] Leaving aside copyright issues, which meant the Spanish filmmaker could not use all of what Welles shot (hence, for example, a scene featuring Sancho and Don Quixote in a cinema posted on YouTube as 'the six most beautiful moments in the history of cinema' is left out),[65] it is difficult to make a defence for a film that renders the footage in poor quality and in a largely incomprehensible order, indiscriminately combining materials designed for the film project with Welles's home movies of his travels through Spain. If the film's redeeming feature (now largely made obsolete by the internet) is to have the opportunity of watching one of the world's great filmmaker grapple with a great literary works, the whole project reveals the symptoms of national insecurity in its readiness to showcase Welles's obvious fascination with Spain and its national cultural production. A similar attitude underpins Esteve Riambau's claim that 'had he been able to exhibit it as he wanted, it would have constituted an industrial revolution of such a magnitude that the only point of comparison would be what he himself established with *Citizen Kane*'.[66]

Quixotic bravura was also in display in the promotion of Televisión Española's television series broadcast in 1992. In the words of Manuel Palacio, the state broadcaster:

> prepared the best and biggest promotional campaign ever seen; the season's premiere was adorned with references to the emblematic nature of the book and the cultural importance it had on all languages and cultures alongside the international prizes bestowed on the series; to sum up, Manuel Gutiérrez Aragón's *Quixote* appeared on the television as an event of national significance.[67]

Made with high production values and featuring strong lead performances from Fernando Rey and Alfredo Landa as the knight and his squire, the film is too heavily in thrall to the literary masterpiece, effectively providing a colour version of Rafael Gil's 1947 film, somewhat tediously elongated to a running time of over five hours.

As Dona M. Kercher notes, the aesthetic of the television series is counter-intuitive given Manuel Gutiérrez Aragón's irreverent nods to Cervantes in previous works;[68] *Maravillas* (1981) playfully echoes the *Quixote* through the burning of pornographic publications that obsess the protagonist, a former celebrity photographer played by Fernando Fernán-Gómez; *La noche más hermosa* [*The Most Beautiful Night*] (1984), set in and around the studios of Televisión Española, mirrors *El curioso impertinete* in its narrative whilst parodying the kind of prestige project *Don Quixote* would turn into. Enthralled by the literary antecedent, the piety of the television series betrays the irreverent bricolage of the original. No equivalent cinematic device is found to replicate

[64] Rosenbaum, p. 243. The best case a very charitable biography of Jesús Franco could make for this film was the following: 'despite it being disappointing, this film/non-film is of cinephilic interest, both for providing a glimpse at the masterpiece that might have been and also for offering a phantasmagoric assemblance of a no-less quimerical film' (Aguilar, pp. 299–300).

[65] Available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S4GtxJC6D1U. Last accessed on 28 December 2016. I was made aware of this footage by Rob Stone's lecture at the British Library.

[66] Riambau, p. 382.

[67] Palacio, 'Cervantes en zapatillas…', p. 135.

[68] Kercher, 'Looking…', pp. 103–21.

or reinvigorate the novel's narrative palimpsests or the delight Cervantes takes in the subjective orality of story-telling; hence, for example, Dorotea lamenting her amorous misfortunes cuts from her opening her mouth to the story being told in objective flashback. Although the actors generally acquit themselves well, scenes featuring Don Quixote and Cardenio as mad are exaggerated to the point of caricature.

In a more positive vein, '[i]t is now a video classic that will perpetuate the story of Don Quixote, quite sophisticatedly, for more millions who will never read the book'.[69] Mario Camus was going to film the second part of the novel for the small screen. However, financial cutbacks in state television with the arrival of the new private channels alongside Fernando Rey's death in 1994 thwarted the original plan, and the second part would not be filmed until 2002 when Gutiérrez Aragón filmed it for release in cinemas as *El caballero Don Quijote* (2002). Effective use is made of location filming to contrast the final scenes shot by the sea near Barcelona with the arid landscape of Castile, whilst Don Quixote's two duels are imaginatively staged with the Knight of the Mirrors battle attire proving a definite highlight. Juan Luis Galiardo and Carlos Iglesias make a slightly incongruous Quixote and Sancho for there is little difference in height or weight. Their interplay nevertheless proves to be one of the film's highlights, affording prominence to what Edwin Williamson has characterized as the power-struggles between knight and squire, which this critic believes 'provide the narrative in Part Two with the principle of unity that Cervantes had been seeking'.[70] Unfortunately, however, any potential unity is undercut by the clumsy condensation of the novel to a feature-length film resulting in a series of disjointed episodes likely to confuse the viewer not previously familiar with the source-text. For commercial reasons, it was decided not to announce it as the second part as it was felt this might be off-putting to viewers who had not seen Part I.[71] This strategy was unsuccessful, only 75,004 cinema tickets being sold in Spain. This was hardly the best omen for the novel's upcoming fourth anniversary.

From Boom to Bust: The Tale of Two Centenaries (2005–16)

Buoyed by a construction boom and the provision of cheap labour through mass immigration, Spain's economy appeared to be in rude health under the Presidency of

[69] Kercher, 'The marketing of…', p. 123. Although not devoid of merit, the Emmy-nominated television film *Don Quixote* (Peter Yates, 2000), in my opinion, did a better job than the Spanish production of combining profit with pleasure. Bob Hoskins excels as Sancho in an adaption of the two parts (although two hours are dedicated to Part I and only around half an hour to Part II centred in the Duke and Duchess's palace), with special effects which allow us to see reality as viewed through the eyes of both Don Quixote and the other characters used humorously at the inn and impressively for when he tilts at windmills.

[70] Williamson, p. 846.

[71] Gutiérrez Aragón cited in Kercher, 'Looking…', p. 131.

José María Aznar and the right-of-centre Partido Popular. In his first public measure as Socialist opposition leader in 2000, José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero announced a cultural initiative to culminate in the four hundredth centenary of the *Quixote*. Following an unexpected election victory in 2004, the PSOE pledged thirty million Euros to what Minister of Culture, Carmen Calvo, characterized as a 'state project' that would 'grow each day', building upon 'the high ethical idealism of the first modern novel'.[72] This was not, however, reflected in screen fictions, most likely because Gutiérrez Aragón's adaptations had been made relatively recently and, more cynically, due to the lead-in time required when many arrangements for the often exorbitantly budgeted projects were not made until the last minute.

Gutiérrez Aragón's literate visions of the Cervantine novel have arguably rendered more literal adaptations redundant, and more irreverent takes on the writer and his works have begun to emerge, as can be seen in two radically different projects: austere Catalan art-film *Honor de cavallería* (Albert Serra, 2006) and historical romp *Miguel y William* (Inés París, 2007). Largely eschewing linear narrative comprehensibility, in the former:

> The opening shot lays bare the film's intentions: the camera scrutinizes the wiry old man as he picks up pieces of armour from the floor and carries them to the plump figure waiting to patiently under a nearby tree. The old man's movements, along with the camera's nervous curiosity, combine to give an unstable, fleeting impression which accentuates an inherent imbalance and distorted vision: at certain points, the faithful squire is relegated to the far edge of the frame, and in other shots we lose sight of the knight-errant completely. The trend is set from this moment on, as the screen fills with successive shots of unblemished countryside as a backdrop to the aimless wandering of the adventurers, reduced at times to mere silhouettes, as in the night shots when it is almost impossible to discern the protagonists, and the audience is left even more clueless as to what they might be doing.[73]

Shot over ten days in 2005 in hilly areas around Gerona, a self-conscious geographical contrast to the flat plains of Castile, the film is, as Chris Perriam has explored, a minimalist adaptation of an iconic story, sharply attuned to specific tones and preoccupations (e.g. to questions of arms and spirituality, and the assertion of dignity and honour in the face of absurdity/adversity). There are extreme ellipses and jumps to, for example, moments that the novel's translator supposedly left out alongside several recapitulations of paradigmatic non-moments such as the knight and squire spending the night in the open fields.[74]

When dogged literalism has been the prevailing trend in cinematic adaptations of the *Quixote*, Serra ought perhaps to be commended for his attempt to locate a new register, rendering a dialogue-heavy psychologically-complex novel through images rather than

[72] Cited in Alsedo, p. 47. [73] Moral, pp. 96–7.

[74] I am grateful to Chris Perriam for generously sending me the Power Point for a conference paper he delivered on the film.

words. The proverbially verbose Sancho is markedly prone to silence. Intimacy between master and squire is intimated through their physical ramblings as they walk together arm-in-arm; Don Quixote, seemingly suffering from some dementia-related ailment, is shown scared and alone calling out for his friend. According to the back cover of the DVD release, it was: 'One of the year's most acclaimed films by the most demanding international critics (*Cahiers du Cinéma*, *Cinemascope*, *Film Comment*) and, without a doubt, the most original and daring Spanish film of recent years'. The film had its champions but, as with much so-called 'slow cinema', there is, in the words of Nick James (editor of film magazine *Sight & Sound*), 'an implicit threat: admit you're bored and you're a philistine';[75] in other words, an argument could be made that we are dealing with a twenty-first century variation of the Cervantine *entremés*, *El retablo de las maravillas*. In reality, much of the audience at Cannes walked out of the screening before the end, whilst, as Adam Bingham notes, the few spectators who remained to the end of a screening at the 2007 Spanish and Latin American Film Festival were unimpressed with 'Cervantes by way of Samuel Beckett filtered through the cinematic idiom of early Pasolini, Bresson, Pialat, or Antonioni'.[76]

In marked contrast, the light-hearted *Miguel y William* fills in a gap in Shakespeare's biography with a speculative fantasy by which he follows Leonor, a young actress of Spanish descent with whom he has fallen in love in London, back to Castile where she has been matched with an aged duke, an extremely ugly but wealthy widower. Cervantes arrives at the Duke's palace in his capacity as a tax collector, and is asked by Leonor to write a play for her upcoming wedding. The meeting of the two literary giants first occurs when Shakespeare has to make a quick escape from the actress's room through her window. The older Cervantes, played by Juan Luis Galiardo, also falls for Leonor, and his competition with his English counterpart is more sexual than literary. Reminiscent of *Shakespeare in Love* (John Madden, 1998), the narrative is generously peppered with learned references. The English Bard comes up with lines such as 'My kingdom for a horse' as he witnesses events unfurl, whilst he names a rotund but good-natured servant Sancho. More substantially, Shakespeare's observations of Spanish mores inspire him to write *Othello*. In order to protect her maidenhood, Leonor and William only ever have anal sex. On the day of her wedding, the Duke whispers as they take their vows that he will treat her like the harlot she is; when she replies by detailing her sexual activities with her lover, her new husband faints and dies. Much to the consternation of his daughters, the freshly widowed Duchess is now free to love whomever she wants. All's well that ends well!

Shakespeare and Cervantes might reputedly have died on the same day, but, perhaps unsurprisingly, the figure with whom the Spanish novelist most regularly appears in screen fictions is his rival, Lope de Vega. This has generally been framed in binary terms, chiming with heuristic strategies in criticism, which, as Melanie Henry laments, 'underscore persistently ubiquitous anti-Lope aspects . . . closing down rather than opening up lines of enquiry which could consider Cervantes's theatre on its own aesthetic terms and

[75] James, p. 5. [76] Bingham, p. 39.

the wider socio-cultural concerns at stake'.[77] *Lope* (Andrucha Waddington, 2010) features the eponymous *monster of nature* correcting *Numancia* to help Cervantes find an audience, something that this costly Spanish-Brazilian coproduction failed to achieve.

The commercial failure of the biopic did not bode well for 2016, especially when government investment for the centenary celebrations was less than seven and a half million Euros,[78] a mere fraction of that allocated in 2005. In an increasingly competitive audio-visual market, the state broadcaster no longer has at its disposal the resources it did in the 1980s, or even in the 1990s, but is effectively charged with the responsibility of commemorating Cervantes's death, largely ignored by the private television channels whose brief and financially unsuccessful investment into narratives from the Golden Age has seemingly come to an end.[79] TVE's most significant contribution formed part of the second season of television series, *El Ministerio del Tiempo* [The Time Ministry], a surprise hit which has become a unique cultural phenomenon.[80]

The eponymous Ministry ostensibly functions like any Spanish state institution, but with the specificity that its civil servants travel back in time in order to prevent history as we know it from being changed. In the first season, there was an episode on Lope in which agents are sent back after being informed he might embark on a boat, which will not return from the Spanish Armada. Various amorous entanglements ensure he misses his assignment and embarks on one of the few vessels to survive the navel disaster. The programme fully exploits the opportunities for humour afforded by temporal anachronisms. Hence, for example, when agents quote some lines from heavy metal group Leño's song, 'Maneras de vivir' (a running motif throughout the series) in the seventeenth century, Lope ruminates on their origins and speculates they might be fresh from Góngora's plume. In series two, an episode titled 'Tiempo de hidalgos' ['An Age of Gentleman'] features two agents being sent back to the seventeenth century to prevent Cervantes from selling the Spanish language manuscript of *Don Quixote* to what he believes are two Englishmen—they are in fact Americans from the future planning to make their fortunes through a digitalization project—a transaction he hopes will provide funding to stage *Los baños de Argel*.

The Ministry's agents infiltrate the theatre company in order to sabotage the production in the hope this will inspire Cervantes to rewrite his literary masterpiece. The ruse is unsuccessful, but the production does not go ahead as the death of a Flanders veteran leads to an official mourning period in which the theatres are closed. Cervantes is transported forward to Alcalá in 2016, where he is amazed by the heritage industry that has grown up around Don Quixote. With a knowing wink to Calderón's *La vida es sueño*

[77] Henry, pp. 5–6. [78] See Minder. [79] See Wheeler, 'Back to the Future…'.

[80] '*The Ministry of Time* had filtered into daily conversation and was a point of reference for us coming to terms with our cultural heritage and past. There were some curious participants in this conversation, from politicians who let their followers on Twitter know they had they had certificates verifying their status as fans of the programme (*ministéricos*) to community managers of institutions such as the National Library, the portal of Spanish Archives or the Museum of Romanticism, which, according to the design of each episodes have offered materials from their collections' (Cascajosa Virino, p. xii).

For a solid English-language overview of the series, see Rueda Laffond and Coronado Ruiz.

[*Life is a Dream*], he is subsequently drugged and returned to the Early Modern period where he proceeds to write the source novel. Lope makes a number of cameo appearances throughout the episode, shown to be an irresponsible albeit charming and talented playboy, a perhaps unfortunate reinforcement of the aforementioned Manichean opposition. This caveat aside, *El Ministerio del Tiempo* has a refreshing irreverence both to the past and to Spain's literary canon, and is more enjoyable than Televisión Española's other two centenary productions: pseudo-documentary *Cervantes versus Lope* and an adaption of exemplary tale *La española inglesa*.

The former features a film crew from the present going back into the past to interview the protagonists, exploring the possibility that Lope might have been responsible for the writing of Avellaneda's sequel to the *Quixote*. Reiterating the most basic clichés—Lope is first shown in bed with a topless Jerónima de Burgos, whilst a desperate Cervantes pleads with his former friend and future rival to use his charms on Elena Osorio to intervene with her father, a theatre impresario, on his behalf—conversations with the two protagonists and other interested parties (e.g. Góngora, Quevedo, Jerónimo de Pasamonte) seem primarily designed to use up much of the running time and conceal the limitations of a period piece shot largely in interiors. Budgetary constraints were also apparent in the adaptation of *La española inglesa* with Toledo and its environs rather incongruously providing the set for both England and Seville, the viewer (or, perhaps more accurately, listener) also presented with an anachronistic meld of early modern and twenty-first century Spanish. The hackneyed device of reducing fiction to biography through the presence of an omniscient narrator revealed at the end to be Cervantes himself does little to communicate how and why the 'text plays radically with notions of perspective and interpretation',[81] with melodrama brought to the fore through the visualization of scenes only referred to elliptically, whilst the darker elements of the source-text are systematically eschewed as Isabella's ugliness is, for example, concealed in shadow and/or disguise.

If both ventures gave the impression that they were produced out of a sense of ritualistic obligation, then centenaries more broadly can be said to reveal as much about the society in which they take place as the ostensible subjects of commemoration. In 2016, there was undoubtedly a far less conducive environment for celebration than eleven years previously. The artistic and popular success of *El Ministerio del Tiempo*, alongside the wasted opportunities of 2005, nevertheless suggests that a lack of imagination and a misplaced sense of duty constitute a more serious obstacle than financial constraints.

Conclusion

Cinema's origins coincide with Spain's definitive loss of a physical empire, whilst 'the specular presence of Don Quixote as a national subject' continues to underpin the

[81] Torres, p. 132.

production and reception of Cervantes screen fictions.[82] Rarely left alone or offered a sufficiently radical makeover, adaptations and appropriations have been anchored in a diverse array of national(ist) discourses, perpetually in thrall to the reification of textual authority. For as long as this dynamic persists, screen iterations are as likely to dissuade as persuade potential readers from searching out a copy of the first European novel, a vital caveat to Matthew D. Warshawsky's more celebratory claim that 'the stature of Don Quixote as a cultural icon continues to grow, particularly in Spain, despite the fact that people interact increasingly with *Don Quixote* in non-literary ways'.[83]

In order to illustrate his general hypothesis that 'by breaking with the literary rules of its age, all authentic literature presents itself or is considered to be non-literary, and its new form as an absence of form',[84] novelist Javier Cercas takes the *Quixote* as a paradigmatic case-study:

> because it belonged to an ignoble genre, the *Quixote* wasn't appreciated by his contemporaries, or it was appreciated solely as an entertaining book, as an inconsequential best-seller. Because of this, we shouldn't kid ourselves: as José María Valverde said, Cervantes would never have won the Cervantes prize.[85]

The screen adaptation I have seen that has come closest to replicating effect in the viewer—or at least this viewer—is a 1957 Russian version directed by Grigori Kozintsev. This is despite or, more likely, because of the fact it selectively appropriated from the text and makes no attempt to be exhaustive or to respect textual chronology. Spanish screen fictions have, by contrast, shown disappointingly little interest or imagination in identifying filmic means to bring the writer and his works alive for modern-day audiences. On cinema and television, as elsewhere, Cervantes has simply not had the opportunity to compete with Shakespeare under equal or comparable conditions.

Acknowledgement

Professor Rob Stone from the University of Birmingham kindly read and commented upon an earlier draft of this chapter. I am grateful for his very constructive feedback.

Works Cited

Aguilar, Carlos. *Jesús Franco* (Madrid: Cátedra, 2011).
Alsedo, Quico. 'Pistas del IV centenario', *El Mundo*, 21 December 2004: p. 47.
Armero, Gonzalo. *Cuatrocientos años de Don Quijote por el mundo* (Madrid: TF Editores y Sociedad Estatal de Conmemoraciones Culturales, 2005).
Arriata-Jauregi, Marcelo. 'Una zafia ofensa a la cultura española', *Arriba*, 16 August 1978.

[82] Labrador Méndez, p. 188. [83] Warshawsky, p. 11. [84] Cercas, pp. 35–6.
[85] Cercas, p. 25.

Badcock, James. 'Is it fair for Shakespeare to overshadow Cervantes?', *BBC News Magazine*, 18 April 2016: available at http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/magazine-36055236. Last accessed 29 December 2016.

Bingham, Adam. 'The romance of certain old clothes or they don't make 'em like that anymore: *Honor de cavallería* and art cinema's last stand', *CineAction* 75 (2008): pp. 34–46.

Bowskill, Sarah. 'Politics and literary prizes: a case study of Spanish America and the Premio Cervantes'. *Hispanic Review* 80, no. 2 (2012): pp. 289–311.

Boyd, Carolyn P. *Historia patria: Politics, History and National Identity in Spain, 1875–1975* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997).

Boyd, Stephen. 'Introduction' to *A Companion to Cervantes's Novelas Ejemplares*, edited by Boyd (Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2005), pp. 1–46.

Bradshaw, Peter. '*The Man who Killed Don Quixote* review: Terry Gilliam's epic journey finds a joyous end', *The Guardian*, 18 May 2018, available at https://www.theguardian.com/film/2018/may/18/the-man-who-killed-don-quixote-review-cannes-2018-terry-gilliam. Last consulted 20 March 2020.

Brady, Frank. *Citizen Welles: A Biography of Orson Welles* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1989).

Carmona, Alba. 'Ausencias y presencias: la recepción de Lope y Shakespeare a través del cine'. *Anuario Lope de Vega* 23 (2017): pp. 286–317.

Cascajosa Virino, Concepción. '«Somos españoles, improvisen». Una introducción'. In *Dentro de El Ministerio de Tiempo*, edited by Cascajosa Virino (Madrid, Léeme Libros, 2015), pp. ix–xv.

Cascardi, Anthony J. 'Consequences of *Don Quixote*: the bearable lightness of Cervantes's influence'. In *A History of the Spanish Novel*, edited by J.A. Garrido Ardilla (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 122–41.

Castro de Paz, José Luis. 'Realismos, grabados a… 'una espesa cortina de incienso': apropósito de *Don Quijote de la Mancha* (Rafael Gil, 1947/1948)'. In *Espejos entre ficciones: el cine y el Quijote*, edited by Carlos F. Heredero (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal de Conmemoraciones Culturales, 2009), pp. 189–99.

Cercas, Javier. *El punto ciego* (Barcelona: Penguin Random House, 2016).

Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de. *Don Quixote*, translated by James H. Montgomery (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishers, 2006).

Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de. *El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha*, vol. I, edited by John Jay Allen (Madrid: Cátedra, 2000).

Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de. *El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha*, vol. II, edited by Luis Andrés Murillo (Madrid: Castalia, 1991).

Cervera, Elena and Cristina Iriarte (eds). *Don Quijote y el cine* (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal de Conmemoraciones Culturales and Filmoteca Española, 2005).

Close, Anthony. *A Companion to Don Quixote* (Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2008).

Cobos, Juan, Miguel Rubio and José Antonio Pruneda. '*Don Quijote*'. In *Cervantes en imágenes: donde se cuenta cómo el cine y la televisión evocaron su vida y su obra*, edited by Emilio de la Rosa, Luis M. González, and Pedro Medina (Alcalá de Henares: Festival de cine de Alcalá de Henares, 1998), pp. 383–5.

Concannon, Philip. 'I hate making movies!'. *Sight & Sound*, February 2020: pp. 52–5.

Delgado, Pedro Eugenio. 'Animando a Don Quijote'. In *El Quijote en el cine*, edited by Miguel Juan Payán (Madrid: Ediciones Jaguar, 2005), pp. 131–4.

Dennison, Stephanie. 'National, transnational, and post-national: issues in contemporary filmmaking in the Hispanic world'. In *Contemporary Hispanic Cinema: Interrogating the*

Transnational in Spanish and Latin American Film, edited by Stephanie Dennison (Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2013), pp. 1–24.

Donnell, Sidney. 'Quixotic storytelling, *Lost in La Mancha*, and the unmaking of *The Man who Killed Don Quixote*', *Romance Quarterly* 53, no. 2 (2006): pp. 92–112.

Durán, Manuel. 'Cervantes's harassed and vagabond life'. In *Cervantes's Don Quixote: A Casebook*, edited by Roberto González Echevarría (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 23–34.

Egginton, William. *The Man Who Invented Fiction: How Cervantes Ushered in the Modern World* (London: Bloomsbury, 2016).

España, Rafael de. *De La Mancha a la pantalla: aventuras cinematográficas del ingenioso hidalgo* (Barcelona: Publicaciones Ediciones de la Universitat de Barcelona, 2007).

Fanés, Felix. *CIFESA, la antorcha de los éxitos* (Valencia: Institución Alfonso el Magnánimo, 1982).

Faulkner, Sally. *A History of Spanish Film* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013).

Fuchs, Barbara. 'Golden Ages and Golden hinds; or, periodizing Spain and England'. *PMLA* 127, no. 2 (2012): pp. 321–7.

Garcés, María Antonia. *Cervantes en Argel: historia de un cautivo* (Madrid: Gredos, 2005).

García Rayo, Antonio and José María Paz Gago. *Don Quijote en la pantalla* (Madrid: Comunidad de Madrid and Comisario del IV Centenaria de la Publicación, 2005).

González González, Irene. 'La «hermandad hispano-árabe» en la política cultural del franquismo (1936–1956)'. *Anales de historia contemporánea* 23 (2007): pp. 183–197.

Gracia, Jordi. *Miguel de Cervantes: la conquista de la ironía* (Barcelona: Taurus, 2016).

Henry, Melanie. *The Signifying Self: Cervantine Drama as Counter-Perspective Aesthetic* (Cambridge: Modern Humanities Research Association, 2015).

Heredero, Carlos F. '*Don Quijote* en la pantalla (diálogos entre la literatura y el cine)'. In *Don Quijote y el cine*, edited by Elena Cervera and Ana Cristina Iriarte (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal de Conmoraciones Culturales y Filmoteca Española, 2005), pp. 21–97.

Heredero, Carlos F (ed.). *Espejos entre ficciones: el cine y el Quijote* (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal de Conmemoraciones Culturales, 2009).

Ife, Barry W. 'Herodotus and the Eternal Rriangle: Another Look at the Sources of *El curioso impertinente*'. *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 82, no. 5 (2005): pp. 671–83.

Ife, Barry W. 'The Historical and Social Context'. In *The Cambridge Companion to Cervantes*, edited by Anthony J. Cascardi (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 11–31.

James, Nick. 'Passive aggressive'. *Sight & Sound*, April 2010: p. 5.

Kercher, Dona M. 'Looking for Don Quijote's own shadow: an interview with Manuel Gutiérrez Aragón about his film *El caballero Don Quijote* (2002)'. *Arizona Journal of Hispanic Cultural Studies* 6 (2002): pp. 129–40.

Kercher, Dona M. 'The marketing of Cervantine magic for a new global image of Spain'. In *Refiguring Spain: Cinema/Media/Representation*, edited by Marsha Kinder (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997), pp. 99–132.

Labrador Méndez, Germán. 'Dynamiting *Don Quijote*: literature, colonial memory and the crisis of the national subject in the monumental poetics of the Cervantine tercentenary (Spain 1915–1921)'. *Journal of Iberian and Latin American Studies* 19, no. 3 (2013): pp. 185–209.

Macia Serrano, Antonio. 'Cervantes y las ordenanzas'. *La Legión: revista legionaria*, April 1964: p. 31.

Maddox, Richard. *The Best of all Possible Islands: Seville's Universal Exposition, the New Spain and the New Europe* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2004).

Mariscal, George. 'The crisis of Hispanism as apocalyptic myth'. In *Cervantes and his Postmodern Constituencies*, edited by Anne J. Cruz and Carroll B. Johnson (New York: Garland Publishing, 1999), pp. 201–16.

Martín Patino, Basilio. 'Dos experiencias cervantinas'. In *Cervantes en imágenes: donde se cuenta cómo el cine y la televisión evocaron su vida y su obra*, edited by Emilio de la Rosa, Luis M. González, and Pedro Medina (Alcalá de Henares: Festival de cine de Alcalá de Henares, 1998), pp. 275–85.

Martínez, Miguel. *Front Lines: Soldiers' Writing in the Early Modern Hispanic Period* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016).

Martínez Tórtula, Esther. *La enseñanza de la historia en el primer bachillerato franquista (1938–1953)* (Madrid: Editorial Tecnos, 1996).

McBride, Joseph. *What Ever Happened to Orson Welles: A Portrait of an Independent Career* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2006).

Minder, Raphael. 'Cervantes not getting 400th due, some say', *The New York Times*, 24 April 2016: p. 4.

Ministerio de Cultura. *Don Quijote y el cine* (Madrid and Valencia: Ministerio de Cultura and Generalitat Valenciana, 2005).

Moral, Javier. 'Behind the enigma construct: a certain trend in Spanish cinema'. In *(Re)Viewing Creative, Critical and Commercial Practices in Contemporary Spanish Cinema*, edited by Duncan Wheeler and Fernando Canet (Bristol: Intellect, 2014), pp. 93–104.

Naremore, James. *The Magic World of Orson Welles*, 2nd edn (Dallas: First Southern Methodist Press, 1989).

Ocaña, Javier. '"Mister" Gilliam de la Mancha', *El País*, 1 June 2018, available at https://elpais.com/cultura/2018/05/30/actualidad/1527693148_434263.html. Last consulted 20 March 2020.

Palacio, Manuel. 'Cervantes en zapatillas y en el castillo familiar'. In *Cervantes en imágenes: donde se cuenta cómo el cine y la televisión evocaron su vida y su obra*, edited by Emilio de la Rosa, Luis M. González, and Pedro Medina (Alcalá de Henares: Festival de cine de Alcalá de Henares, 1998), pp. 121–38.

Palacio, Manuel. *La televisión durante la Transición española* (Madrid: Cátedra, 2012).

Payán, Miguel Juan (ed.). *El Quijote en el cine* (Madrid: Ediciones Jaguar, 2005).

Pérez Perucha, Julio. 'A la sombra del Quijote'. In *Cervantes en imágenes: donde se cuenta cómo el cine y la televisión evocaron su vida y su obra*, edited by Emilio de la Rosa, Luis M. González, and Pedro Medina (Alcalá de Henares: Festival de cine de Alcalá de Henares, 1998), pp. 67–77.

Perriam, Chris. 'Extreme rambling and the slow *Quixote*: Albert Serra's *Honor de cavalleria* (2006)', Unpublished conference paper at Cervantes Reborn: Textual Reception and Authorial Resurrection Symposium, University of Manchester, 27 September 2016.

Pollard, Alexandra. 'Terry Gilliam: "I'm tired of white men being blamed for everything wrong with the world"', *The Independent*, 4 January 2020: available at https://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/films/features/terry-gilliam-interview-harvey-weinstein-victims-metoo-race-a9269136.html. Last consulted on 20 March 2020.

Quaggio, Giulia. '1992: La modernidad del pasado. El PSOE en busca de una idea regenerada de España'. *Historia y Política* 35 (2016): pp. 95–122.

Riambau, Esteve. 'Welles y Cervantes: una aventura quijotesca'. In *Cervantes en imágenes: donde se cuenta cómo el cine y la televisión evocaron su vida y su obra*, edited by Emilio de la Rosa, Luis M. González, and Pedro Medina (Alcalá de Henares: Festival de cine de Alcalá de Henares, 1998), pp. 365–82.

Richards, Michael. 'Constructing the Nationalist State: Self-Sufficiency and Regeneration in the Early Franco Years'. In *Nationalism and Nation in the Iberian Peninsula: Competing and Conflicting Identities*, edited by Clare Mar-Molinero and Ángel Smith (Oxford: Berg, 1996), pp. 149–67.

Riley, E.C. 'Literature and life in *Don Quixote*'. In *Cervantes's Don Quixote: A Casebook*, edited by Roberto González Echevarría (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 125–40.

Rosa, Emilio de la, Luis M. González, and Pedro Medina (eds). *Cervantes en imágenes: donde se cuenta cómo el cine y la televisión evocaron su vida y su obra* (Alcalá de Henares: Festival de cine de Alcalá de Henares, 1998).

Rosenbaum, Jonathan. 'Cuándo y cómo podemos terminar el *Don Quixote* de Orson Welles'. In *Espejos entre ficciones: el cine y el Quijote*, edited by Carlos F. Heredero (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal de Conmemoraciones Culturales, 2009), pp. 235–44.

Rueda Laffond, José Carlos, and Carlota Coronado Ruiz. 'Historical Science Fiction: From Television Memory to Transmedia Memory in *El Ministerio del Tiempo*'. *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies* 17, no. 1 (2016): pp. 87–101.

Santos, Antonio. *El sueño imposible: aventuras cinematográficas de Don Quijote y Sancho* (Santander: Fundación Marcelino Botín, 2006).

Sorlin, Pierre. 'How to look at an "historical" film'. In *The Historical Film: History and Memory in Media*, edited by Marcía Landy (London: The Athlone Press, 2001), pp. 25–49.

Spanish Diplomatic Information Office. *The Spanish Cinema* (Madrid: Diplomatic Information Office, 1949).

Stainton, Audrey. '*Don Quixote*: Orson Welles's secret'. *Sight & Sound* 57, no. 4 (1988): pp. 252–61.

Stam, Robert. *Reflexivity in Film and Literature: From Don Quixote to Jean-Luc Godard* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1985).

Torres, Isabel. 'Now you see it, now you . . . see it again? The Dynamics of Doubling in *La española inglesa*'. In *A Companion to Cervantes's Novelas Ejemplares*, edited by Stephen Boyd (Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2005), pp. 115–33.

Valls, Fernando. *La enseñanza de la literatura en el franquismo (1936–1951)* (Madrid: Antoni Bosch, 1983).

Vilches, Ángel. 'El *Quijote* no puede verse de una o de otra forma, sino solo como lo escribió', *Radiocinema: revista cinematográfica española*, 1 October 1947: no pages.

Warshawsky, Matthew D. 'Preface' in *Don Quixote: Interdisciplinary Connections*, edited by Warshawsky and James A. Parr (Newark, DE: Juan de la Cuesta, 2013), pp. 9–13.

Wheeler, Duncan. 'Back to the Future: Repackaging Spain's Troublesome Past for Local and Global Audiences'. In *(Re)Viewing Creative, Critical and Commercial Practices in Contemporary Spanish Cinema*, edited by Wheeler and Fernando Canet (Bristol: Intellect, 2014), pp. 205–33.

Wheeler, Duncan. 'Contextualising and Contesting José Antonio Maravall's Theories of Baroque Culture from the Perspective of Modern-Day Performance'. *Bulletin of the Comediantes* 65, no. 1 (2013): pp. 15–43.

Wheeler, Duncan. *Golden Age Drama in Contemporary Spain: The Comedia on Page, Stage and Screen* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2012).

Wheeler, Duncan. '¿La película duende?: María Teresa León, Rafael Alberti, and Alternative Traditions of Resurrecting Golden Age Drama'. In *Stages of Exile*, edited by Helena Buffery (Bern: Peter Lang, 2011), pp. 71–93.

Williamson, Edwin. 'The Power-Struggle between Don Quixote and Sancho: Four Crises in the Development of the Narrative'. *Bulletin of Spanish Studies* 84, no. 7 (2007): pp. 837–58.
Zunzunegui, Santos. 'La ruta de Don Quijote'. In *Espejos entre ficciones: el cine y el Quijote*, edited by Carlos F. Heredero (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal de Conmemoraciones Culturales, 2009), pp. 181–87.
Zunzunegui, Santos. *Orson Welles* (Madrid: Cátedra, 2005).

CHAPTER 30

CERVANTINE CRITICISM UNTIL 1999

R.J. OAKLEY
University of Birmingham

Harold Bloom informs us in his *The Western Canon* that as we writers and littérateurs walk the literary road, two figures are unfailingly out ahead of us all, and they are Shakespeare and Cervantes. Yet the latter, in his time, was so pitifully, tragically, behind. Few writers among the supreme literary creators of all time can have had such a late start. I have just used the word 'tragic'. Perhaps tragicomic is better. The extraordinary ups and downs of Cervantes's life, related and discussed at length elsewhere in this volume, make up a tragicomic drama that, to say the least, was improbable. On his return from captivity in 1580, Cervantes was thirty-three years old, and all he had to show for fifteen of his best years, at least from the literary historian's point of view, were a few occasional poems. Cervantes was to spend the rest of his days catching up. This much has to be said despite what he claims to have written during those years for the theatre—activity probably intense as well as prolific. As far as we know, he published no plays in those early years but in 1585 he was able to publish his pastoral romance, *La Galatea*. Since our guide in this chapter is the published work, when it was received by the public and how it was received, we are obliged to declare that in the year 1585 Cervantes began his published work in earnest with the pastoral.

An anecdotal event connected to the pastoral is most relevant here. The event, if true, took place in 1602 and provides us with an easy answer to the question as to why Cervantes turned so promptly to the pastoral after returning from Algiers. The model for Jorge de Montemayor's (?1520–61) heroine of *Los siete libros de la Diana* [*The Seven Books of the Diana*], published in 1559, was still alive. Philip III was travelling in her locality, and learning that the lady was living in retirement in León, had sufficient interest in the book to order a meeting with her. This gives some idea of the extent to which *Diana* had become the best-seller of the age. Indeed, by the 1560s and 1570s the pastoral had replaced the books of chivalry as the most popular form of prose fiction of

the day. Whereas the books of chivalry were concerned with love and combat, the pastoral novels were concerned with love and nature. Their appeal lay in portraying an idealized human love moving within an idealized landscape. In 1578, the work that had inspired them all, the *Arcadia* of Jacobo Sannazaro (1458–1530) was into its third edition in Spanish translation. By the year in which Cervantes published his *Galatea* (1585) Montemayor's *Diana* had already gone through twenty-four editions.

On his return to Spain, was Cervantes being simply hard-headed in trying his hand at a pastoral novel? Or was his retreat into the pastoral entirely understandable after his sufferings of the previous five years? Melveena McKendrick thinks that 'it was in a way perhaps a necessary exorcism of the past'.[1] Whatever the truth of the matter, one form of escapist literature had replaced another. Moreover, as Jean Canavaggio has observed, the 'undeniably secular roots of the pastoral novel . . . call down the fulminations of high-minded moralists'.[2] Such a diatribe was composed by Pedro Malón de Chaide (1530–89), Augustinian friar, writing in his *La Conversión de la Magdalena* [*The Conversion of Mary Magdalen*]. The fact that Malón's book was published in the same year as *La Galatea* is only one of its ironies, another being that it served as inspiration for Mateo Alemán (1547–1615?). For the author of *Guzmán de Alfarache*, a picaresque novel could hardly be termed an escape. Very little of the critical response across the centuries listed in our bibliography would indicate that a pastoral novel was simply an escape. Indeed, López Estrada and López García-Berdoy make a convincing case for the pastoral novel as a genuine intellectual riposte to the book of chivalry portrayed in *Don Quixote* as an inferior form.[3] They draw attention to the priest's verdict during the scrutiny of Don Quixote's library at the close of his first sally in I.6. The pastoral novels in the library should be spared, declares the priest, because they are 'libros de entendimiento' ['intelligent books'].[4] This is another way of saying that *La Galatea* and its two important Spanish predecessors, *Diana* and its continuation by Gil Polo (?1530–91), have significant similarities. All three are steeped in Petrarch (1304–74), Garcilaso (1501–36), and the Latin poets of antiquity. Cervantes is the one to demonstrate, as readers of *Don Quixote* would expect, a passionate devotion to Garcilaso. Solé-Leris and Canavaggio both make a strong case for seeing Cervantes as a serious pastoral writer. Canavaggio adds some thought-provoking pages locating the pastoral novel in a socio-political setting in which its success becomes inevitable.[5]

Joaquín Casalduero's essay in that august and magisterial collection of essays titled *Suma Cervantina* [*A Cervantine Compendium*] points out a series of comparisons and contrasts between *Diana* and *La Galatea*: 'Cervantes does not like figures clearly etched as in the Renaissance. . . . He gives us the working through of the stories, the formation of

[1] McKendrick, *Cervantes*, p. 99. [2] Canavaggio, *Cervantes*, p. 107.

[3] See their introduction in Cervantes, *La Galatea*, especially pp. 76–107.

[4] Cervantes, *El ingenioso . . .*, edited by Murillo, vol. I, p. 118. Subsequent references to *Don Quixote* are to this edition. All translations from Spanish to English have been by the author of this chapter unless otherwise noted.

[5] Solé-Leris, pp. 91–3 and Canavaggio, *Cervantes,* pp. 106–15.

the characters.'[6] The handling of characters is already sure; so is the narrative. There is a concerted attempt to link all the stories. Love and friendship are already two main themes for Cervantes. The tale of two friends, in this case Timbrio and Silerio, is with us already; and here we see its happy face. However, Cervantes appears to be mounting an attack on *Diana* and the pastoral attitude to love. For Casalduero, Cervantes sees romance between man and woman 'as a conflict . . . that much of the time can show, instead of peace and harmony, the tragic side of human relationships'.[7] This aspect of Cervantes's pastoral novel has been noted by James Stamm[8] and Bruno Damiani. The latter's essay on one form of rhetoric in *La Galatea* is a survey of the theme of death *qua* rhetoric, which climaxes in the 'death speech' that has an increasing presence in *La Galatea* as the narrative advances.[9] Timbrio and Silerio are noble of action but many other characters are not. This is no *novela amena* (nice story). It begins *in medias res* with a shepherd's love-song. There is violence; there is cruelty; there is indifference. *La Galatea* is allowed to express beauty, but it must also be real. Cervantes is already addressing the problematics of verisimilitude.

After the publication of *La Galatea*, Cervantes shows us no sign of being in a hurry. Full twenty years passed by before *Don Quixote*, Part I made its tardy appearance in 1605. Slow to appear, its success was phenomenal. The popularity of *Don Quixote*, so extraordinarily constant across the centuries, has outshone that of its creator, and this is despite the fact that signs of Cervantes's genius extend far beyond the pages of his great novel. Whenever Cervantes and the rest of his works have almost disappeared from view, *Don Quixote* has gone on leading a life of its own from century to century, or even as little as from decade to decade. No critical biography could possibly cope with the multitude of responses that *Don Quixote* has elicited. The most searching analysis in modern times of any of the approaches taken to the novel remains Anthony Close's monumental doctoral study of the romantic *Don Quixote*. In the course of his survey, Close emerges as fiercely partisan, arguing passionately against the romantic response to *Don Quixote*: but in the process, he does us all an immense service. *The Romantic Approach to* Don Quixote (1978) is so thorough, so all-embracing, that the result is an exercise in reader-response charting in detail virtually every approach to *Don Quixote* that there has ever been, from Cervantes's own lifetime until the death of Américo Castro in 1972.

Before romanticism caught up with *Don Quixote* at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the novel's impact on English prose fiction, for example, had already been considerable. It is interesting to note that the first annotated *Don Quixote* was produced by the English Hispanist John Bowle in 1781. Perhaps urged on by the number of Shakespeare editions appearing at the time, Bowle, writing in Spanish, helped to raise the status of Cervantes as a writer in Spain as well as in England. His *Don Quixote* became an important source and inspiration for later Spanish editors such as Pellicer and Clemencín. From the time of *Don Quixote*'s early editors and commentators until

[6] Casalduero, 'La Galatea', p. 33. [7] Casalduero, 'La Galatea', p. 36. [8] Stamm, pp. 337–43.
[9] Damiani, pp. 53–70.

*c.*1800 the book was regarded as essentially burlesque. But what burlesque? In the prologue to his novel *Joseph Andrews* (1742) Henry Fielding (1707–54), among novelists probably Cervantes's greatest direct disciple, describes adroitly his sophisticated version of burlesque narrative. In point of fact, Fielding's view of burlesque is arguably a good deal more nuanced than Close would lead us to suppose:

> Now, a comic romance is a comic epic poem in prose; differing from comedy, as a serious epic from tragedy: its action being more extended and comprehensive; containing a much larger circle of incidents, and introducing a greater variety of characters. It differs from the serious romance in its fable and action, in this; that as in the one these are grave and solemn, so in the other they are light and ridiculous: it differs in its characters by introducing persons of inferior rank, and consequently, of inferior manners, whereas the grave romance sets the highest before us: lastly, in its sentiments and diction; by preserving the ludicrous instead of the sublime. In the diction, I think, burlesque itself may be sometimes admitted; of which many instances will occur in this work, as in the descriptions of the battles, and some other places, not to be pointed out to the classical reader, for whose entertainment these parodies or burlesque imitations are chiefly calculated.[10]

Fielding has clearly understood the concept of what an epic in prose might signify. He has also appreciated the possible role of comedy therein, a topic taken up by A.A. Parker, Ciriaco Morón, and others.

Romanticism, however, rediscovered *Don Quixote* as a philosophical narrative portraying a tragic hero battling in the midst of an ongoing cosmic struggle between the real and the ideal. The age demanded such a conflict and sought out appropriate literary heroes, national and international, that could be enlisted in the fight: Wilhelm Meister, Hamlet, Don Juan, Don Álvaro. As the nineteenth century wore on, what Close calls a 'spirit of *casticismo*' grew ever stronger. *Casticismo* is defined as 'the idealization of cultural caste-purity'.[11] This form of nationalism runs right through nineteenth-century Spanish literary scholarship. Spanish culture with *Don Quixote* as its flagship was being asked to save the nation languishing in deepest decline. Would a clarion call in the direction of Spain's former literary greatness be enough to effectively recuperate the intellectual health and the high culture of the nation 300 years on? At the same time Cervantine studies were becoming notably biographical. Did *Don Quixote* caricature the Duke of Lerma or even Philip II? Did Cervantes ridicule the Inquisition? We are now in a world of allegorical satire. Was *Don Quixote* a satire on the decadence of Spain? The Generation of '98 seems to have thought so.

[10] Fielding, pp. xvii–xviii.

[11] Close, *The Romantic*…, p. 95. Close's work on the romantic approach to *Don Quixote* is, of course, a book-length study. Readers requiring merely a brief survey can find it in Chapter 15 of E.C. Riley's general introduction to the novel in his *Don Quixote*, pp. 174–83. Riley's overview is as dispassionate as it is succinct, but like Close, he is concerned with *Don Quixote* only.

In 1895 the writer and scholar Miguel de Unamuno published his collection of essays, *En torno al casticismo* [*Concerning Cultural Caste-purity*] in which he revealed himself to be passionately concerned with Spain's great literature and its role within the nation's collective psyche. Unamuno attacks all those who have wanted to idealize caste-pure institutions. For the author of *Vida de Don Quijote y Sancho* [*Life of Don Quixote and Sancho*], *Don Quixote* was the only work in the Cervantine corpus that really mattered. Only *Don Quixote* had the prestige, the artistic and intellectual strength to perform the task. Unamuno's solution was to fashion a 'renewal' of *Don Quixote*. New readers of Cervantes might be dismayed to learn that this meant nothing less than a re-write of the great novel. Unamuno endeavours to describe Don Quixote's character as well as creating a parody of his madness. This turns into a version of Unamuno's basic philosophy: a yearning for immortality.

Anyone looking for a critical antidote to this degree of feverish excitement in the world of Spanish academic letters can find it in Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo (1856–1912) and his most distinguished and direct disciple Ramón Menéndez Pidal (1869–1968). A representative example would be Menéndez Pidal's 1940 essay *De Cervantes y Lope de Vega* [*Of Cervantes and Lope de Vega*] in the first part of which he advances *El entremés de los romances* [*The Interlude of the Ballads*] as a crucial foundation on which the *Quixote* may well have been constructed. Close describes in the last part of his book ways in which the romantic *Don Quixote* proceeds to coexist uneasily with nineteenth-century positivist as well as other more recent approaches: the common-sense impressionism of Azorín, the stylistics and perspectivism of Alonso, Spitzer, Vossler, and Hatzfeld, and the comparative and existential study of *Don Quixote* through Lukács, Girard, then later Américo Castro, Avalle-Arce, Durán, Rosales, and many more. Unamuno's *Vida de Don Quijote y Sancho* is the climax of the romantic *Don Quixote* while much writing on the novel by Madariaga, Ortega y Gasset, Castro, and Casalduero, to name the most famous and most distinguished during the first half of the twentieth century, rests on Unamuno's book which is the work of a critic who was first and foremost, a creative artist, and only secondarily, a reader with philosophical ambitions. He was not a philosopher. José Ortega y Gasset's *Meditaciones del Qujote* [*Meditations on the Quixote*] published in 1914, however, is the work of a professional philosopher. Could such a one, an authentic philosopher, do better? Does such a one necessarily carry us further in our attempt to embrace with authority the totality of Cervantes's achievement in *Don Quixote*? Was such a task beyond the capacity of any mere literary historian? Even a most careful reading of *Meditaciones del Quijote* and Américo Castro's *El Pensamiento de Cervantes* [*The Way Cervantes Thinks*] (1925) will merely enable today's reader to assess the importance of Ortega and Castro (Ortega's most distinguished direct disciple) in shaping the latest state of play, by which we mean, where stand *Don Quixote* studies in the second half of the twentieth century and beyond?

In his introduction to the 1957 edition of *Meditaciones*, Ortega's philosophical disciple Julián Marías declares that very few people to date have understood *Meditaciones*. He maintains the importance of *Don Quixote* in a context in which the philosopher is

caught between the real and the ideal. Ortega's disciple assures us that a radical comprehension of Cervantes and his book can only be 'fully real and intelligible through philosophy'.[12] From the outset, José Ortega y Gasset (1883–1955) saw himself as wrestling with the problem of Spain's destiny which he felt to be one that thinking Spaniards were obliged as they read *Don Quixote*. Ortega's meditations begin in the forest of Herrería close to the palace of the Escorial. The forest is a symbol of reality like the plain of Montiel where Don Quixote does battle with the windmills.

Ortega declares gnomically *Don Quixote* to be a mistake and yet at the same time to be as well the first of all novels in time and in importance. But then he poses a blunt question: what is a novel? His solution is to say that it is the genre that replaced traditional epic because it looked forward while the latter did not. No longer is the matter in hand some idealized past. The destiny of the novel was to be the opposite of the epic; its concern, the present:

> This literature of the imagination will help maintain the beneficent sway of the epic over humanity until the end of time. After all, the epic was its mother. . . . Where there are gods there is a dynasty beneath which the impossible becomes possible. Wherever they reign normality does not exist. An all pervasive disorder emanates from their throne. Their sworn constitution contains but a single article: *adventure is allowed*.[13]

Ortega's example is Don Quixote's reaction to Master Peter's puppet show in II.25–6. For Ortega this is 'a sort of hallucination in which we take the adventure for an instant as though it were pure reality'.[14] Don Quixote, who is real, wants epic adventure in his reality. This will to adventure is his drama but it is hardly epic. Achilles performs his allotted part in the epic of which he is the tragic hero, whereas the hero of today simply desires to act out what he considers, erroneously, to be a role in a story in which he has no place. This will to adventure is *Don Quixote*'s tragic theme. The hero has to will his tragic destiny: 'In wanting to be what one is not there is but a short distance between the sublime and the ridiculous.'[15] This is the conclusion reached by Flaubert (1821–80) in his novel *Madame Bovary* and by Jules de Gaultier (1858–1942), the man who invented the theory of Bovarism out of Flaubert's novel. Ortega calls Emma Bovary a Don Quixote in skirts. Like him, she is an ideal example of Gaultier's formula in that her extreme energy not only forces her to conceive herself other than what she is, but also to try to transform those around her to suit the illusory world she has created.[16] And so we complete a circle that we began when describing Fielding's view of the ridiculous as just one ingredient towards the making of a burlesque prose epic. Are Ortega and Close more in harmony than the distinguished Cambridge scholar supposed?

Américo Castro (1885–1972) was drawn to Ortega's tendency to see the writer as faced with choices out of which will emerge a principal theme of his work. The critical reader

[12] Marías, p. xxiii. [13] Ortega, p. 162; original emphasis. [14] Ortega, p. 168.
[15] Ortega, p. 199. [16] Gaultier, p. 23.

will follow the theme and thus use it to define the writer's 'style', one that is capable of withstanding any social, political or aesthetic influence that might be brought to bear upon the individual writer. The artistic and intellectual heroes of the nation are those who resist such influence. Castro's classic article (1916) considered two contrasting views of honour: one cosmopolitan and enlightened, the other retrogressive and inward looking. The liberal attitude posits an anatomy of individual conscience. Cervantes, according to Castro, was one of the few writers and intellectuals in the Spain of his time to espouse the liberal view of honour. Why did this view lose out in Spain against the conservative one?

Castro's second key idea adopted from Ortega is the contention that literary genres rely for their existence on an epoch's worldview. Thus the writer's thought or the activity of a literary movement is to be explained by its spiritual disposition but not determined by environmental factors. Castro's interest for us more than a century later lies in gauging whether his view of Cervantes's oeuvre is sustainable across the entire, variegated range of his literary production, always remembering that at this point we become judges not only of Ortega and Castro but also of Close their severest critic. We adopt the role of judge at this point because it is as commentators and critics of Cervantes *qua* novelist that we consider as well as Castro himself, his master Ortega, and Close's stern verdict on them all. In doing this, we are invited in our turn to pass judgement on the great scholar and critic who is damned with faint praise by Close, calling *El pensamiento de Cervantes* 'a brilliant piece of academic journalism'.[17] If this is so where does it leave *El pensamiento* and the substantial essays that were to follow and which led Castro into close reading, the intensity of which Cervantine studies had never before witnessed?

El pensamiento de Cervantes is a massive book demanding the attention of half a lifetime. Time and space are short so I touch on just one aspect, what Castro calls the 'doctrine of error'.[18] His second chapter had acquainted his reader with an arresting concept that he calls the 'theme of oscillating reality'.[19] When does a barber's basin cease to be one? What really happened in the cave of Montesinos? Cervantes has constructed a world founded on mere appearances. This does not mean that reality no longer exists. The true realities of right and wrong, love and hate are there but they have been transformed into weapons of war in the struggle between good and evil 'and among these, none is more important than the freedom to love. Love is the supreme vital essence.'[20]

Following neo-Platonic doctrine Cervantes presents nature as creating out of the force of love a harmonious principle and woe betide anyone, oblivious to such a truth, who breaks the vital equation. His literary art whether in prose fiction or in the theatre is as implacable when wrong has been committed as it is benevolent when loving human beings come together. Castro finds tragedy in error. He finds equally an epic exaltation wherever the harmony of reciprocal love is to be found. In the final analysis, claims Castro, the majority of Cervantes's stories either run or flow in these two precisely opposing directions: *El celoso extremeño*, Grisóstomo, and *El curioso impertinente* stand

[17] Close, *The Romantic*..., p. 197.
[18] Castro, *El pensamiento*..., p. 123.
[19] Castro, *El pensamiento*..., p. 83.
[20] Castro, *El pensamiento*..., p. 123.

out in Castro's 'erroneous' series; the story of *El cautivo* interpolated in *Don Quixote* and the romance *Persiles y Sigismunda* fall into a 'harmonious' series.

By using words like error or mistake, Castro does not just mean a false interpretation of physical reality which invariably produces a comic result but also a false interpretation of a moral reality. Castro finds the most interesting stories to be those that concern moral reality. Of the many he could have cited, it is intriguing that he chose to highlight *El curioso impertinente*. In this novella Anselmo thinks that Camila's virtue is gold that can be passed through fire in order to prove its purity: 'the consequences of such mistakes tend not to be comic but rather tragic, and frequently such mistakes are punished by death.'[21]

While for Castro everything should be considered as under Cervantes's control, for others he is the untutored genius who does not always quite know where his narrative is leading. In what is still one of the best general surveys of *Don Quixote*, Part I, E.C. Riley notes this impression of improvisation but does not agree.[22] Neither does Dominick Finello who has called the Sierra Morena an epicentre of *Don Quixote*, Part I that inspires the knight to outline his plan of action towards the task of renewing the chivalric profession.[23] The problem is made more interesting by the six or seven interpolations that appear, at least in the eyes of the hasty reader, to dot or speckle the narrative of Don Quixote's adventures in Part I. It is most acute at the violent end of the encounter with the galley-slaves at the close of I.22 when Don Quixote and Sancho enter the vastly different terrain and ambience of the Sierra Morena. Here our chronicler looks like a narrator who has run out of adventures to narrate.

In his comprehensive article, 'Revision in *Don Quixote* Part I', Geoffrey Stagg draws attention to how Cervantes from chapter to chapter shuffles episodes and adventures the way others might shuffle a pack of cards: meadows, woods, and mountain paths succeed one another with bewildering rapidity. Most famously, the chronicler reports the theft of Sancho's ass although subsequently the animal has mysteriously found its way back to its owner. Stagg concludes that these are failings that indicate a writer composing his story in haste. In an equally brilliant article, José María Micó has confirmed Stagg's surmise that Cervantes knew only too well that as 1604 wore on, his book's most serious competitors, the two picaresque novels, *La Pícara Justina* and *Guzmán de Alfarache*, Part II, were also about to be published and that of these three, the first to reach the bookstalls might well prove the most successful given that many book buyers would purchase only one volume, given the high price of books in those times. As it happened, although the *Guzmán* won the race, in the event all three books were commercially successful.[24]

Cervantes had still published none of his plays as he entered the new century, and so he could only with difficulty pass for a professional author in the literary world in which he moved. Such authors, Castro maintains, 'in those days, as today, produced fresh work just as the vineyards every autumn deliver up their fruit. Cervantes was no beginner but

[21] Castro, *El pensamiento* . . . , p. 124. [22] Riley, *Don Quixote*, pp. 35–61 and pp. 73–87.
[23] Finello, pp. 120–1. [24] Micó, pp. 827–48.

neither was he experienced.'[25] Almost exactly twenty years had passed since the appearance of *La Galatea*. Why so long? Was the act of writing an arduous chore? And why publish this second work of prose fiction when he finally did? Was it the reading of *Guzmán de Alfarache*? The four substantial tales interpolated into the *Guzmán* cannot possibly have passed him by. It is unlikely that all the novellas he eventually placed in *Don Quixote*, Part I, and in his *Novelas ejemplares* published in 1613, were composed after 1600. More importantly, by 1604 Cervantes was also a master of the novella genre. Américo Castro declares that as Cervantes prepared for the publication of *Don Quixote*, Part I, 'his confidence in his book was by now unshakeable'.[26] Castro is possibly even more right than he supposes.

Anyone who has read the two magisterial essays that Avalle-Arce published in his *Nuevos deslindes cervantinos* [*Fresh Cervantine Perceptions*] will surely be convinced that in 1605 the author of *Don Quixote* had accomplished even more than the completion of Part I, for the book contains several remarkable extraneous tales. Among these, two treat a relationship between two friends, a favourite Cervantine theme that we have already seen seriously treated in his pastoral novel. New readers may like to consider the possibility that Cervantes included them because he judged the simple tale of Don Quixote and Sancho Panza, despite its touching portrayal of the friendship between master and man, to be lacking in seriousness, intellectual weight, and variety. Therefore, he inserted *El curioso impertinente* and *El cautivo*. In point of fact, Cervantes somewhat implausibly contrives to make the protagonist of the latter cross Don Quixote's path and tell him his story; but the *Curioso* is left in the sublime isolation of its trunk from which it is extracted and read to the assembled throng in Juan Palomeque's inn. On the face of it, this novella is indeed 'impertinent', but Avalle-Arce generously salutes the many critics who have attested to its pertinence.

His two famous essays go further because they confirm the novella to be a masterpiece. Cervantes may well have considered it the prize piece among the tales he had ready in 1604. He surely knew its worth and, fearful that it might otherwise never appear in print, did not hesitate to include it. Indeed, having it 'performed' at the inn is a measure of his confidence and his pride: 'The complexity of *El curioso impertinente,* from early on acquires an overwhelming presence, the impact of which gains clarity and power as the reading proceeds.'[27] Perhaps the boldest attempt in recent times to make satisfying sense of the 'extraneous' material in Part I of *Don Quixote* is by Edward Dudley. The word rhetoric alone employed by Dudley pushes the reader in a direction of perceiving Cervantes as a writer in total control. Certainly, as Dudley notes, Cervantes contrives to weave almost all his seven stories into the central narrative that is concerned with the journey of Don Quixote and Sancho.[28] The seven tales divide in two: those that have unhappy outcomes and those where things turn out well.

[25] Castro, *Hacia Cervantes*, p. 232.
[26] Castro, *Hacia Cervantes*, p. 234.
[27] Avalle-Arce, *Nuevos deslindes*, p. 134.
[28] Dudley, pp. 355–68 .

Readers who have come only lately to the *Novelas ejemplares* will reflect on the magnitude of Cervantes's achievement in the field of prose fiction. In his prologue to the *Novelas ejemplares* Cervantes boasts with evident pride: 'yo soy el primero que he novelado en lengua castellana, que las muchas novelas que en ella andan impresas, todas son traducidas de lenguas estranjeras, éstas son mías propias, no imitadas ni hurtadas; mi ingenio las engendró, y las parió mi pluma'[29] ['the first to have written novellas in the Castilian tongue, for the many novellas that have been published in Castilian, all of them have been translated from foreign languages, whereas these are of my own invention, not imitations nor stolen from others; my genius conceived them and my pen delivered them'].

The *Decameron* of Boccaccio had an uneasy start in Spain, having been placed on the Index of Prohibited Books in 1559. The other most famous collections of *novelle* by Bandello and Giraldo Cinthio followed on in Spanish translations in 1589 and 1590, respectively. This fresh form of prose fiction was seized upon and eagerly imitated. Spain had discovered a new literary genre. One of the first things that readers would have noted was the untrammelled realism with which some of the stories in Cervantes's *Novelas ejemplares* were told as well as the considerable variety of plots and locations. Readers would soon also become aware of an almost hallucinatory mixture of the ideal, the physical, and the spiritual that pervade the collection. At a basic level, having read all twelve tales, readers are drawn to divide them into two sets; and even if they resist this temptation, the contrasts between the idealistic and realistic tales are clear. Cervantes states in his prologue that he is describing the tales as exemplary, 'y si bien lo miras, no hay ninguna de quien no se pueda sacar algún ejemplo provechoso y si no fuera por no alargar este sujeto, quizá te mostrará el sabroso y honesto fruto que se podría sacar, así de todas juntas como de cada una de por sí'[30] ['and if you examine them carefully, there isn't a single one from which one cannot extract an encouraging lesson; and not to put too fine a point upon it, perhaps I shall succeed in making available a tasty and wholesome fruit, as much from all of them together as from each of them in turn']. That is to say each tale has its own individual exemplary quality, but so does the collection as a whole. Two outstandingly bold and absorbing attempts at what used to be called an 'organic' reading of the work must suffice by way of illustration, given that so much has been written since.

Joaquín Casalduero's approach was deceptively simple. He listed the twelve tales in the customary order, creating a tripartite structure beginning with the first four in which the protagonists work out their destiny in an ideal world. Tales one to four are counterbalanced by the final four in which the protagonists move in what Casalduero called a social world. The middle four tales are divided into pairs, one concerning original sin, and the other virtue, and freedom.[31] Casalduero now embarks on a series of oppositions beginning with numbers one and twelve. The ideal world of *La gitanilla* and the social world of *El coloquio de los perros* are set against one another. This is the first of a series of

[29] Cervantes, *Novelas ejemplares*, p. 52.
[30] Cervantes, *Novelas ejemplares*, p. 52.
[31] Casalduero, *Sentido y forma de las* Novelas ejemplares, p. 23.

polarities that advance towards a centre. Thus the generosity and moral striving of *El amante liberal* are counterbalanced by the greed and avarice of *El casamiento engañoso*. The common baseness in *Rinconete y Cortadillo* is set against the nobility in *La señora Cornelia*. The mystical union with its Rome pilgrimage in *La española inglesa* finds its equal in the social union and Santiago pilgrimage in *Las dos doncellas*. The original sin of intelligence in *El licenciado vidriera* achieves completeness when set beside the original sin of the senses in *La fuerza de la sangre*. Finally, the cloister in *El celoso extremeño* demonstrates its tragic inanity when set beside the freedom portrayed in *La ilustre fregona*. Casalduero's study has two obvious things in common with that of Ruth El Saffar. First, they are important book-length studies; secondly, they both avoid the idealistic-realistic dichotomy which has bedevilled Cervantine reader-response.

El Saffar congratulated Casalduero for adopting an a-temporal approach whereby he navigated a journey through a marvellous and disconcerting world, attempting to fashion a significant structure for the twelve tales as well as a relationship between them that will satisfy their readers. Her own approach was also a-temporal. She too had an interest in plotting Cervantes's development as a writer of novellas but only in so far as this might help in revealing the way in which exemplariness works in the collection as a whole. While Casalduero seeks further enlightenment via the order of novellas chosen by Cervantes, El Saffar seeks through a re-ordering of them to trace the development of his art. Like Casalduero she sees a tripartite division: early stories, two transitions, and finally the late stories. El Saffar sees her three early stories as depicting characters who are striving to remake their lives whereas in fact none of them does. These early protagonists construct a fictional world which they hope may prove an escape from everyday life. This way leads to alienation and destruction. The later protagonists 'endure their fictional state. They neither choose nor invent it . . . they work for and wait for the end of their trial.'[32] Thus they reach fulfilment and a return to society.

The general consensus among critics is that the location of the stories is very important for Cervantes, indicating a writer who has absorbed intensely his experiences in certain places. Peter Dunn maintains that Cervantes's most insistent location in the *Novelas ejemplares* is Seville which signifies, obsessively, crime and the underworld. Dunn suggests that this mythic Seville was absorbed slowly over many years so that, most obviously, the late dating of *El casamiento* and *El coloquio* that many critics have preferred is a tempting one.[33] However, mythic Seville was never going to provide the heroic ending that Cervantes worked towards and which we encounter in *El amante liberal*. This story and most of the others, for that matter, deliver the kind of mixture the Canon lays before the Priest as ingredients for the ideal chivalric tale. The result should be a bewildering but satisfying mixture that is in evidence in the *Novelas*. E.C. Riley has stressed how much more highly prose fiction was valued in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when it was considered alongside the epic. *El amante liberal* is a mere novella, not aspiring

[32] El-Saffar, *Novel to Romance* . . . , p. 15.
[33] Dunn, 'Las *Novelas ejemplares*', p. 82.

to the High Style that still belonged exclusively to epic poetry and tragic theatre,[34] but its epic hero gives a glimpse of where Cervantes's literary ambitions lay in his final decade. It is impossible to do justice to the colossal amount that has been written about the meanings of these twelve stories since the classic studies of Casalduero and El-Saffar. New readers will also wonder yet again at the tardy publication of the *Novelas*. We are obliged to wait for a further eight years for their appearance. By l613 Cervantes had only another three years to live.

Just as nobody knows precisely when Cervantes finally started composing *Don Quixote*, Parts I or II or his novellas, nobody knows when he stopped writing plays. In the prologue to his collected plays he boasts that back in the old days, safely within the pre-Lopean phase of his literary career, his plays were well received and indeed never met with any hostility whatever.

As he made his final revision of *Don Quixote*, Part I in 1604, he must have felt similarly given that his *Galatea* had been very well received. Of course there was the notorious letter of 14 August 1604 in which Lope de Vega expresses his low opinion of the budding Spanish poets who had ushered in the new century. These, Lope opined, were not much good as poets although, as to their intellects, at least it could be said that none of them was stupid enough to praise *Don Quixote*.[35] By then, in any case, his *Galatea* and his satirical poems had earned Cervantes a respect in literary circles that even a literary lion such as Lope could not take away. In 1580 there was of course as yet no Lope, and even had there been one it was to the theatre Cervantes instinctively turned. It is to be assumed that he wrote some twenty to thirty plays over a roughly five-year period. Only two of these survive; insufficient to gauge his capacity when it came to constructing a stage poetic.

Add to this the subsequent verdict shared by many critics that lack of dramatic gifts have left his extant dramatic oeuvre irremediably incomplete and unsatisfactory. As to the tail end of his career *qua* dramatist, McKendrick goes a long way towards explaining why *Don Quixote*, Part II took so long to appear in published form.[36] Cervantes was still trying to write plays that might appeal to the public and continued to be tormented by Lope's success. So, having published his single major achievement as poet, the plays beckoned inexorably. It is not, of course, for his plays that Harold Bloom made it a mission to declare to the world that Cervantes was Shakespeare's equal, although Edward Friedman, among other distinguished critics, has made a case for Cervantes as a dramatist of considerable ambition: an imperfect dramatist in an imperfect world, but one who understood that world and knew how to bring it to the stage so that 'through the concentric and episodic structure of his *comedias*, is a master of the fusion and confusion of fiction with reality'.[37] Lope's theory of the ideal play stresses the principle of unity of action. This presupposes adoption of a single, linear action. In fact, for many critics like Friedman, Cervantes stands between the Italo-Roman tradition and Lope de Vega:

[34] Riley, *Cervantes's Theory*…, pp. 131–45.
[35] Vega, vol. III, p. 4.
[36] McKendrick, *Cervantes*, pp. 250–9 and 267–8.
[37] Friedman, p. 103.

'If the literary theorists "rewrite" Aristotle, Cervantes may be said to rewrite both Aristotle and the theorists. In what are termed his six "archetypal" plays, he offers a unique type of unity by refocusing the limits of plot and episodes.'[38]

For Stanislav Zimic, among the six archetypal *comedias*, *La entretenida* describes clearly the gulf that lies between the *comedia nueva* of Lope and the theatre of Cervantes; the former is a parody of the *comedia nueva*. Zimic's essay is an important study of the differences between Lope and Cervantes as playwrights. Don Antonio claims to be passionately in love with Marcela. Her function in the play is to be pursued by him but their relationship is a formulaic gesture neatly expressed by a most ingenious Cervantine metaphor: the total absence of Marcela throughout the play. In other words, Marcela never actually appears on stage. So it is that 'Cervantes mocks the *comedia nueva* rule whereby Cupid's aim is always true while woman is given over exclusively to romance or love'.[39] In Cervantes's theatre servants are as humble as in real life, but they also fall in love and in this play the passion is true. Such is the superiority of Ocaña over his master Don Antonio. Casalduero claims that in the Baroque the comic servant has the same preoccupations as those of his master but in the world of Cervantes the servant is his own man. 'Don Quixote is concerned with Dulcinea, Sancho with his island . . . For this reason Sancho can be alone, alone on the island, alone when Don Quixote dies.'[40]

Cervantes has been frequently viewed as a contradictory and even confused dramatist. He has been harshly criticized for his use of *figuras morales*, personifications of an often allegorical nature. For Bruce Wardropper, however, their use is 'a sign of the independence and originality of Cervantes's theatre'.[41] What they do is to exteriorize the inner person and in that sense they are Cervantes's invention. For instance, fate and history are the agents controlling the course of events in *El cerco de Numancia*, Cervantes's tragedy about the Roman siege of the Numantine capital city. Allegorical figures like Spain, the river Duero, war, illness, and hunger are appropriate as a means of underscoring the universality of the play. Friedman does not say so, but he is in effect demonstrating Cervantes's evident pride in having introduced to the Spanish stage those figures. They 'elevate the action of *Numancia* to its historical and eternal planes'.[42] Some critics have a fragmentary vision of Cervantes's theatre. They approach it with their own expectations of what they should find there. A classic example is the reaction of critics to what happens after the sleazily entertaining Act One of *El rufián dichoso*. Acts Two and Three are habitually condemned as dull, although they are doing what the title of the play foretells: show the conversion of the protagonist Cristóbal Lugo and what befalls him henceforth. Radical transformation of whatever type is a very Cervantine trait and Lugo's conversion is a case in point.

Cervantes is kind and indulgent in his reading of humanity when he shows compassion towards characters such as Lugo. 'Sin and repentance, mankind in all its variety

[38] Friedman, p. 38. [39] Zimic, p. 236.
[40] Casalduero, *Sentido y forma del teatro de Cervantes*, p. 13.
[41] Wardropper, 'Comedias', in *Suma Cervantina*, p. 157. [42] Friedman, p. 59.

reaches its most concentrated form in *El rufián dichoso* and *Pedro de Urdemalas*.'[43] Valbuena Prat called *Pedro de Urdemalas* one of his most original plays.[44] Pedro de Urdemalas comes from folklore and is at the same time a protean figure destined to assume all the necessary elements of a flesh and blood individual's needs. He becomes an actor throughout the story of Belica, and after playing his series of roles, he becomes the gypsy trickster and eventually vanishes. Pedro develops surely and slowly into a repository of all the wisdom in the world 'at a humble level which is to say, not tragic but comic'.[45] Casalduero is admiring here the way in which, in exquisite detail, Cervantes works out through the action of his drama the gathering in of all Pedro's wisdom.

No one better than Eugenio Asensio, doyen among scholars who have dedicated much time and thought to the *entremeses*, could situate them not just among Cervantes's works for the stage but within his total oeuvre. He makes a good case for Cervantes as pioneer creator of the *entremés* which he distinguishes from Medieval and Renaissance farce. For Asensio, the Cervantine *entremés* deserves to be called the 'nuevo género chico' ['new small-sized genre'].[46] In the process Asensio points the way towards recognition that Cervantes is responsible for forging yet another genre, the one-act comedy. In his masterly study *Itinerario del entremés* [*A Journey through the Interludes*] Asensio had suggested that the *comedias* and the *entremeses* should be approached as a whole. They present together the same preoccupations and do so in their own, new fashion. Canavaggio agrees, suggesting that Cervantes is at one and the same time a disciple, a pioneer, and a marginal.[47] In other words, it has become customary to see Cervantes as occupying a position midway between the pioneers of vernacular drama in Spain and its apex in the *comedia nueva*. So it is that the second chapter of the history of Spanish Golden Age Drama by Wilson and Moir is appropriately titled 'From Rueda to Cervantes'. Wilson and Moir take a conventional position when they dismiss roundly the *comedias* of Cervantes, none of which they claim, possess the 'tension of *Numancia*'.[48] They are to be congratulated, however, on the other hand for highlighting the importance of Torres Naharro's (1485?–1520) dramatic theory through to Lope de Vega. They are joined in this by Canavaggio, whose study is a massively authoritative overview of Cervantes's career as dramatist. He has one eye on Naharro's *Prohemio* [*Prologue*] to the *Propalladia* [*Collected Plays*] and the other on Cervantes's progress as dramatist from *Los tratos de Argel* to *Pedro de Urdemalas*. However this might be, despite all the fine critical work and that of other scholars such as Casalduero, Hermenegildo, and Froldi, new readers will discover that this substantial segment of Cervantes's oeuvre has still not received the attention it deserved by the end of the twentieth century.

By the third quarter of 1615, Part II of *Don Quixote* had still not seen the light of day, and yet his *Ocho comedias y ocho entremeses nuevos nunca representados* were on sale. Was this because ultimately Cervantes believed so strongly in his worth as a dramatist?

[43] Casalduero, *Sentido y forma del teatro de Cervantes*, p. 25.
[44] Valbuena, pp. 30–5.
[45] Casalduero, *Sentido y forma del teatro de Cervantes*, p. 177.
[46] Asensio, *Suma Cervantina*, p. 174.
[47] Canavaggio, *Cervantès dramaturge* . . . , pp. 148–9.
[48] Wilson and Moir, p. 39.

Had he less confidence in the possible success of a second *Quixote*? There was, surely, satisfaction from having reached the contemporary public in print if not on the stage. In the year that separated the publication of the *Novelas ejemplares* from his *parte* [collection of plays], two things happened: Cervantes published his mock epic poem, *Viaje del Parnaso*; and Alonso Fernández de Avellaneda struck by publishing his 'false' or spurious *Don Quixote*. The identity of this writer has never been established.

The *Viaje* is by far Cervantes's longest and most ambitious poem: 3,308 hendecasyllable lines. It is well described by William Byron in his biography of Cervantes.[49] Its chief interest for today's *cervantistas* will probably lie in assessing the quality of Cervantes's relationship with the Spanish literary world of his day, which Cervantes portrays in an amusing and distinctly burlesque manner.[50] Its climax is a battle between the good poets and the bad. When the battle has ended, although figuring among the victorious good poets, Cervantes is not one of those granted a laurel wreath by Apollo, so to return to a state of slumber is a typically ironic Cervantine response at the close of a work that Vicente Gaos has called the poetic testimony of Cervantes.[51]

Many have been quite content to divide Cervantes's poetry into two parts for a logical reason that the sheer size of the *Viaje* in eight chapters plus Adjunct in prose dialogue, not to mention its ambition, dwarfs his remaining poetic production, thus setting it apart from the rest of the Cervantine poetic corpus. However, Elias Rivers reminds us that there is far more to Cervantes the poet. The extant lyric poems of Cervantes are many and embrace his entire career from the late 1560s to the poems that punctuate the *Galatea*, *Don Quixote*, his posthumous romance *Persiles*, as well as the so-called *poesias sueltas* [occasional poems]. These last contain biographical as well as poetic interest.[52] Such is the case of *Epístola a Mateo Vázquez* [*Letter to Mateo Vázquez*], an address to the secretary of state Mateo Vázquez (1542?–91), a favourite of Philip II. This poem contains more than a hint of desperate defiance on the part of a man seeking preferment, although any tone of ingratiation is deftly avoided. The defiant tone adopted by Cervantes grows stronger in the two *canzoni* composed before the full horror of defeat of the Spanish Armada became known. Any grounds for optimism concerning a possible victory evaporate when the time comes to grapple in sonnet form with the triumphant incursion of the Earl of Essex (1565–1601) into southern Spain in 1596 and with the death two years later of Philip II.

One only has to read Cervantes's address to his reader at the opening of *Don Quixote*, Part II to realize what a shock it had been to learn that the adventures of Don Quixote had been plagiarized at considerable length by the mysterious Avellaneda. The blow was all the more hurtful because of the mockery to which Cervantes was subjected. His state of mind can be gauged by the fact that four-fifths of the prologue to the true second *Quixote* were taken up by a full and strong rejoinder. It is left to the two writers of *aprobaciones* [official approvals] to remind the public of Cervantes's original declared

[49] Byron, pp. 491–7.
[50] See Chapter 21 on *Viaje del Parnaso* and Chapter 25 on Cervantes and other Literary Circles.
[51] See Gaos's Introduction of Cervantes, *Poesías completas*…, p. 37.
[52] Rivers, pp. 119–46.

goal to do away with the contagious idleness fostered by books of chivalry, but the first fifty-nine chapters of this real Part II renew Don Quixote's desire to press forward with his chivalric quest.

Two obvious factors have made possible the comic tale Cervantes had created in his Part I: the madness of Don Quixote and the adventures he shared with his servant companion Sancho Panza. These matters have given rise to many studies, of which the following two are representative. Salvador de Madariaga is still worth reading for his pioneering analysis of the ever-evolving relationship between Don Quixote and Sancho as well as for his chapters on two more important characters in Part I: Dorotea and Cardenio. Regarding Don Quixote's madness, Madariaga describes the manner in which it is soon laid to one side and has thus inevitably become a sort of 'enemy within'. The gnawing doubt that is simply harsh reality will stalk Don Quixote until he can truly be said to have recovered his senses.[53] Sancho accompanies this process and develops into a second Quixote, or Don Quixote in another key.[54]

Many have been the attempts to describe and explain the psychology of Don Quixote. Carroll Johnson's is recommended as one of the most stimulating. In Johnson's view of the madness we have a reading grounded in the psychology of the male climacteric. Don Quixote is the man who cannot master his middle age upsurge of sexuality presently directed towards a forbidden object: his own niece. He attempts escape in vicarious chivalric pseudo-adventures, and having failed despite plunging into his chivalric reading, he is forced to flee his home. By now, desperate, he creates a fantasy knight's lady, Dulcinea. She has no effect either as abstraction or as a reality. Carried home in his cage at the end of Part I, he is returning to the place he has fled, and condemned yet again to the proximity of his niece.[55]

The relationship between Don Quixote and Sancho, ever closer as the narrative of Part I advances, has an innocence that is to be blown away in the course of Part II. The Duke and Duchess drive a wedge between knight and squire that 'has the effect of institutionalizing an adversarial relationship between the two which lasts until chapter seventy-two'.[56] Sancho remains a chivalric squire throughout Part II, but the questionable renown won by our heroes has changed their relations with the chivalric world. Many critics have seen Part II as the process whereby Don Quixote regains his reason. Certainly this happens eventually. But when? And how? Edwin Williamson has suggested that much more important is Cervantes's single-minded determination to place before Don Quixote an endless series of compensations that leave his chivalric world in place. They supply constantly a comic energy the story requires.[57] Howard Mancing sees Part I as a vast comic adventure yet 'the very use of the word adventure becomes problematic during Don Quixote's third sally'.[58] The Don Quixote and Sancho Panza of Part II remain capable of being forceful individuals, and yet they show as well a sense of helplessness most obviously in the ducal palace, in Barcelona, in the cave of Montesinos,

[53] Madariaga, pp. 81–139.
[54] Madariaga, *Don Quixote*, pp. 121–46.
[55] Johnson, pp. 135–6.
[56] Johnson, p. 179.
[57] Williamson, pp. 166–73.
[58] Mancing, p. 167.

and in Sancho's pit. After all, if Henry Sullivan in his mythic and theological reading of Part II titled *Grotesque Purgatory* is right, these last two events are a double catabasis and a Purgatory in this life for master and man. The degree of impotence portrayed by Don Quixote and Sancho in Part II for many will contradict the view of the book offered by Castro's essay on the Prologues in *Hacia Cervantes*. For Castro, Don Quixote sets out from home to seek adventures, and the chivalric heroism he chooses to imitate is a mere framework to express his extreme individuality.[59] Avalle-Arce and Riley echo Castro, showing Don Quixote's intent to make life a work of art, knowing full well that life is a dream, but living it all the while as if this were not so.[60]

The books of chivalry fade away and so too does the picaresque, according to Castro's late study, *Cervantes y los casticismos españoles* (1966), that purports to see off *Guzmán de Alfarache* as serious rival to *Don Quixote* in what some critics have seen as the dawn of the modern novel.[61] Detractors of the *Guzmán* like Castro see the confrontation between Don Quixote and Ginés de Pasamonte in I.22 as a victory for Cervantes's many-sided genius, as well as his rejection of first person narrative. Peter Dunn in his impressive reassessment of the Spanish picaresque novel regards a supposed enmity between *Guzmán de Alfarache* and *Don Quixote* as a distraction, leaving the *Guzmán* as a masterpiece the reading of which enabled Cervantes to discover the course he himself should take.[62]

This leaves the third and possibly the most fruitful of his inspirational modes, the pastoral; on the face of it the most unlikely of the three. Cervantes, who mocks the pastoral novel but rarely, and most notably in *Rinconete*, never does so in the *Quixote*. So, Castro tells us, Cervantes turns his back on the city and sets out into the countryside 'in search of goatherds, of Marcelas, of transhumant flocks, of windmills'.[63]

Don Quixote's three sallies have one obvious similarity in that they represent his will to fame and glory. At the same time his intention to take part in jousting at Zaragoza, an urban space, is in blunt contradiction to the pastoral ideal, given that 'the dominant idea of pastoral is a search for simplicity away from a complexity represented either by a specific location . . . from which the refuge is in a rural retreat of Arcadia; or from a specific period of individual existence'.[64] Zaragoza or Barcelona leads us back into the picaresque mode. An alternative urban myth now threatens. Of course Barcelona represents Cervantes's will to vengeance over the Aragonese usurper, but for his knight, visiting the city of Barcelona is a kind of apotheosis. Everything there transpires to make him feel feted, admired, exalted, and yet at the same time, on a mythic and psychotic level, he and Sancho are no longer what they were. This interplay of strength and weakness is delicately described by L.A. Murillo in his mythic reading of the closing chapters of Part II.[65]

Cervantes penned his dedication in *Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda* four days before he died. The most obvious sign of haste lies in the organization of the book: in four parts of which Part I is 100 pages and Part II eighty pages, while Parts III and IV are

[59] Castro, *Hacia Cervantes*, pp. 250–2.
[60] Avalle-Arce and Riley, '*Don Quijote*', pp. 47–59.
[61] Castro, *Cervantes* . . . , pp. 42–82.
[62] Dunn, *Spanish Picaresque* . . . , pp. 208–20.
[63] Castro, *Cervantes* . . . , p. 145.
[64] Marinelli, p. 11.
[65] Murillo, pp. 138–57.

forty and sixty pages long, respectively. We know that Cervantes's model and inspiration was the Greek Byzantine romance, *Aithiopika* [*Ethiopian Story*] by Heliodorus (*c.*250–380), that relates the history of the loves of Theagenes and Chariclea.

As he himself made perfectly clear, Cervantes set great store by this, his last work of the imagination published posthumously in 1617. Had he lived a little longer, he would have been gratified by the book's success but he would have experienced profound chagrin thereafter by the way in which it became, by the nineteenth century, a forgotten work. Among the notable twentieth-century critical defenders of the *Persiles*, Casalduero, who is peculiarly, as well as fruitfully, sanguine concerning any work by Cervantes, and Avalle-Arce, stand out. In his final book-length Cervantine study, Casalduero has caught an aspect of the work to which some other commentators have perhaps been impervious: the poetry present in the overall structure of *Persiles*. Casalduero has used a recapitulation of Cervantes's romance to show how this book can be seen to complete a view of our author's lived experience. The polarity that is his life is displayed in *Don Quixote*, Part I and summed up in the speeches on the Golden Age and Arms and Letters. His *Novelas ejemplares*, *Don Quixote*, Part II, and *Persiles* go far beyond the single individual in order to present us and complete for us a vast picture of mankind and society.[66] For Avalle-Arce, *Persiles* is explained by a theory opposed to that of Casalduero; *Don Quixote* the book had explored sufficiently perspectivism and relativism as literary devices. *Persiles* confronts the absolute as material for prose fiction. Here, Cervantes's new imperative is one of certainties and absolute truths.[67] Cervantes had neither wish nor need to repeat the *Quixote*. For this reason, we have the *Persiles*. Having read the romance and its critics, new readers may have no cause to take part in this dispute. On the other hand, even if they feel tempted to join the ranks of the defenders, their elders are not always helpful.

Alban Forcione's two books make for instructive and fascinating reading, but do nothing for the reputation of Cervantes's romance. We are informed that souls reach God via a great chain of being which is metaphorical and ends in Heaven or in Hell. The problem is that in *Persiles* the elect are too easily identifiable and the narrative marks them out early. Periandro, Auristela, and their party are received in Lisbon like royalty. They are, of course, royal but nobody is supposed to know. Their path is already triumphant. According to Forcione the early episodes related in Part III of *Persiles* 'establish the tone of comedy that predominates throughout the rest of the work'.[68] However, Ángel del Río observes that the tone of comedy in *Persiles*, the humour that any comic epic must possess, 'has a very secondary role, purely circumstantial'.[69]

Avalle-Arce. Casalduero, El Saffar, Wilson, Bandera, Randel, Beringer, and others would all concur that we have come a long way from a climate in which Menéndez Pelayo felt able to describe *Persiles* as a sign of premature senility on Cervantes's part. Indeed, it now seems clear that Parts III and IV were composed at the same time as the true

[66] Casalduero, *Sentido y forma de Los Trabajos*…, pp. 283–5.
[67] Avalle-Arce, *Nuevos deslindes*…, pp. 63–5.
[68] Forcione, *Cervantes's Christian*…, p. 85.
[69] Río, I, p. 503.

Don Quixote, Part II. This in itself creates an inviting question mark for the twenty-first century, which in turn leads on to yet another. Spanish Golden Age literature has frequently been taxed for a failure to produce a work that could be considered a truly major secondary epic. That is to say, there has been no Milton, no Camões, no Tasso, no Ariosto (*pace* the Italian's considerable influence on Cervantes discussed elsewhere in this volume), and of course, no Dante—or so we have been led to believe. But in these early years of the twenty-first century we are being invited, surely, to consider the possibility that the *Persiles* has provided what hitherto has been lacking: and so, Cervantes's mediocre romance may come to be seen as the Divine Comedy of Baroque Europe. Cervantine criticism of this new century, sooner or later, will deliver its verdict.

I have chosen to write this survey of Cervantine criticism up to the close of the twentieth century in the form of a single essay in order to provide an accessible, readable approach to a vast topic for the general reader as well as the specialist. With a single exception, the critical fortunes of Cervantes's works are treated here in the order in which they were originally published. I have tried to give an account of the connectedness of the various works as Cervantes produced them. This seems to me particularly necessary in the case of *Don Quixote*, Part I, given that its lengthy gestation appears to coincide with Cervantes's appropriation and transformation of the Italian *novella*.

Works Cited

Allen, John J. *Don Quixote*: *Hero or Fool? A Study in Narrative Technique* (Gainesville: University of Florida, 1971).

Allen, John J. *Don Quixote: Hero or Fool? Part Two* (Gainesville: University of Florida, 1979).

Ascunce Arrieta, José Ángel. *Los quijotes del* Quijote. *Historia de una aventura creativa* (Kassel: Edition Reichenberger, 1997).

Asensio, Eugenio. 'Entremeses'. In *Suma Cervantina*, edited by Juan Bautista Avalle-Arce and E.C. Riley (London: Tamesis Books, 1973), pp. 171–97.

Asensio, Eugenio. *Itinerario del entremés: desde Lope de Rueda a Quiñones de Benavente* (Madrid: Gredos, 1965).

Auerbach, Erich. *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature*, translated by Willard R. Trask (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1974).

Avalle-Arce, J.B. *Nuevos deslindes cervantinos* (Barcelona: Ariel, 1975).

Avalle-Arce, Juan Bautista and E.C. Riley. '*Don Quijote*'. In *Suma Cervantina*, edited by Avalle-Arce and Riley (London: Tamesis Books, 1973), pp. 47–79.

Avellaneda, Alonso Fernández de. *El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha, que contiene su tercera salida y es la quinta parte de sus aventuras*, edited by Fernando García Salinero (Madrid: Editorial Castalia, 1980).

Aylward, E.T. *Towards a Revaluation of Avellaneda's False* Quixote (Newark, Delaware: Juan de la Cuesta, 1989).

Azorín. *La ruta de Don Quijote* (Madrid: Cátedra, 2005).

Bandera, Cesáreo. *Mimesis conflictiva: Ficción literaria y violencia en Cervantes y Calderón* (Madrid: Gredos, 1975).

Beer, Gillian. *The Romance* (London: Methuen, 1970).

Beringer, Arthur A. '*Persiles* and the Time Labyrinth'. *Hispanófila* 41, no.1 (1971): pp. 1–11.

Bloom, Harold. *The Western Canon: The Books and School of the Ages* (New York: Riverhead Books, 1995).
Burton, A.P. 'Cervantes the man seen through English eyes in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries'. *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 45, no.1 (1968): pp. 1–5.
Byron, William. *Cervantes: A Biography* (London: Cassell, 1979).
Canavaggio, Jean. *Cervantes*, translated by J.R. Jones (New York: W.W. Norton, 1990).
Canavaggio, Jean. *Cervantès dramaturge: un theatre à naître* (Paris: Presses Universitaires, 1977).
Canavaggio, Jean. *La invención de la novela* (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 1999).
Casalduero, Joaquín. 'La Galatea'. In *Suma Cervantina*, edited by Juan Bautista Avalle-Arce and E.C. Riley (London: Tamesis Books, 1973), pp. 27–46.
Casalduero, Joaquín. *Sentido y forma de las* Novelas ejemplares (Buenos Aires: Instituto de Filología, 1943).
Casalduero, Joaquín. *Sentido y forma de* Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, 1947).
Casalduero, Joaquín. *Sentido y forma del* Quijote (Madrid: Ediciones Ínsula, 1949).
Casalduero, Joaquín. *Sentido y forma del teatro de Cervantes* (Madrid: Aguilar, 1951).
Castro, Américo. 'Algunas observaciones acerca del concepto del honor en los siglos XVI y XVII'. *Revista de filología española* 3 (1916): pp. 1–50.
Castro, Américo. *Cervantes y los casticismos españoles* (Madrid-Barcelona: Alfaguara, 1966).
Castro, Américo. *El pensamiento de Cervantes* (Barcelona-Madrid: Editorial Noguer, 1973).
Castro, Américo. *Hacia Cervantes* (Madrid: Taurus, 1960).
Cervantes, Miguel de. *Don Quijote*, edited by Diego Clemencín, 6 vols (Madrid: D.E. Aguado, 1833–9).
Cervantes, Miguel de. *El ingenioso hidalgo don Quijote de la Mancha*, edited by Luis Andrés Murillo, 3 vols (Madrid: Castalia, 1978).
Cervantes, Miguel de. *El ingenioso hidalgo don Quijote de la Mancha*, edited by Juan Antonio Pellicer, 5 vols (Madrid: Gabriel de Sancha, 1797–98).
Cervantes, Miguel de. *Historia del famoso caballero Don Quixote de la Mancha*, edited by John Bowle, 6 vols (London and Salisbury, 1781).
Cervantes, Miguel de. *La Galatea*, edited by Francisco López Estrada y María Teresa López García-Berdoy (Madrid: Cátedra, 1995).
Cervantes, Miguel de. *Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda*, edited by Juan Batista Avalle-Arce (Madrid: Castalia, 1969).
Cervantes, Miguel de. *Novelas ejemplares*, edited by Harry Sieber, 2 vols (Madrid: Cátedra, 1981).
Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de. *Obras Completas*, edited by R. Schevill y A. Bonilla, 18 vols (Madrid: Imprenta de Bernardo Rodríguez, Gráficas Reunidas, 1914–41).
Cervantes, Miguel de. *Poesías completas, Viaje del Parnaso y Adjunta al Parnaso*, edited by Vicente Gaos (Madrid: Castalia, 1980).
Cervantes, Miguel de. *Teatro Completo*, edited by Florencio Sevilla Arroyo and Antonio Rey Hazas (Barcelona: Planeta, 1987).
Cervantes, Miguel de. *Viage del Parnaso y poesías varias*, edited by Elias L. Rivers (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1991).
Close, Anthony. *Cervantes and the Comic Mind of His Age* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).
Close, Anthony. 'La crítica del *Quijote* desde 1925 hasta ahora'. In *Cervantes*, edited by Pablo Jauralde Pou, et. al. (Madrid: Centro de estudios cervantinos, 1995), pp 311–33.

Close, Anthony. *The Romantic Approach to* Don Quixote (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978).
Damiani, Bruno. 'The Rhetoric of Death in La Galatea'. In *La Galatea de Cervantes-cuatrocientos anōs después (Cervantes y lo pastoril)*, edited by Juan Bautista Avalle-Arce (Newark: Juan de la Cuesta, 1985), pp. 53–70.
Díez Borque, José María (ed.), *Historia del teatro en España,* 2 vols (Madrid: Taurus, 1983).
Doody, Margaret Anne. *The True Story of the Novel* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1997).
Dudley, Edward. 'Don Quijote as Magus: the Rhetoric of Interpolation'. *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 49 no. 4 (1972): pp. 355–68.
Dunn, Peter N. 'Las *Novelas ejemplares*'. In *Suma Cervantina*, edited by Juan Bautista Avalle-Arce and E.C. Riley (London: Tamesis Books, 1973), pp. 81–118.
Dunn, Peter N. *Spanish Picaresque Fiction: A New Literary History* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1993).
Durán, Manuel. *La Ambiguedad en el* Quijote (Xalapa: Universidad Veracruzana, 1960).
Eisenberg, Daniel. *Estudios cervantinos* (Barcelona: Sirmio, 1991).
El Saffar, Ruth. *Beyond Fiction: The Recovery of the Feminine in the Novels of Cervantes* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1984).
El Saffar, Ruth. *Distance and Control in* Don Quixote (Chapel Hill: Department of Romance Languages, 1975).
El Saffar, Ruth. *Novel to Romance: A Study of Cervantes's* Novelas ejemplares (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1974).
Fielding, Henry. *Joseph Andrews* (London: Dent, 1962).
Finello, Dominick. *Pastoral Themes and Forms in Cervantes's Fiction* (Lewisberg: Bucknell University, 1994).
Flores, R.M. 'Cervantes at Work: The Writing of *Don Quixote* Part I'. *Journal of Hispanic Philology* 3 (1979): pp. 135–60.
Forcione, Alban K. *Cervantes, Aristotle and the* Persiles (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970).
Forcione, Alban K. *Cervantes's Christian Romance: A Study of* Persiles y Sigismunda (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972).
Friedman, Edward H. *The Unifying Concept: Approaches to the Structure of Cervantes's* Comedias (York, SC: Spanish Literature Publications Company, 1981).
Froldi, Rinaldo. *Lope de Vega y la formación de la Comedia* (Madrid: Anaya, 1968).
Gaos, Vicente. *Cervantes: Novelista, dramaturgo, poeta* (Barcelona: Planeta, 1979).
Gaultier, Jules de. *Le Bovarysme* (Paris: Mercure de la France, 1902).
Gilman, Stephen. *Cervantes y Avellaneda: estudio de una imitación* (México: El Colegio de Mexico, 1951).
Girard, René. *Mensonge romantique et vérité romanesque* (Paris: Grasset, 1961).
Guillén, Claudio (ed). *Cervantes* (Madrid: Centro de estudios cervantinos, 1995).
Haley, George. 'The Narrator in *Don Quijote*: Maese Pedro's Puppet Show'. *Modern Language Notes* 80, no. 2 (1965): pp. 145–65.
Hart, Thomas R. *Cervantes's Exemplary Fictions: A Study of the* Novelas ejemplares (Kentucky: Lexington University Press, 1994).
Hermenegildo, Afredo. *La* Numancia *de Cervantes* (Madrid: Sociedad General Española de Librería, 1976).

Horst, Robert ter. *The Fortunes of the Novel: A Study in the Transposition of a Genre* (New York: Peter Lang, 2003).
Ife, B.W. *Reading and Fiction in the Golden Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).
Iffland, James. *De fiestas y aguafiestas: risa, locura, e ideología en Cervantes y Avellaneda* (Madrid/Frankfurt: Universidad de Navarra/Vervuert, 1989).
Johnson, Carroll B. *Madness and Lust: A Psychoanalytical Approach to* Don Quixote (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1983).
Jump, John D. *Burlesque* (London: Methuen, 1972).
Lathrop, Tom. *Don Quixote Dictionary* (Newark, DE: Juan de la Cuesta, 1999).
Lope de Vega. *Epistolario*, edited by A. G. de Amezúa, 4 vols (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1961).
Lukács, Georg. *The Theory of the Novel,* translated by Anna Bostock (London: Merlin Press, 1971).
Madariaga, Salvador de. Don Quixote*: An introductory essay in Psychology* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1935).
Madariaga, Salvador de. *Guía del lector del* Quijote (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, 1941). First published in 1926.
Mancing, Howard. *The Chivalric World of* Don Quijote: *Style, Structure, and Narrative Technique* (Columbia & London: University of Missouri Press, 1982).
Marías, Julián. 'Introducción'. In *Meditaciones del* Quijote by José Ortega y Gasset (Madrid: Ediciones de la Universidad de Puerto Rico, 1957), pp. ix–xxviii.
Marinelli, Peter V. *Pastoral* (London: Methuen, 1971).
McKendrick, Melveena. *Cervantes* (Boston and Toronto: Little, Brown & Company, 1980).
McKendrick, Melveena. *Theatre in Spain: 1490–1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).
McKendrick, Melveena. *Women and Society in the Spanish Drama of the Golden Age: A Study of the* mujer varonil (London: Cambridge University Press, 1974).
Menéndez Pidal, Ramón. *De Cervantes y Lope de Vega* (Buenos Aires and México: Austral, 1945).
Micó, José María. 'Prosas y prisas en 1604: El *Quijote*, el *Guzmán* y *La Pícara Justina*'. In *Hommage à Robert Jammes*, edited by F. Cerdan, 3 vols (Toulouse: Presses Universitaires de Mirail, 1994), vol. 3, pp. 827–48.
Murillo, L.A. *The Golden Dial: Temporal configuration in* Don Quijote (Oxford: Dolphin, 1975).
Nerlich, Michael. *El 'Persiles' descodificado, o la Divina Comedia de Cervantes* (Madrid: Ediciones Hisperión, 2005).
Ortega y Gasset, José. *Meditaciones del* Quijote (Madrid: Ediciones de la Universidad de Puerto Rico, 1957).
Parker, A.A. 'Fielding and the Structure of Don Quixote'. *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 33, no. 1 (1956): pp. 1–16.
Parr, James A. Don Quixote*: An Anatomy of Subversive Discourse* (Newark, DE: Juan de la Cuesta, 1988).
Ponseti, Helena Percas de. *Cervantes y su concepto de su arte: estudio crítico de algunos aspectos y episodios del* Quijote*,* 2 vols (Madrid: Gredos, 1975).
Randel, Mary Gaylord. 'Ending and Meaning in Cervantes's *Persiles y Sigismunda*'. *Romanic Review* 74, no. 2 (1983): pp. 152–69.
Redondo, Agustín. *Otra manera de leer el* Quijote (Madrid: Castalia, 1999).
Ricapito, Joseph V. *Cervantes's* Novelas ejemplares*: Between History and Creativity* (West Lafayette, Indiana: Purdue University Press, 1996).
Riley, E.C. *Cervantes's Theory of the Novel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968).

Riley, E.C. *Don Quixote* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1986).
Rio, Ángel del. *Historia de la literatura española*, 2 vols (Barcelona: Bruguera, 1982).
Riquer, Martín de. *Para leer a Cervantes* (Barcelona: Acantilado, 2003).
Rivers, Elias L. '*Viaje del Parnaso* y poesías sueltas'. In *Suma Cervantina*, edited by Juan Bautista Avalle-Arce and E.C. Riley (London: Tamesis Books, 1973), pp. 119–246.
Rodríguez, Alberto. *La conversación en el* Quijote: *subdiálogo, memoria y asimetría* (York, SC: Spanish Literary Publications, 1995).
Rojas, Ricardo. *Poesías de Cervantes: compiladas y prologadas* (Buenos Aires: Coni Hermanos, 1916).
Rosales, Luis. *Cervantes y la Libertad*, 2 vols (Madrid: Sociedad de Estudios y Publicaciones, 1960).
Rosenblat, Ángel. *La lengua del* Quijote (Madrid: Gredos, 1971).
Russell, P.E. 'Don Quixote *as a funny book*'. In *Modern Language Review*, 64 (1969): pp. 312–26.
Sicroff, Albert A. 'Entorno al *Quijote* como obra cómica'. In *Actas del II Coloquio Internacional de la Asociación de Cervantistas* (i: Anthropos, 1991), pp. 353–66.
Solé-Leris, Amadeu. *The Spanish Pastoral Novel* (Boston: Twayne, 1980).
Spitzer, Leo. *Linguística e historia literaria* (Madrid: Gredos, 1955).
Stagg, Geoffrey. 'Revision in Don Quixote Part I'. In *Hispanic Studies in Honour of Ignacio González Llubera*, edited by Frank Pierce (Oxford: Dolphin, 1959), pp. 347–66.
Stamm, James. '*La Galatea* y el concepto de género: un acercamiento'. In *Cervantes: su obra y su mundo. Actas de I Congreso Internacional sobre Cervantes*, edited by Manuel Criado de Val (1981): pp. 337–43.
Sullivan, Henry W. *Grotesque Purgatory: A Study of Cervantes's* Don Quixote, *Part II* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996).
Surtz, Ronald E., Jaime Ferrán, and Daniel P. Testa, editors. *Américo Castro: The Impact of His Thought* (Madison: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1988).
Unamuno, Miguel de. 'La vida de Don Quijote y Sancho'. In *Obras completas* (Madrid: Afrodisio Aguado, 1958), IV, pp. 7–384.
Valbuena Prat, Ángel. *El teatro español en su Siglo de Oro* (Barcelona: Planeta, 1969).
Wardropper, Bruce W. 'Comedias'. In *Suma Cervantina*, edited by J.B. Avalle-Arce y E.C. Riley (London: Tamesis Books, 1973), pp. 147–69.
Wardropper, Bruce W. '*Don Quixote*: Story or History'. In *Modern Philology* 63, no. 1 (1965): pp. 1–11.
Wardropper, Bruce W. 'The Pertinence of El *curioso impertinente*'. *Papers of the Modern Language Association* 72, no. 4 (1957): pp. 587–600.
Weiger, John G. *In the Margins of Cervantes* (Hanover, ME: University Press of New England, 1988).
Weiger, John G. *The Substance of Cervantes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).
Williamson, Edwin. *El* Quijote *y los libros de caballerías*, translated by M. Jesús Fernández Prieto (Madrid: Taurus, 1991).
Wilson, Diana de Armas. *Allegories of Love: Cervantes's* Persiles and Sigismunda (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991).
Wilson, M. and Duncan, Moir. *The Golden Age Drama 1492–1700* (London: Ernest Benn, 1971).
Zimic, Stanislav. *El teatro de Cervantes* (Madrid: Castalia, 1992).

CHAPTER 31

CERVANTINE CRITICISM SINCE 2000 AND INTO THE FUTURE

BRUCE R. BURNINGHAM
Illinois State University

The past two decades have seen an explosion in Cervantes scholarship. Indeed, it would perhaps not be an exaggeration to suggest that the last twenty years arguably represent *the* Golden Age of Cervantes criticism. Such a declaration may seem a bit rash to readers who rightly revere the pioneering work of Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo, Miguel de Unamuno, José Ortega y Gasset, Ramón Menéndez Pidal, Rudolph Schevill, and others. And this is not to mention the important work of later twentieth-century scholars like John J. Allen, Juan Bautista Avalle-Arce, Jean Canavaggio, Américo Castro, Anthony Close, Anne Cruz, Manuel Durán, Ruth El Saffar, Alban Forcione, Mary Gaylord, Michael Gerli, Carroll Johnson, Francisco Márquez Villanueva, Luis Murillo, James Parr, Helena Percas de Ponseti, Augustin Redondo, Francisco Rico, and Martín de Riquer (among many, many others far too numerous to mention here). But consider the numbers. A recent search of the Modern Language Association (MLA) online *International Bibliography* reveals a significant development. As of April 2017, the total number of entries listed for the subject heading 'Miguel de Cervantes' was 7,611. Of these, slightly less than half (i.e. 3,769) were published during the roughly 100 years between 1888 and 1996, while slightly more than half (i.e. 3,968) have been published during the last two decades. In other words, during the last twenty years, the body of Cervantes knowledge has more than doubled, greatly expanding our variety of critical perspectives along the way; this is undoubtedly why the Modern Language Association took the unusual step in 2015 of issuing a completely new 'second edition' of its *Approaches to Teaching Cervantes's* Don Quixote (co-edited by James Parr and Lisa Vollendorf) to stand alongside the original 1984 first edition.

Such exponential growth in the sheer volume of Cervantes scholarship is likely due to several factors. The first of these is the obvious rise of the research university in the

mid-twentieth century, which compelled scholars to publish in always greater and greater numbers. The second is the arrival of the 'information revolution' that also occurred between 1950 and 2000—with the significant coming online of the worldwide web in the 1990s—which made it easier for researchers not only to access previous scholarship, but also to produce and disseminate new scholarship via an ever-growing network of scholarly venues, including electronic journals. The third is the series of commemorations held during the last quarter-century that not only marked the 'centennial' anniversary of one or another historical event related to the Iberian Peninsula, but also contributed to the current wave of post-conference publications.

Any attempt to survey adequately the totality of this vast scholarly terrain in the space of these few pages would be impossible. What I propose, therefore, is an approach that is both more modest and more manageable. In what follows, I will outline what I think are the major new and emerging trends in Cervantes scholarship since 2000, highlighting and glossing specific publications only as necessary to provide context for the bigger picture. Before doing so, however, several caveats are in order. First, while much of what follows will largely apply to *Don Quixote* above all (given this particular text's unparalleled prominence in the field), it is also germane to the rest of Cervantes's works. Moreover, various developments in one area often overlap with those in another. Second, given that this brief survey in no way attempts to comprise an exhaustive treatment of everything published since 2000, my decision to highlight certain trends to the exclusion of others should not be understood to mean that I consider those excluded approaches to be unimportant; only that the limited space allotted for this essay obliges me to leave out a great many things that I would otherwise include. Indeed, a great number of the several thousand books and articles published on Cervantes since the turn of the new millennium continue to cultivate fields—from philology to narratology, from new historicism to cultural studies, from genre theory to gender theory—that were established in previous decades.[1] Third, and in that regard, I will candidly acknowledge here that my particular selection of topics and scholarly texts is somewhat idiosyncratic, and that as I survey the field, I necessarily focus on those trends that have attracted my own attention. A different Cervantes scholar undertaking a similar overview of the field might very well organize this material differently.[2]

[1] Prominent examples of important scholarship that continues to build on pre-2000 trends include: Boruchoff, 'Free Will…' and 'On the Place of Madness…'; Clamurro; Fine, *Una lectura semiótico-narratológica*…; Garrido Domínguez; Gil-Oslé, *Amistades imperfectas*…; Lozano-Renieblas, 'Género…'; Márquez Villanueva; Presberg; Rico, 'Poética…', *Tiempos del* Quijote, and 'El título…'; Ruhe, 'Prekäre Exemplarität…'; Shuger; Syrovy; and Zimic.

[2] Also among the published material of the past two decades are several important reference volumes and new editions and/or translations. Notable reference volumes include: Astrana Marín and Sliwa; Boyd; Cascardi, *The Cambridge Companion*…; Close; Fernández, Jaime; Mancing; Sliwa; and Urbina, *Bibliografía*…; among others. New editions and translations include: Allen; Grossman; Lathrop; Parr and Fajardo; Rico; and Rutherford.

Across the Centuries

The first major new trend of the past two decades relates to what I would call an 'across the centuries' framework. This trend, of course, grew out of the several Cervantine celebrations mentioned above, beginning in 2005 with the 400th anniversary of the publication of Part I of *Don Quixote*. Many of the resulting 'across the centuries' publications consist of edited volumes of collected essays that were perhaps delivered at one or another symposium dedicated to this commemorative year. For instance, John Gabriele's *1605–2005: Don Quixote Across the Centuries* and Carroll Johnson's *Don Quijote Across Four Centuries: 1605–2005* both grew out of conferences held at the College of Wooster (Ohio) and UCLA, respectively. Other significant volumes include Zenia Sacks's Da Silva's *Don Quixote: The First 400 Years*, Klaus-Dieter Ertler and Alejandro Rodríguez Díaz's *El* Quijote *hoy: La riqueza de su recepción* [*The* Quixote *Today: The Richness of Its Reception*], and Augustin Redondo's *Releyendo el* Quijote*, cuatrocientos años después* [*Re-Reading the* Quixote*, Four Hundred Years Later*].[3]

I mention this particular trend first because it is indicative of a certain *zeitgeist* related to our current era of Cervantes scholarship. When the 300th anniversary of *Don Quixote* rolled around at the beginning of the twentieth century, there was really no worldwide academic Cervantes 'industry' to speak of. Indeed, while it is certainly true that the *MLA International Bibliography* is far from comprehensive, this database nevertheless lists a total of *only* eighteen scholarly articles published on Cervantes between 1900 and 1920, three of which were written by Rudolph Schevill, and none of which seem directly related to the 300th anniversary. Spaniards, of course, were intensely interested in the 1905 anniversary, but Spain's collective interest was largely wrapped up in the project of the 'Generation of 1898' and had a great deal to do with Spanish nationalism in the aftermath of the Spanish-American war. By comparison, our current interest in all things Cervantine is much more focused on the question of what it means to read Cervantes in a globalized world defined by instant—and incessant—communication. Still, as both José Manuel Lucía Megías's recent Cervantes biographies and numerous journalistic media stories on the excavation of Cervantes's mortal remains attest, there is still a great deal of public interest in the man and his times.[4]

Cervantes and the Americas

Closely related to the 'across the centuries' trend is one that also emerged in the wake of a significant commemoration year: the 1992 fifth centennial of Christopher Columbus's first voyage to the Americas. As Cervantes scholars turned their attention to the first of

[3] See also Blue and Parr; Chen Sham; La Rubia Prado; Parr, 'Celebrating 400 years…'; and Sagastume.
[4] See Lucía Megías, *La juventud de Cervantes*, *La madurez de Cervantes* and *La plenitud de Cervantes*.

many Cervantine milestones between 2005 and 2017, their thoughts still lingered on the continued impact of the Columbian 'encounter' on both the world of Cervantes and on our contemporary culture. In this regard, several post-2000 'Cervantes and the Americas' symposia and publications grew out of this still-relevant topic. Notable works here include Diana de Armas Wilson's *Cervantes, the Novel, and the New World*, which not only anticipated later works like Julio Vélez-Sainz and Nieves Romero-Díaz's *Cervantes and/on/in the New World*, but also participated in the larger academic conversation about 'transatlantic' studies, particularly in the United States where the previous four decades had seen the growing importance of Latin American literature and culture within US Hispanism.[5] Taking as a point of departure Cervantes's stated interest in 1590 in travelling to the New World,[6] this 'Americas' scholarship examines the many ways in which, to quote Wilson, 'the Cervantine novel had multiple ties to the New World colonial adventure',[7] from the triangular relationship between *Don Quixote*, the medieval romances of chivalry, and the early *crónicas de indias* [chronicles of the Indies] to the representation of what Michael Armstrong-Roche has called 'Europe as Barbaric New World' in *Persiles y Sigismunda*;[8] from the discourse of seafaring empire in the 'Enchanted Bark' episode of *Don Quixote*[9] to Don Quixote as an important character, as Rogelio Miñana has observed, in the contemporary social justice street theatre of São Paolo, Brazil.[10] Closely related are also several publications on cartography and Cervantes, including (among others) Simone Pinet's *Archipelagoes: Insular Fictions from Chivalric Romance to the Novel*.[11]

Cervantes, Islam, and the Mediterranean

Another trend, one that emerged due to unexpected historical events, is the intense focus dedicated to the Islamic world in the wake of the terrorist attacks in New York on 11 September 2001 and the subsequent attacks in Madrid on 11 March 2004. For Hispanists in general, such a focus—which forms part of the larger field of 'alterity studies'—has played out in an examination of Al-Andalus and its cultural impact on the Spanish-speaking world. For Cervantes scholars in particular, as with the backdrop of the 'Columbian encounter' that informs the aforementioned work on the New World, this focus on Islam has often resulted in an analysis of various Muslim characters in

[5] Regarding this 'Americas' trend, see also Adorno; and Correa-Díaz and Moreno.
[6] Vélez-Sainz and Romero-Díaz, p. 7. [7] Wilson, p. 10.
[8] Armstrong-Roche, *Cervantes' Epic Novel*…, pp. 33–110.
[9] See Burningham, 'Os Manchíadas'; and Smith, Wendell.
[10] See Miñana, 'The Don Quixote of the Streets'. See also Iffland, 'Mangled…'.
[11] See also Alonso, 'Cervantes y los mapas…'; Lewis; and Pinet, 'On the Subject…' and '*Theatrum Mundi*…'.

Cervantes's works (not the least of which for *Don Quixote* is Cide Hamete Benengeli, but also the protagonist of the 'Captive's Tale' in Part I and of Ricote in Part II). Works like Ruth Fine and Santiago López Navia's *Cervantes y las religiones*, as well as several articles by Luce López Baralt, Carlos Mata Indurain, and Michael McGaha, are important examples.[12] Also important are those scholarly works that explore Cervantes's own personal relationship to Islam through his five years of captivity in Algeria. María Antonia Garcés's ground-breaking *Cervantes in Algiers: A Captive's Tale* is certainly one of the centrepieces of the turn to Islam, but so too is Barbara Fuchs's pioneering work in *Mimesis and Empire* (which connects the topic of Islam to the topic of the Americas in its analysis of the construction of European identities) and in Fuchs's recent translations of Cervantes's plays, *Los baños de Argel* and *La gran Sultana*.[13] If the horrors of the Holocaust can be said to have given rise, at least partially, to a new interest in Conversos after World War II, the horrific events now called 9–11 and 11–M, respectively, have certainly had a profound impact on the direction of Cervantes scholarship in the early twenty-first century.

Closely related to this focus on Islam is the emergence of 'Mediterranean studies' in Cervantes scholarship. Obviously, Spain's immediate contact with the Islamic world occurred within the Mediterranean basin. Thus, as Javier Irigoyen-García's work demonstrates, most of the Jews and Muslims expelled from Spain beginning in 1492 and culminating in 1609 travelled into various parts of North Africa and the Middle East against the backdrop of the military conflict between the Spanish Habsburgs and the Ottoman Empire.[14] As Garcés notes, 'With the conquest of Granada in 1492 by Ferdinand and Isabella, the Strait of Gibraltar became the southern Spanish frontier, certainly an insufficient boundary between the Christian kingdom of the Iberian peninsula and the Islamic world of North Africa.'[15] Within just such a geopolitical and cultural context, where pirates engaged in a basin-wide strategy of taking political prisoners in order to ransom them, the *modern* notion of 'the Mediterranean' was born. William Childers reminds us, for instance, that Christian captives 'came from as far away as Stockholm, but most were from the northern shore of the Mediterranean'.[16] And Garcés herself points out that the commander of the three pirate galleys that captured Cervantes and transported him to Algiers was an Albanian renegade whose lieutenant was of Greek origin.[17] For scholars interested in this emerging early modern Mediterranean world, Frederick de Armas reminds us that *Don Quixote* 'foregrounds the clash of civilizations

[12] See López Baralt, 'Apostillas árabes…', 'Un morisco Ricote…' and 'El sabio…'; López Baralt and McCabe, 'The Supreme Pen…'; Mata Indurain; and McGaha, 'La Gran Sultana…' and 'Reading *Don Quixote* in Istanbul'; See also Brown; Fine, 'En torno…'; Johnson, Paul Michael, 'Expulsión…'; López Baralt, 'Apostillas árabes…', 'Un morisco Ricote…' and 'El sabio…'; and Lozano-Renieblas, 'Huellas y nostalgias…'.

[13] See also Avilés, 'War and the Material Conditions…'; de Armas, *Don Quixote Among the Saracens*; Díez Fernández, 'Juegos de máscara…' and '"Sin discrepar…'; Fastrup'; Fuchs, *Passing for Spain*; Lezra; and Ohanna, 'Heterodoxos en cautiverio…' and 'Lamentos…'.

[14] See Irigoyen-García, 'Cervantes y la trata de blancas…', 'La expulsión de los moriscos…', '"La música ha sido hereje"…', '"Poco os falta para moros…', and 'El problema morisco…'.

[15] Garcés, p. 19. [16] Childers, p. 40. [17] Garcés, p. 28.

as both a literary clash and a nuanced negotiation'.[18] Indeed, for many scholars, the figure of Cide Hamete Benengeli embodies the early modern amalgamation of Mediterranean cultures; he is the epitome of what Childers calls Spain's 'internal colonization' of the Iberian Peninsula.[19]

Modernity and the Novel

In his book *1493: Uncovering the World Columbus Created*, Charles Mann argues that our now-omnipresent 'age of globalization' really came into being with the Spanish and Portuguese conquest of the New World and with the international markets that these two empires established across the globe, from the Philippines to Mexico City to Seville, from Goa to Lisbon to Rio de Janeiro and all points in between. For Mann, the Columbian encounter was 'one of the establishing events of the modern world'.[20] Thus, one of the other major new trends to emerge in Cervantes scholarship in the wake of our collective post-1992 focus on 500 years of European colonialism and imperialism is the question of 'modernity', and more precisely where Cervantes's work not only fits within the emerging early modern period, but also how it contributes to the arrival of modernity itself. And this exploration of Cervantine modernity divides itself into two interrelated modes: Cervantes's work as a reflection of the sixteenth century's emerging modernity and *Don Quixote* in particular as the 'first modern novel'.[21] Rachel Schmidt, in her 2011 book, *Forms of Modernity:* Don Quixote *and Modern Theories of the Novel* (and particularly in her chapter titled 'Don Quixote and the Problem of Modernity'), engages both modes simultaneous. On one hand, Schmidt notes *Don Quixote*'s thematic preoccupation with anachronism—what she calls 'Don Quixote's clash with modernity'—and argues that 'Don Quixote is conscious of living in a new age, a time that is, in important ways, modern'.[22] On the other hand, Schmidt deliberately problematizes the whole idea that *Don Quixote* is the 'first modern novel'. 'What is a novel?' she asks, 'what constitutes modernity in relationship to prose?', and why choose *Don Quixote* 'as the progenitor of such a diverse and complicated genre?'.[23]

Harold Bloom, of course, who credits William Shakespeare with 'inventing' our modern concept of 'the human' in the tendency of Shakespeare's dramatic characters to overhear themselves and subsequently change,[24] argues that Cervantes's crucial contribution to the invention of the 'modern' lies in his creation of what Mikhail Bakhtin would alternatively call a larger, discursive 'dialogism' or 'heteroglossia' in his monumental novel.[25] Says Bloom: 'Don Quixote and Sancho Panza are each other's ideal conversationalist; they change by listening to each other'.[26] For Eric Graf, Cervantes's 'famous

[18] De Armas, *Don Quixote among the Saracens*…, p. 6. [19] Childers, pp. 3–13.
[20] Mann, p. 8. [21] See also Scholz and Vasas. [22] Schmidt, *Forms of Modernity*…, p. 17.
[23] Schmidt, *Forms of Modernity*…, p. ix. See also Martín Morán.
[24] Bloom, *Shakespeare*…, p. xvii. [25] Bakhtin, p. 324.
[26] Bloom, *The Western Canon*…, p. 134.

"perspectivism"' must be understood 'as a linguistic, aesthetic, [and] philosophical technique' intimately connected to 'what are arguably some of the most important values of modern civilization: social tolerance, feminism, secularism, and materialism'.[27] Likewise, David Quint argues that 'Cervantes mimics and charts the arrival of [the] modern world', such that '*Don Quijote* throughout tells and retells a master narrative of early-modern Europe: the movement from feudalism to the new order of capitalism that will become the realistic domain of the modern novel, the genre this book does so much to invent'.[28] Indeed, Carroll Johnson closely tracks Cervantes's material representation of early modern capitalism in his ground-breaking book *Cervantes and the Material World*, where he identifies 'the socioeconomic issues present in Cervantes's text, and then [provides] enough "thick description" of the relevant historical context to enable a discussion of the fictional text within the context',[29] from Sancho's request for a regular salary in *Don Quixote* to Monipodio's allegorical function as a figure of monopoly capitalism in *Rinconete y Cortadillo*.[30] Coming from a less materialist perspective, William Egginton argues in his 2016 book *The Man Who Invented Fiction* that Cervantes did not just invent the modern novel, but also 'ushered in the modern world'.[31] For Egginton, the duality and dialogism most important to *Don Quixote* are found within the book's readers themselves, who 'occupy two opposed identities simultaneously: a naïve reader who believes what he is being told, and a savvy one who knows it is untrue'.[32]

Science and Technology

Closely related to discussions of Cervantes's impact on the rise of modernity are two other scholarly trends. The first of these focuses its attention on the historical and intellectual context of Cervantes's works, with specific attention to questions of science and technology. Cervantes, of course, was a contemporary of both Galileo and Kepler, and all three worked in the shadow of Copernicus. Noting that Galileo owned a copy of Lorenzo Franciosini's Italian translation of *Don Quixote*, Crystal Hall explores the way in which 'Galileo's constant antagonistic dialogue with the written tradition of Ptolemy . . . and Aristotelian Peripatetics is akin to Cervantes' juxtaposition of the "old" world of chivalry and his contemporary, late-sixteenth-century Spain'.[33] For Hall, Galileo is somewhat analogous to Don Quixote: he 'finds himself at a point of collision between the book culture that described the traditional narrative, and the world of our physical senses. When investigation was aided by new instruments, the sensible world often appeared quite different from the one described in books.'[34] Cory Reed, for his part, explores this very phenomenon (i.e. the shock of new ideas and technologies on

[27] Graf, pp. 33–4, 11.
[28] Quint, p. x. On modernity, see also Bandera; Ciallella; Martín Morán; and Puig.
[29] Johnson, Carroll, *Cervantes and the* . . ., p. 11. [30] See also Leahy. [31] Egginton, p. iii.
[32] Egginton, p. xvi. [33] Hall, p. 104. [34] Hall, p. 107.

traditional culture) when he argues that 'the new Copernican cosmology's challenge to the geocentric universe, the rise of humanism, the development of mechanics, and the modern nation-state's consolidation of political power all informed not only Don Quixote's world but also the changing reality of seventeenth-century Spain'.[35] Likewise, both Grace Burton and Daniel Lorca have analysed the impact of—and, at times, resistance to—the modern, scientific 'scepticism' of authority ushered in by Copernicus.[36] And this is in addition to an essay like B. W. Ife's 'Air Travel in Cervantes' or Chad Gasta's 'Cervantes's Theory of Relativity in *Don Quixote*', where Gasta argues that while Cervantes's novel is most certainly not a direct precursor to Albert Einstein's theory of relativity, it does contain nonetheless elements that anticipate twentieth-century notions regarding what Gasta calls 'the mutability and malleability of space, motion, and time'.[37]

The Neo-Baroque and Postmodernism

The second of these two interconnected 'modernity' trends relates to Cervantes's impact on what is often called the 'neo-baroque', but which also involves 'postmodernism'. While technically published in 1999, Anne Cruz and Carroll Johnson's *Cervantes and his Postmodern Constituencies* really marks the beginning of our post-2000 interest in the topic. Álvaro Ramírez, for instance, notes the Baudrillardian hyperreality at the heart of Don Quixote's three sallies, in which the protagonist 'enters the realm of simulation and the unbound sign, where signification rules'.[38] Likewise, in his study of *mise-en-abyme* in *Don Quixote*, John Gabriele argues that 'Like present-day postmodern fiction, Cervantes's novel challenges the notion of authority, stresses the plurality of form, and undermines the notion of fixity'.[39] Meanwhile, in a series of co-written essays, Barbara Simerka and Christopher Weimer examine the relationship between *Don Quixote* and several postmodern films, including Charlie Kaufman's *Being John Malkovich* and *Adaptation*.[40] As Simerka and Weimer argue, the 'homologies' between Cervantes and Kaufman 'provide a striking example of how the aesthetic and epistemological preoccupations central to cultural production in the early modern period, during which the ideological constructs of modernity first appeared as emergent discourses, have returned to manifest themselves anew in popular art forms of the postmodern period'.[41] And this is not to mention my own work in *Tilting Cervantes* or that of David Castillo

[35] Reed, 'Scientific…', p. 67.
[36] Burton, p. 141; Lorca, p. 115.
[37] Gasta, p. 55.
[38] Ramírez, p. 86. On the Montesino's Cave episode as virtual reality videogame, see Beusterien, 'Reading Cervantes…', p. 430.
[39] Gabriele, 'Narrative Prisms and Prisons…', p. 31.
[40] See Simerka and Weimer, 'Duplicitous Diegesis', '"Ever Want to Be…?"', 'Two Characters…', and 'Don Quixote…'.
[41] Simerka and Weimer, 'Duplicitous…', p. 91.

and William Egginton in their 2017 book *Medialogies: Reading Reality in the Age of Inflationary Media*.

Closer to the original Spanish context, Palmar Álvarez Blanco examines the Cervantine essence underlying much contemporary Spanish fiction, which reveals 'the logic behind the creation of a new paradigm of reality', a paradigm that is 'initially described as a spectacle [but which] ends up occupying the space of everyday life'.[42] Likewise, Philip Swanson's study of the postmodern, Cervantine logic inherent in Latin American detective fiction reveals what he calls the way in which the genre 'problematizes' both reason and reality.[43] Meanwhile, other Cervantine scholarship tied to our current excavation of the baroque includes Rogelio Miñana's *Monstruos que hablan* [*Monsters that Speak*], where he insists that the duality inherent in baroque monstrosity is crucial to understanding the 'multiplicity' of the modern world,[44] and David Castillo's *Baroque Horrors*, where he argues that 'The exceptionality of monsters could lead to a further questioning of norms and social hierarchies, [such that monsters] could be seen as material evidence or living proof of the inadequacy of inherited knowledge and social structures'.[45]

Transnational and International Cervantes

Such developments in the study of Cervantes's connection to the neo-baroque and postmodernism hint at yet another major trend in Cervantes scholarship during the past two decades: 'international' approaches to this most 'Spanish' of authors. Childers does a wonderful job of announcing the essence of this international project (which is 'international' in terms of both scholarly focus and scholarly production) in the opening pages of *Transnational Cervantes*, where he says: 'This book reconfigures Cervantes's place in literary history. Its transnationalizing strategy simultaneously disassociates his work from European post-Enlightenment modernity and connects early modern Spain with other temporalities and geographies'.[46] From this point of departure, Childers goes on to examine everything from Cervantes's impact on the development of Latin American magic realism to Cervantes's at-times thorny connection to the Chicano movement.[47] Likewise, in a collection of essays titled *International Don Quixote*, co-edited by Theo D'haen and Reindert Dhondt, a truly international group of scholars examines Cervantes's impact on works as disparate as those of Ramón Sender, Jorge Luis Borges, Mark Twain, and Paul Auster; and on topics as wide-ranging as the Spanish Civil War, European operatic traditions, and even the stories of Mexico's Subcomandate

[42] Álvarez Blanco, p. 266. [43] Swanson, p. 263.
[44] Miñana, *Monstruos*…, p. 22. [45] Castillo, David, *Baroque Horrors*, p. 21.
[46] Childers, p. ix. [47] Childers, pp. 3–43; 194–222.

Marcos.[48] Meanwhile, Jorge Latorre, Antonio Martínez, and Oleksandr Pronkevich's volume of collected essays titled *El telón rasgado: El* Quijote *como puente cultural con el mundo soviético y postsoviético* [*The Torn Curtain: The* Quixote *as Cultural Bridge to the Soviet and Post-Soviet World*] focuses on the impact of Cervantes within the cultures of what used to be called the 'Eastern Block'. Farther to the East, Shyama Prasad Ganguly, Preeti Pant, and others have examined Cervantes's works within the context of Indian culture. And at the edge of the Pacific Rim, a 2016 conference featuring several papers on the intersection of early modern Spain and China was recently held in Beijing to commemorate the 400th anniversary of Cervantes's death.[49]

One notable sub-trend within this 'international' approach to Cervantes is a multifaceted examination of Cervantes's influence on Anglo-Saxon culture (defined as both specifically British and internationally English-speaking). Like *International Don Quixote*, the collection of essays titled *Cervantes y el ámbito anglosajón* [*Cervantes and the Anglo-Saxon Ambit*], edited by Diego Martínez Torrón and Bernd Dietz, brings together an array of scholars who trace the connections between Cervantes and authors like Herman Melville, Thomas Pynchon, Daniel Defoe, Jane Austin, George Eliot, and William Congreve. Likewise, the various essays brought together by J. A. G. Ardila in *The Cervantean Heritage: Reception and Influence of Cervantes in Britain* focus on topics like 'Cervantes and the British Novel' and 'Cervantes and the British Theatre'.[50] Alongside such 'ecumenical' collections that broadly span a number of intersecting geographies are those that are much more delimited in focus, such as Dale Randall and Jackson Boswell's *Cervantes in Seventeenth-Century England: The Tapestry Turned* in which they specifically focus on the 'reception history' of the first generation of English-speaking readers who came into contact with Cervantes's works.[51] More specialized still are works like Daniel Eisenberg's several publications—chief among them an edited cluster in the Fall 2003 issue of *Cervantes*—that examine John Bowle and the lasting impact of his 1781 edition of *Don Quixote*.[52]

Within this Anglo-Saxon sub-trend, there is an even more specific sub-sub-trend related to the rediscovery/excavation/reconstruction of Shakespeare's so-called 'lost play' *Cardenio*. This 'Cardenio' topic in and of itself has generated at least fifty-six books, collected volumes, and articles since 1996. More recent interest in this lost play is the result not just of what Roger Chartier and Janet Lloyd call a general 'Cardenio fever', but also of the 400th anniversary in 2016 of the deaths of both Shakespeare and Cervantes, which impelled scholars to find tangible ways of connecting these two great pillars of the European literary tradition.[53] Eventually, the Royal Shakespeare Company staged a production of *Cardenio* (adapted from Lewis Theobald's *Double Falsehood*) in spring 2011. And a staged reading of Stephen Greenblatt and Charles Mee's own modern adaptation

[48] See also Friedman, 'Bearing the Weight…'; Iffland, 'Don Quijote…'; Montero Reguera, 'Un cervantista mexicano…'; and Pérez de León, 'Síndromes cervantinos…'.

[49] See Gil-Oslé, 'Hyperreality…'; Lee; and Powell. [50] Ardila, pp. vii–viii.

[51] Randall and Boswell, p. xvi. See also Barrio Mano and Crespo Allué; and Yamada.

[52] See Eisenberg. [53] Chartier and Lloyd, p. 170.

of *Cardenio* was presented at the Newberry Library in Chicago in April 2016 as part of the Newberry's own commemoration of the deaths of these two canonical writers.[54]

Cervantes and Film and Media Studies

Overlapping both the neo-baroque and international approaches to Cervantes is an explosion in scholarship on Cervantes's connection to film and media studies.[55] Indeed, during the past twenty years, nearly 100 scholarly works have been published on this topic alone, including three doctoral dissertations written since 2005.[56] Many—particularly those co-written by Simerka and Weimer on postmodern film—have been discussed above. However, not all such film studies necessarily focus on Cervantes as a precursor to postmodernism. For instance, an article by Antonio Carreño-Rodríguez, inventively titled 'Costello + Panza = Costanza: Paradigmatic Pairs in *Don Quixote* and American Popular Culture', examines the comedic silhouette of a tall, thin Don Quixote and a short, stout Sancho Panza as precursors to such comedy duos as Laurel and Hardy, Abbot and Costello, and Kramer and George Costanza in the television series *Seinfeld*. Likewise, Will McMorran traces Cervantes's influence on the character of Caractacus in the 1968 film *Chitty Chitty Bang Bang*, while David Castillo (somewhat echoing Carreño-Rodriguez's approach) explores the Cervantine subtext of such 'road movies' as *Easy Rider*, *Thelma and Louise*, and *Motorcycle Diaries*.[57] Meanwhile, Terry Gilliam's 2018 film *The Man Who Killed Don Quixote* (along with Keith Fulton and Louis Pepe's *Lost in La Mancha*, which famously documents the total collapse of Gilliam's first attempt at the project) has generated no fewer than twelve essays since 2003, including one by Julia Domínguez, who examines what she calls the notable similarities between Gilliam and Don Quixote,[58] and Sidney Donnell, who asks whether *Lost in La Mancha* is, generically speaking, the first film of its kind—what he calls 'the first documentary in the history of cinema about the unmaking of a movie'.[59] Other such scholarly publications within the topic of Cervantes and film and media studies include (among numerous others): David Rudrum's article 'Narrativity and Performativity: From Cervantes to *Star Trek*'; Jorge Abril Sánchez's examination of the subtext of Sun Tzu's *The Art of War* in Ah Gan's 2010 Chinese adaptation of *Don Quixote*; Elizabeth McMorris and Isabel Bohrer's 'Cine, nacionalismo y literatura: La representación de Don Quijote' ['Film, Nationalism, and Literature: The Representation of Don Quixote'], which focuses on cinematic adaptations of *Don Quixote* by Georg Wilhelm Pabst, Rafael Gil, and Grigori Kozintsev; David Castillo's 'Don Quixote and Political Satire: Cervantine Lessons from Sacha Baron Cohen and Stephen Colbert'; and Christopher Weimer's 'Leaping New

[54] See also Bourus and Taylor; and Hamilton.
[55] See Chapter 29 of this volume for a study of Cervantes on screen.
[56] See Maughan; McGraw; and Perez, Karen.
[57] Castillo, David, 'The Literary Classics…'; On *Motorcycle Diaries*, see also Majfud.
[58] Domínguez, 'Luces…', p. 24. [59] Donnell, p. 92.

Media in a Single Bound: The Quixotic Would-Be Superhero in Contemporary Graphic Fiction and Film'.

Within the realm of film studies, perhaps no monograph covers more Cervantine territory than Robert Stam's 2005 *Literature through Film: Realism, Magic, and the Art of Adaptation*, which follows up on Stam's influential 1985 book *Reflexivity in Film and Literature: From Don Quixote to Jean-Luc Godard*. Beginning with a chapter titled 'A Cervantic Prelude: From *Don Quixote* to Postmodernism', and concluding with a chapter titled 'Full Circle' From Cervantes to Magic Realism', Stam's 2005 book not only provides an overview of Cervantes's novel and its importance to the history of Western narrative, but also glosses a number of cinematic adaptations of *Don Quixote*, including Kozintsev's 1957 Russian adaptation—which Stam says, 'highlights both the novel's comic and burlesque features as well as its tragic and philosophical aspect'[60]—and Orson Welles's own unfinished—'relentlessly reflexive'[61]—cinematic adaptation (which was mostly filmed during the mid- to late-1950s, and then posthumously 'finished' by Jesús Franco in 1992, who edited Welles's raw footage into a complete feature-length film). Stam's book ties these various strands together by tracing significant aspects of Latin American magic realism back to Cervantes, particularly in several Latin American films, like Joaquim Pedro de Andrade's 1968 Brazilian film *Macunaíma* and Paul Leduc's 1988 film *Barroco*.[62]

Cervantes and Visual Culture

While not directly related to film studies, another recent trend in Cervantes scholarship is the rise of visual culture as an important interpretive frame, beginning in 1999 with the publication of Rachel Schmidt's *Critical Images: The Canonization of Don Quixote through Illustrated Editions of the Eighteenth Century*. Important too is the related notion of ekphrasis.[63] Frederick de Armas, of course, is the recognized 'dean' of the ekphrastic school of Cervantes criticism, and has not only published several important scholarly works on the topic (notably, *Ekphrasis in the Age of Cervantes*), but has also been instrumental in training and mentoring a generation of young scholars interested in visual approaches to literary study.[64] Indeed, the founding of the Early Modern Image and Text Society (EMIT) in 2004 largely grew out of de Armas's 2003 National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) seminar on the topic, as did Ana Laguna's monograph *Cervantes and the Pictorial Imagination*. Unrelated to de Armas's seminar, but also extremely important, are online databases of images such as José Manuel Lucía Megías's *Banco de imágenes del Quijote (1605–1915)* [*Image Bank of the Quixote (1605–1915)*] and Eduardo Urbina's *Proyecto Cervantes* [*Cervantes Project*] at Texas A&M University, both of which

[60] Stam, *Literature Through Film*, p. 40.
[61] Stam, *Literature Through Film*, p. 51.
[62] Stam, *Literature Through Film*, pp. 307–70.
[63] See also Iffland, 'Seeing Is Believing…'.
[64] See also de Armas, *Quixotic Frescoes*; and López Alemany, 'Ut Pictura Non Poesis…'.

provide worldwide access to thousands of visual images related to Cervantes, his works, and his impact on visual culture.[65]

Cervantes and the Body

Another major trend in Cervantes scholarship since 2000 is one that might be called the 'corporeal turn' in so far as it focuses on issues related to the materiality of the body. Such a corporeal turn certainly represents a continuation of several approaches that pre-date the turn of the new millennium, but it also represents a real paradigmatic shift. Publications emerging from this area of research can be grouped into at least three broad categories: gender and sexuality, cognitive theory (including studies of affect and emotion), and performance studies.

Feminist approaches to Cervantes, with a particular attention to the representation of women, have been foundational within Cervantes criticism at least since the early 1980s. Indeed, the *MLA International Bibliography* lists some thirty combined publications between 1980 and 1999 focusing on Marcela and Dorotea alone. Commenting on the distinguished place of Marcela in the work of numerous feminist scholars, Lisa Vollendorf remarks: 'Her rejection of marital, sexual, and gender norms awakens readers to the implications and intricacies of Cervantes's depiction of social control.'[66] Recent feminist scholarship on Cervantes includes monographs like Martha García's *La función de los personajes femeninos en* Don Quijote de la Mancha *y su relevancia en la narrativa* [*The Function of the Female Characters in* Don Quixote de la Mancha *and their Relevance in the Narrative*]—which includes chapters on Marcela, Dorotea, Zoraida, and the Duchess—as well as numerous article-length studies by Marina Brownlee, Anne Cruz, Christine Garst-Santos, Rosilie Hernández, Robert Lauer, Stacey Aronson Parker, and Harry Vélez Quiñones (among others).[67] For her part, Carolyn Nadeau examines all the major female characters in *Don Quixote* both in relation to what she calls Cervantes's more marginal 'women of the prologue'—i.e. 'prostitutes, witches, and sorceresses'—and to the classical models of female representation from which Cervantes drew.[68] Likewise, Enriqueta Zafra turns her attention precisely to the discourse of prostitution in *Don Quixote* (and elsewhere) in order to argue that within the context of early modern Spanish society, Cervantes's attitude regarding prostitution is at the very least 'ambiguous'.[69] Meanwhile, Mercedes Alcalá-Galán's 'Las piernas de la duquesa: Práxis

[65] See also Lucía Megías, 'Don Quijote…'; and Urbina, 'Visual Knowledge…'.

[66] Vollendorf, 'Reading Gender…', p. 71.

[67] See Brownlee; Cruz, 'Dorotea's Revenge…' and 'Redressing Dorotea…'; Garst-Santos; Hernández Pecoraro, '*Don Quijote*'s Dorotea…'; Lauer, 'The Protean Dorotea…'; Parker; and Vélez Quiñones, 'Barefoot and Fallen…'. See also Anderson; Hernández, '"La fuerza del amor"…'; and Lauer, 'Las estrategias…'.

[68] Nadeau, *Women*…, p. 9.

[69] Zafra, *Prostituidas*…, p. 110. See also Zafra, 'La prostituta y la prostitución…'.

médica y claves hermenéuticas en el *Quijote* de 1605' ['The Duchess's Legs: Medical Praxis and Hermeneutic Clues in the *Quixote* of 1605'] not only forms part of the recent focus on science in Cervantes, but also provides a brilliant analysis of the way in which the early modern patriarchy imposed its will on the body of even an upper-class woman like the Duchess. Moreover, Isabel Navas Ocaña and Theresa Ann Sears have both written more broadly on feminist approaches to Cervantes.[70]

These studies that focus generally on the representation of women are complemented by a number of studies focusing more specifically on the question of desire. Of these, works like Sarah Malfatti's 'El deseo de ser si misma' ['The Desire to Be Herself'] and Ashley Hope Pérez's 'Into the Dark Triangle of Desire' revisit and update Rene Girard's well-known essay on 'triangular desire' in the intercalated tale *El curioso impertinente*. Others, like Anne Cruz's 'Psyche and Gender', bring a Lacanian perspective to bear on the question.[71] Meanwhile, works like those of Peter Dunn, Javier Irigoyen-García, and Minni Sawhney examine the issue of desire in works beyond *Don Quixote*,[72] while still others, like those of Leyla Rouhi, Eduardo Ruiz, and Rachel Schmidt, trace the relationship between colonial desire and an Orientalized other.[73] Alongside such article-length works, Adrienne Martín's monographic study *An Erotic Philology of Golden Age Spain*, which complements elements of Zafra's work, argues that 'Cervantes's erotic worlds … are distant from those sordid environments inhabited by the social outcasts who embody the prostitute-protagonists of the female picaresque novel'. For Martín, these 'virtuous unvirtuous women' in Cervantes can be read as a 'genial literary alternative to the overwhelmingly antifeminist and negative female picaresque'.[74]

Building on the ground-breaking work of Judith Butler, and working within a broader critical framework that acknowledges a non-binary gender continuum, scholars like Sherry Velasco, Mar Martínez Góngora, and José Cartagena-Calderón have explored 'performativity' and the construction of masculinity in Cervantes's works.[75] Of the cross-dressed bearded 'lady' in the Duke and Duchess episode of *Don Quixote*, Velasco notes: 'The "grotesque" images of the bearded cross-dressed steward, and the beardless yet mannish cross-dressed page as Dulcinea undoubtedly enact the monsterization of male femininity so feared and criticized during Cervantes's life.'[76] Likewise, Werner Altmann and Harry Vélez Quiñones bring queer theory to bear on a number Cervantes's texts, including *El licenciado Vidriera* and *El cerco de Numancia*.[77]

[70] See Navas Ocaña, 'Cervantes y la crítica feminista' and 'Lecturas feministas de Cervantes'; and Sears, 'Sacrificial Lambs …'.

[71] See also Cruz, 'Psyche and Gender …'; Lauer, 'Altisidora …'; Novillo-Corvalán; Ruiz, Carrie; and Vila and Redondo.

[72] See Bergmann; Kristiansen; and Weimer, 'Going to Extremes …'.

[73] Rouhi; Ruiz, Eduardo; and Schmidt, Rachel, 'The Intersection of Desire …'.

[74] Martín, *Erotic Philology* …, pp. 41–2.

[75] Cartagena-Calderón; Mártinez Góngora, *El hombre atemperado* … and 'Un unicornio …'; and Velasco, *Male Delivery* …, 'Marimachos …', and 'Magic …'. See also Fuchs, 'Empire Unmanned …'; Johnson, Paul Michael; Quinn; and Sáez, 'De soldados …' and 'Vida del capitán …'.

[76] Velasco, 'The *Dueña Dolorida* …', pp. 240–1.

[77] See Altmann; and Vélez Quiñones, 'Templa, pequeño joven, …'.

Alongside questions of gender and sexuality, a second important trend within the 'corporeal turn' is the emergence of cognitive approaches to Cervantes's works. Howard Mancing has done much to spearhead this particular school of criticism, although Catherine Connor, Isabel Jaén, Barbara Simerka, and Julien Simon (among others) have all played a major role in its development.[78] And while many discrete articles and books related to Cervantes have been published in the area of cognitive studies, a 'special cluster' in the spring 2012 issue of *Cervantes* exists as this approach's deliberate 'manifesto', as Simon notes in his introduction to the cluster: '"Cognitive Cervantes" represents the first effort to bring together the work of scholars examining Hispanic literature, and more specifically Cervantes's writings, in relation to human cognition.'[79] Overlapping this explicitly 'cognitive approach', another approach that focuses on the mind-body connection in Cervantes involves studies that examine affect and emotion. New work in this area includes not only at least three recent dissertation projects,[80] but also several articles by established and emerging scholars alike, including Lilián Camacho Morfín, José Manuel González, Steven Hutchinson, Ryan Schmitz, Steven Wagschal, and Donald Wehrs.[81]

Cervantes, Performance, and Theatre

Scholarly works that also fall within the 'corporeal turn' are those that involve the question of performance and its relationship to Cervantes's theatre. Most prominent among the several post-2000 publications on Cervantine theatre as not just literary drama but as scripts embedded within a living, corporeal performance tradition are Jesús González Maestro's 2000 monograph *La escena imaginaria: Poética del teatro de Miguel de Cervantes* [*The Imagined Scene: The Poetics of Cervantes's Theatre*] and his 2017 monographic issue of *Anuario de estudios cervantinos* titled *Cervantes en escena: Nuevas interpretaciones del teatro cervantino* [*Cervantes on Stage: New Interpretations of Cervantine Theatre*]. So too is Melanie Henry's *The Signifying Self: Cervantine Drama as Counter-Perspective Aesthetic*, as are numerous articles by Mercedes Alcalá-Galán, Ellen Anderson, Michael Armstrong-Roche, Héctor Brioso Santos, Moisés Castillo, Alejandro García Reidy, Aaron M. Kahn, Abraham Madroñal, Adrián Sáez, María Ascensión

[78] See Mancing, 'Applying Theory of Mind…', 'Embodied Cognitive Science…', and 'The Mind of a Pícaro…'. See also Connor, 'Beyond Cognition…', 'Cervantes' Legacy…', 'Seeing Like and Sancho…'; Jaén, 'Cervantes and the Cognitive Theories…', 'Cervantes on Human Development…', and 'Teaching Cervantes's *Don Quixote*…'; Simerka, 'Mirror Neurons…'; and Simon, 'Introduction to "Cognitive Cervantes"' and 'The Intersection of Mind and *Don Quijote*…'.

[79] Simon, 'Introduction…', p. 11.

[80] See Cohen; Gretter; and Weiner.

[81] See Camacho Morfín; González; Hutchinson, 'Affective Dimensions…' and '"Los primeros movimientos…'; Schmitz, 'Cervantes's Language of the Heart…'; Wagschal, *The Literature of Jealousy*…, and 'Digging up the Past…'; and Wehrs.

Sáenz, Dawn Smith, Kenneth Stackhouse, and Jonathan Thacker.[82] Meanwhile, Esther Fernández, whose overall work focuses more broadly on early modern Spanish theatre within the context of production and performance, has contributed significantly to our appreciation of Cervantes's theatre as theatre.[83] Moreover, Michael Scham's *Lector Ludens* broadens our understanding of performance to include games and play, both as part of the representation of leisure activities in Cervantes's literary works and in the literary works themselves as an important aspect of early modern ludic culture.[84]

Into the Future

In an overview that could easily go on for dozens and dozens of pages still, I will conclude by briefly looking toward the future by touching on a handful of current trends that are likely to continue to develop in the coming years.

One of these trends relates to the now-established field of law and literature, and to a concomitant focus on ethics and politics. Susan Byrne's *Law and History in Cervantes's* Don Quixote and Roberto González Echevarriá's *Love and the Law in Cervantes* both make important contributions to our understanding of the relationship between early modern legal discourse and the rise of the novel as a genre. Anthony Cascardi's *Cervantes, Literature and the Discourse of Politics* and Steven Hutchinson's *Economía ética en Cervantes* [*Ethical Economy in Cervantes*] represent major monographic contributions to our understanding of politics and ethics,[85] as do several articles by Luis Avilés, Luis Corteguera, and Paul Lewis-Smith.[86] Important too are several studies on court culture, such as Ignacio López Alemany's 'Courting Don Quixote: An Aulic Frame of Reading' and Ryan Schmitz's 'Sancho's Courtly Performance: *Discreción* and the Art of Conversation in the Ducal Palace Episodes of *Don Quijote* II', which examine the intersection of law, politics, and ethics within the context of early modern Spanish government.

A second emerging trend is the impact of 'animal studies' on Cervantes scholarship. To date, John Beusterien's monographic study, *Canines in Cervantes and Velázquez: An Animal Studies Reading of Early Modern Spain*, is the most concentrated published foray

[82] See Alcalá-Galán, '"Dios te dé salud…'; Anderson; Armstrong-Roche, 'Imperial Theater…'; Brioso Santos; Castillo, Moisés, 'Espacios de ambigüedad…' and '¿Ortodoxia cervantina?…'; García Reidy; Kahn, 'Even Further Towards a Theory of Attribution…', 'Representation and Interpretation…', and 'Towards a Theory of Attribution…'; Madroñal; Maestro, *Cervantes en escena*, 'Cervantes y el teatro…', *La escena imaginaria*…, 'Miguel de Cervantes y el teatro…', *El mito de la interpretación*…, and 'El triunfo de la heterodoxia…'; Morillo; Sáez, 'Fortunas y adversidades…'; Sáenz; Smith, Dawn; Stackhouse; and Thacker, *A Companion*…, 'Lope de Vega…', 'Sex, Treachery, and Really Big Moustaches…', and '"Véote, y no te conozco"…'.

[83] See Fernández, Esther, 'En busca…' and '*Viaje del Parnaso*…'; and Fernández and Ruiz, 'Una mesa…'.

[84] See also Walters.

[85] See also Jehenson and Donne; and Weinberger.

[86] See Avilés, 'War and the Material Conditions…' and 'Expanding the Self…'; Corteguera; and Lewis-Smith.

into this area. But Adrienne Martín's numerous articles and a forthcoming book project on animals both in Cervantes and on the early modern Spanish stage represent a real pioneering contribution to the field.[87] Important too are several disparate articles on dogs in Cervantes's works, such as Anthony Cascardi's '¿Qué es filosofar? A Dog's-Eye View', Stephen Hessel's 'The Dog's Growl: Narration in *Las novelas ejemplares*', and Patricia Manning's 'Present Dogs, Absent Witches: Illustration and Interpretation of *El coloquio de los perros*'.

A third new trend is the increasing prominence of cultural studies (writ large) in Cervantes scholarship. In this area, Carolyn Nadeau's 2016 monograph titled *Food Matters: Alonso Quijano's Diet and the Discourse of Food in Early Modern Spain* represents not just a highly innovative approach to Cervantes scholarship, but also a major contribution to the field of 'food studies'. As Nadeau comments: 'This study examines the representation of food in a multiplicity of discourses in early modern Spain.' As such, it 'brings to light the figurative significance of foodstuffs and food events in their literary, historic, and prescriptive contexts; and elucidates on food as an important historical cultural marker'.[88] Other important cultural studies work includes Jesús Pérez Magallón's *Cervantes, monumento de la nación: Problemas de identidad y cultura* [*Cervantes, Monument of the Nation: Problems of Identity and Culture*]. Moreover, a 2016 monographic issue of *eHumanista/Cervantes*, edited by Mercedes Alcalá-Galán and focusing on *Persiles y Sigismunda*, contains essays that connect Cervantes to both disability studies and eco-criticism, thus demonstrating the flexibility of Cervantes scholarship to move always in new directions.[89]

Conclusion

Finally, a few comments on the information revolution are in order. I mentioned earlier the importance of the coming online of the worldwide web in the 1990s for the explosion of Cervantes criticism published during the past two decades. As with everything else in contemporary society, the emergence of the internet has had a profound impact on the academy, such that major aspects of our professional work now revolve around computer screens. Much of this, of course, involves the now-easy availability of research tools and online databases that often provide instant access to numerous PDFs of published articles. This vast information network certainly includes websites like 'dialnet.unirioja' and 'H-Cervantes', but it also includes social media platforms like Facebook and others that allow Cervantes scholars around the globe to maintain contact on a daily—and often hourly—basis. Where once newsletters and paper flyers mailed out through the world's postal services were the only way to publicize calls for papers, etc., email listservs became increasingly important in the early 2000s as a more cost-effective

[87] See Martín, 'Berganza, comediante…' and 'Onstage/Backstage…'.
[88] Nadeau, *Food Matters*…, p. xii.
[89] See Bearden; and Burningham, 'Eco-Performativity…'

and efficient mechanism for the exchange of professional information. In the meantime, the appearance of Facebook in 2004 made such email listservs themselves obsolete by allowing groups like the Grupo de Investigación del Siglo de Oro (GRISO) at the University of Navarra, 'Estudios Medievales y del Siglo de Oro', and 'Siglo de Oro: España' (to name just a few) to set up discrete Facebook pages where calls for papers can be disseminated and shared, new publications can be announced, and works in progress can be discussed and debated. In this way, social media platforms have created an omnipresent virtual community of committed colleagues worldwide who can engage in both asynchronous and real-time exchanges regardless of physical location. And with such easy and immediate access to a global community of Cervantes scholars, it is no wonder that our collective intellectual endeavour over the past twenty years cannot be easily—or comprehensively—summed up in just a few short pages.

Works Cited

Abril Sánchez, Jorge. 'Ah Gan's *Don Quixote* (魔俠傳之唐吉可德, 2010): Sun Tzu, Sun Bin, and the Warrior Spirit of the Chinese Knight of La Mancha'. In *Don Quixote: Interdisciplinary Connections*, edited by Matthew D. Warshawsky and James A. Parr (Newark: Juan de la Cuesta, 2013), pp. 107–35.

Adorno, Rolena. 'El *Quijote* en América: El *Carnero* de Juan Rodríguez Freile'. *Foro Hispánico* 40 (2010): pp. 11–50.

Alcalá Galán, Mercedes. ' "Dios te dé salud y a mí paciencia": Teoría del teatro en Cervantes'. In *La media semana del jardincito: Cervantes y la reescritura de los códigos*, edited by José Manuel Martín Morán (Padua: Unipress, 2002), pp. 255–75.

Alcalá Galán, Mercedes. 'Las piernas de la duquesa: Praxis médica y claves hermenéuticas en el *Quijote* de 1615'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 33, no. 2 (2013): pp. 11–47.

Alcalá Galán, Mercedes, ed. *Si ya por atrevido no sale con las manos en la cabeza: El legado poético del Persiles cuatrocientos años después*. Monographic issue of *eHumanista/Cervantes* 5 (2016): i–551.

Allen, John Jay, ed. *El ingenioso hidalgo don Quijote de la Mancha*, by Miguel de Cervantes, 2 vols (Madrid: Cátedra, 2009).

Alonso, Álvaro. 'Cervantes y los mapas: La cartografía como metáfora'. *Lectura y Signo: Revista de literatura* 1 (2006): pp. 75–88.

Altmann, Werner. 'El licenciado sale del armario: Apuntes para una lectura queer de Miguel de Cervantes'. In *El andar tierras, deseos y memorias*, edited by Jenny Haase, et al. (Iberoamericana; Vervuert, 2008), pp. 423–36.

Álvarez Blanco, Palmar. 'Novelas *pensantes*: Retablos cervantinos el siglo XXI'. *Romance Quarterly* 56, no. 4 (2009): pp. 266–78.

Anderson, Ellen M. 'Mothers of Invention: Toward a Reevaluation of Cervantine Dramatic Heroines'. *Bulletin of the Comediantes* 62, no. 2 (2010): pp. 1–44.

Ardila, J. A. G. *The Cervantean Heritage: Reception and Influence of Cervantes in Britain* (London: Modern Humanities Research Association; Maney, 2009).

Armstrong-Roche, Michael. *Cervantes's Epic Novel: Empire, Religion, and the Dream Life of Heroes in* Persiles (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009).

Armstrong-Roche, Michael. 'Imperial Theater of War: Republican Virtues under Siege in Cervantes's Numancia'. *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies* 6, no. 2 (2005): pp. 185–203.

Astrana Marín, Luis and Krzysztof Sliwa. *Bibliografía de vida ejemplar y heroica de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra* (Newark: Juan de la Cuesta, 2010).

Avilés, Luis F. 'Expanding the Self in a Mediterranean Context: Liberality and Deception in Cervantes's *El amante liberal*'. In *In and of the Mediterranean: Medieval and Early Modern Iberian Studies*, edited by Michelle Hamilton and Nuria Silleras-Fernández (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2015), pp. 233–57.

Avilés, Luis F. 'War and the Material Conditions for Suffering in Cervantes's *Numancia*'. In *Objects of Culture in the Literature of Imperial Spain*, edited by Mary E. Barnard and Frederick A. de Armas (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), pp. 253–76.

Bakhtin, M. M. *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essay*, translated by Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981).

Bandera, Cesáreo. *The Humble Story of Don Quixote: Reflections on the Birth of the Modern Novel* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2006).

Barrio Marco, José Manuel, and María José Crespo Allué. *La huella de Cervantes y del* Quijote *en la cultura anglosajona* (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 2007).

Bearden, Elizabeth, 'Monstrous Births and Crip Authority: Cervantes, the *Persiles*, and the Representation of Disability'. *eHumanista/Cervantes* 5 (2016): pp. 69–84.

Bergmann, Emilie L. 'Martyrs and Minors: Allegories of Childhood in Cervantes'. In *Gender and Early Modern Constructions of Childhood*, edited by Naomi J. Miller and Naomi Yavneh (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 193–207.

Beusterien, John. *Canines in Cervantes and Velázquez: An Animal Studies Reading of Early Modern Spain* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013).

Beusterien, John. 'Reading Cervantes: A New Virtual Reality'. *Comparative Literature Studies* 43, no. 4 (2006): pp. 428–40.

Bloom, Harold. *Shakespeare and the Invention of the Human* (New York: Riverhead, 1998).

Bloom, Harold. *The Western Canon: The Books and School of the Ages* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1994).

Blue, William R. and James A. Parr. '*Don Quixote* at 401'. *Comparative Literature Studies* 43, no. 4 (2006): pp. 379–531.

Boruchoff, David A. 'Free Will, the Picaresque, and the Exemplarity of Cervantes's *Novelas ejemplares*'. *MLN* 124, no. 2 (2009): pp. 372–403.

Boruchoff, David A. 'On the Place of Madness, Deviance, and Eccentricity in *Don Quijote*'. *Hispanic Review* 70, no. 1 (2002): pp. 1–23.

Bourus, Terri and Gary Taylor. *The Creation and Re-Creation of Cardenio: Performing Shakespeare, Transforming Cervantes* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

Boyd, Stephen. *A Companion to Cervantes's* Novelas Ejemplares (Woodbridge, England: Tamesis, 2005).

Brioso Santos, Héctor. *Cervantes y el mundo del teatro* (Kassel: Reichenberger, 2007).

Brown, Kenneth. 'Cervantes, vida y obra: Don Quijote y el criptojudaismo manchego de su tiempo y entorno: Unas posibles lecciones de interpretación a través de la documentación inquisitorial'. In *Cervantes y las religiones*, edited by Ruth Fine and Santiago López Navia (Madrid; Frankfurt: Iberoamericana; Vervuert, 2008), pp. 407–34.

Brownlee, Marina. 'Zoraida's White Hand and Cervantes' Rewriting of History'. *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 82, no. 5 (2005): pp. 569–85.

Burningham, Bruce R. 'Eco-Performativity in Persiles y Sigismunda'. *eHumanista/Cervantes* 5 (2016): pp. 155–72.

Burningham, Bruce R. 'Os Manchíadas'. In *USA Cervantes: 39 Cervantistas en Estados Unidos*, edited by Georgina Dopico Black, Francisco Layna Ranz, and Enrique García Santo-Tomás (Madrid: Polifemo, 2009), pp. 251–72.

Burningham, Bruce R. *Tilting Cervantes: Baroque Reflections on Postmodern Culture* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2008).

Burton, Grace M. 'From Skepticism to Science: *La cueva de Salamanca* and the Construction of Modern Thought'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 34, no. 1 (2014): pp. 141–69.

Byrne, Susan. *Law and History in Cervantes's* Don Quixote (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012).

Camacho Morfín, Lilián. 'El lenguaje de las emociones en el Quijote de 1605'. In *'Injerto peregrino de bienes y grandezas admirables': Estudios de literatura y cultura española e hispanoamericana (siglos XVI al XVIII)*, edited by Lillian Von der Walde, María José Rodilla, Alma Mejía, Gustavo Illades, Alejandro Higashi, and Serafín González (Mexico City: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, Unidad Iztapalapa, 2007), pp. 363–74.

Carreño-Rodríguez, Antonio. 'Costello + Panza = Costanza: Paradigmatic Pairs in *Don Quixote* and American Popular Culture'. *Journal of Popular Film and Television* 37, no. 2 (2009): pp. 80–8.

Cartagena-Calderón, José R. 'Cervantes y las ficciones de la masculinidad'. In *Tradition and Innovation in Early Modern Spanish Studies: Essays in Memory of Carroll B. Johnson*, edited by Sherry Velasco (Newark: Juan de la Cuesta, 2008), pp. 51–88.

Cascardi, Anthony J. *Cervantes, Literature, and the Discourse of Politics* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011).

Cascardi, Anthony J. '¿Qué es filosofar? A Dog's-Eye View'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 34, no. 1 (2014): pp. 77–95.

Cascardi, Anthony J. *The Cambridge Companion to Cervantes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

Castillo, David R. *Baroque Horrors: Roots of the Fantastic in the Age of Curiosities* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2011).

Castillo, David R. '*Don Quixote* and Political Satire: Cervantine Lessons from Sacha Baron Cohen and Stephen Colbert'. In *Approaches to Teaching Don Quixote*, edited by James A. Parr and Lisa Vollendorf (New York: Modern Language Association, 2015), pp. 171–7.

Castillo, David R. 'The Literary Classics in Today's Classroom: *Don Quixote* and Road Movies'. *Hispanic Issues on Line* 8 (2011): pp. 26–41.

Castillo, David and William Egginton. *Medialogies: Reading Reality in the Age of Inflationary Media* (London: Bloomsbury, 2017).

Castillo, Moisés R. 'Espacios de ambigüedad en el teatro cervantino: *La conquista de Jerusalén* y los dramas de cautiverio'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 32, no. 2 (2012): pp. 123–42.

Castillo, Moisés R. '¿Ortodoxia cervantina? Un análisis de *La gran sultana*, *El trato de Argel* y *Los baños de Argel*'. *Bulletin of the Comediantes* 56, no. 2 (2004): pp. 219–40.

Chartier, Roger and Janet Lloyd. *Cardenio Between Cervantes and Shakespeare: The Story of a Lost Play* (Cambridge: Polity, 2013).

Chen Sham, Jorge. 'De estudiantes ejemplares y su aprendizaje modélico en *La señora Cornelia*'. In *Cervantes novelador:* Las novelas ejemplares *cuatrocientos años después*, edited by Jorge R. G. Sagastume (Málaga: Fundación Málaga, 2014), pp. 153–69.

Childers, William. *Transnational Cervantes* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006).
Ciallella, Louise. *Quixotic Modernists: Reading Gender in Tristana, Trigo, and Martínez Sierra* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2007).
Clamurro, William H. *Cervantes's* Novela ejemplares*: Reading Their Lessons from His Time to Ours* (Lanham: Lexington, 2015).
Close, Anthony. *A Companion to* Don Quixote (Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2010).
Cohen, Jaclyn M. 'Writing the Emotions: A Study of Shame and Guilt in Female-Authored Texts of Spain's Golden Age'. Dissertation (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 2012).
Connor-Swietlicki, Catherine. 'Beyond Cognition: Don Quijote and Other Embodied Minds'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 32, no. 1 (2012): pp. 231–61.
Connor (Swietlicki), Catherine. 'Cervantes's Legacy of Creative Cognition: "All Things Are Possible" ("Todo Puede Ser")'. *Central Institute of English and Foreign Languages Bulletin* 15–16, nos. 2–1 (2005): pp. 67–84.
Connor (Swietlicki), Catherine. 'Seeing Like Sancho: Embodiment, Cognition and Cervantine Creativity'. In *Cervantes y su mundo III*, edited by A. Robert Lauer and Kurt Reichenberger (Kassel: Reichenberger, 2005), pp. 61–79.
Correa-Díaz, Luis and Fernando Moreno. *Cervantes y América/Cervantes en las Américas: Mapa de campo y ensayo de bibliografía razonada* (Kassel: Reichenberger, 2004).
Corteguera, Luis R. 'Sancho Panza Wants an Island: Cervantes and the Politics of Peasant Rulers'. *Romance Quarterly* 52, no. 4 (2005): pp. 261–70.
Cruz, Anne J. 'Dorotea's Revenge: Sex and Speech Acts in *Don Quijote*, Part 1'. *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 82, no. 5 (2005): pp. 615–32.
Cruz, Anne J. 'Psyche and Gender in Cervantes'. In *The Cambridge Companion to Cervantes*, edited by Anthony J. Cascardi (Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 186–205.
Cruz, Anne J. 'Redressing Dorotea'. In *Cervantes for the 21st Century/Cervantes para el siglo XXI: Studies in Honor of Edward Dudley*, edited by Francisco La Rubia Prado (Newark: Juan de la Cuesta, 2000), pp. 11–32.
Cruz, Anne J. and Carroll B. Johnson, eds. *Cervantes and His Postmodern Constituencies* (New York: Garland, 1999).
D'Haen, Theo and Reindert Dhondt. *International Don Quixote* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2009).
Da Silva, Zenia Sacks. *Don Quixote: The First 400 Years* (Lima, Peru; Hempstead, NY: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos; Hofstra University, 2009).
De Armas, Frederick A. *Don Quixote Among the Saracens: A Clash of Civilizations and Literary Genres* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011).
De Armas, Frederick A. *Ekphrasis in the Age of Cervantes* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2005).
De Armas, Frederick A. *Quixotic Frescoes: Cervantes and Italian Renaissance Art* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006).
Díez Fernández, J. Ignacio. 'Juegos de máscara y marketing: Para una críticia de la novela en clave de los Siglos de Oro'. In *Spain's Multicultural Legacies: Studies in Honor of Samuel G. Armistead*, edited by Adrienne Martín and Cristina Martínez-Carazo (Newark: Juan de la Cuesta, 2008), pp. 77–94.
Díez Fernández, J. Ignacio. '"Sin discrepar de la verdad un punto": La gran sultana: ¿Un canto a la tolerancia?'. *Lectura y Signo: Revista de literatura* 1 (2006): pp. 301–22.
Domínguez, Julia. 'Luces, cámara . . . inacción en *Lost in La Mancha*: La realidad de una ficción que nunca existió'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 27, no. 2 (2007): pp. 23–42.

Donnell, Sidney. 'Quixotic Storytelling, *Lost in La Mancha*, and the Unmaking of *The Man Who Killed Don Quixote*'. *Romance Quarterly* 53, no. 2 (2006): pp. 92–112.

Dopico Black, Georgina, Francisco Layna Ranz, and Enrique García Santo-Tomás, eds. *USA Cervantes: 39 Cervantistas en Estados Unidos* (Madrid: Polifemo, 2009).

Dunn, Peter N. 'The Play of Desire: "El amante liberal" and "El casamiento engañoso" y "El coloquio de los perros"'. In *A Companion to Cervantes's* Novelas Ejemplares, edited by Stephen Boyd (London: Tamesis, 2005), pp. 85–103.

Egginton, William. *The Man Who Invented Fiction: How Cervantes Ushered in the Modern World* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2016).

Eisenberg, Daniel (ed). 'The Tragedy of John Bowle' [Special cluster]. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 23, no. 2 (2003): 1–274.

Ertler, Klaus-Dieter and Alejandro Rodríguez Díaz. *El* Quijote *hoy: La riqueza de su recepción* (Madrid; Frankfurt: Iberoamericana; Vervuert, 2007).

Fastrup, Anne. 'Cross-Cultural Movement in the Name of Honour: Renegades, Honour and State in Miguel de Cervantes's Barbary Plays'. *Bulletin of Spanish Studies* 89, no. 3 (2012): pp. 347–67.

Fernández, Esther. 'En busca de un teatro comprometido: *La entretenida* de Miguel de Cervantes bajo el nuevo prisma de la CNTC'. *Comedia Performance* 4, no. 1 (2007): pp. 179–98.

Fernández, Esther. '*Viaje del Parnaso*: Una odisea de títeres en escena'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 31, no. 2 (2011): pp. 85–103.

Fernández, Esther and M. Reina Ruiz. 'Una mesa de trucos en escena: Metamorfosis dramática en "La española inglesa"'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 35, no. 2 (2015): pp. 193–213.

Fernández, Jaime. *Bibliografía del* Quijote *por unidades narrativas y materiales de la novela*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Centro de Esudios Cervantinos, 2008).

Fine, Ruth. 'En torno a la representación de la mujer judía en la obra de Cervantes en el contexto de la literatura del Siglo de Oro español'. *Cuadernos AISPI* 5, no. 5 (2015): pp. 33–46.

Fine, Ruth. *Una lectura semiótico-narratológica del* Quijote *en el contexto del siglo de oro español* (Madrid; Frankfurt: Iberoamericana; Vervuert, 2006).

Fine, Ruth and Santiago Alfonso López Navia (eds). *Cervantes y las religiones: Actas del Coloquio International de la Asociación de Cervantistas (Universidada Hebrea de Jerusalén, Israel, 19–21 de diciembre de 2005)* (Pamplona: University of Navarra, 2008).

Friedman, Edward H. 'Bearing the Weight of Writing: On Kundera and Cervantes'. In *Aquí se imprimen libros: Cervantine Studies in Honor of Tom Lathrop*, edited by Mark Groundland (University: Romance Monographs, 2008), pp. 48–61.

Fuchs, Barbara. 'Empire Unmanned: Gender Trouble and Genoese Gold in Cervantes's "The Two Damsels"'. *PMLA* 116, no. 2 (2001): pp. 285–99.

Fuchs, Barbara. *Mimesis and Empire: The New World, Islam, and European Identities* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

Fuchs, Barbara. *Passing for Spain: Cervantes and the Fictions of Identity* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003).

Fuchs, Barbara and Aaron J. Ilika (trans. and ed.). '*The Bagnios of Algiers*' *and* '*The Great Sultana*': *Two Plays of Captivity*, by Miguel de Cervantes (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010).

Gabriele, John P., ed. *1605–2005:* Don Quixote *Across the Centuries* (Madrid; Frankfurt: Iberoamericana; Vervuert, 2005).

Gabriele, John P. 'Narrative Prisms and Prisons: Mirror Effects and *Mise-en-Abyme* in *Don Quijote*'. *Symposium* 59, no. 1 (2005): pp. 31–42.
Ganguly, Shyama Prasad (ed.). *Quixotic Encounters: Indian Response to the Knight from Spain* (New Delhi: Shipra, 2006).
Garcés, María Antonia. *Cervantes in Algiers: A Captive's Tale* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2002).
García, Martha. *La función de los personajes femeninos en* Don Quijote de la Mancha *y su relevancia en la narrativa* (Vigo: Academia del Hispanismo, 2008).
García Reidy, Alejandro. 'Profesionales de la escena: Lope de Vega y los actores del teatro comercial barroco'. In *'Aún no dejó la pluma': Estudios sobre el teatro de Lope de Vega*, edited by Xavier Tubau (Barcelona: Universitat Autónoma de Barcelona, 2009), pp. 243–84.
Garrido Domínguez, Antonio. *Aspectos de la novela en Cervantes* (Madrid: Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2006).
Garst-Santos, Christine. 'Dorotea's Displacement: Performing the Possible in Early Modern Spain'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 31, no. 2 (2011): pp. 51–84.
Gasta, Chad M. 'Cervantes's Theory of Relativity in *Don Quixote*'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 31, no. 1 (2011): pp. 51–82.
Gil-Oslé, Juan Pablo. *Amistades imperfectas: Del Humanismo a la Ilustración con Cervantes* (Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2013).
Gil-Oslé, Juan Pablo. 'Hyperreality and Cervantine Cultural Encounters in Beijing 2016'. *Cervantes in China on His 400th Anniversary*. University of Chicago Center in Beijing. Beijing, China. 21 June 2016.
González, José Manuel. 'Emotion in Cervantes and Shakespeare'. *Neophilologus* 99, no. 4 (2015): pp. 523–38.
González Echevarría, Roberto. *Love and the Law in Cervantes* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005).
Graf, E. C. *Cervantes and Modernity: Four Essays on* Don Quixote (Lewisberg: Bucknell University Press, 2010).
Gretter, Sarah. 'Jealousy in Cervantes: Emotion, Cognition, and the Novel'. Dissertation (West Lafayette: Purdue University, 2013).
Grossman, Edith (trans). *Don Quixote de la Mancha*, by Miguel de Cervantes (New York: HarperCollins, 2003).
Hall, Crystal. *Galileo's Reading* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).
Hamilton, Charles (ed.). *Cardenio or The Second Maiden's Tragedy*, by William Shakespeare and John Fletcher (Lakewood: Glenbridge, 1994).
Henry, Melanie. *The Signifying Self: Cervantine Drama as Counter-Perspective Aesthetic* (London: Modern Humanities Research Association, 2013).
Hernández-Pecoraro, Rosilie. '*Don Quijote*'s Dorotea: Portrait of a Female Subject'. *Hispanófila* 135 (2002): pp. 19–39.
Hernández Pecoraro, Rosilie. ' "La fuerza del amor" or the Power of Self-Love: Zayas's Response to Cervantes's "La fuerza de la sangre" '. *Hispanic Review* 70, no. 1 (2002): pp. 39–57.
Hessel, Stephen. 'The Dog's Growl: Narration in *Las novelas ejemplares*'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 28, no. 2 (2008): pp. 7–17.
Hutchinson, Steven. 'Affective Dimensions in *Don Quijote*'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 24, no. 2 (2004): pp. 71–91.
Hutchinson, Steven. *Economía ética en Cervantes* (Alcalá de Henares: Centro de Estudios Cervantinos, 2001).

Hutchinson, Steven. ' "Los primeros movimientos no son en mano del hombre": Retórica de la emoción en *Don Quijote*'. In *Cervantes en Italia: Actas del X Coloquio Internacional de la Asociación de Cervantistas*, edited by Alicia Villar Lecumberri (Palma: Asociación de Cervantistas, 2001), pp. 199–206.

Ife, B. W. 'Air Travel in Cervantes'. *Bulletin of Spanish Studies* 81, nos. 4–5 (2004): pp. 475–86.

Iffland, James. 'Don Quijote and the Dissident Intellectual: Some Thoughts on Subcomandante Marcos's Don Durito de la Lacandona'. In *Studies in Honor of James O. Crosby*, edited by Lía Schwartz (Newark, DE: Juan de la Cuesta, 2004), pp. 161–79.

Iffland, James. 'Mangled in La Mancha: Don Quijote Meets the Spanglish of Ilan Stavans'. In *Don Quijote: Across Four Centuries: 1605–2005*, edited by Carroll Johnson (Newark: Juan de la Cuesta, 2006), pp. 107–35.

Iffland, James. 'Seeing Is Believing: The Rhetoric of Graphic Illustration in the History of Don Quijote'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 27, no. 1 (2007): pp. 95–160.

Irigoyen-Garcia, Javier. 'Cervantes y la trata de blancas en "La ilustre fregona" '. In *Líneas actuales de investigación literaria: Estudios de literatura hispánica*, edited by Verónica Arenas Lozano, et al. (Valencia: Asociación de Jóvenes Investigadores de la Literatura Hispánica, Universitat de València, 2004), pp. 241–50.

Irigoyen-Garcia, Javier. 'El problema morisco en *Los baños de Argel*, de Miguel de Cervantes: De renegados a mártires cristianos'. *Revista canadiense de estudios hispánicos* 32, no. 3 (2008): pp. 421–8.

Irigoyen-Garcia, Javier. 'La expulsión de los moriscos en *El ingenioso hidalgo don Quijote de la Mancha* (1614) de Alonso Fernández de Avellaneda'. *MLN* 131, no. 2 (2016): pp. 336–55.

Irigoyen-Garcia, Javier. ' "La música ha sido hereje": Pastoral Performance, Moorishness, and Cultural Hybridity in *Los baños de Argel*'. *Bulletin of the Comediantes* 62, no. 2 (2010): pp. 45–62.

Irigoyen-Garcia, Javier. ' "Poco os falta para moros, pues tanto lo parecéis": Impersonating the Moor in the Spanish Mediterranean'. *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies* 12, no. 3 (2011): pp. 355–69.

Jaén, Isabel. 'Cervantes and the Cognitive Theories of His Time: Mind and Development in *Don Quixote*'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 32, no. 1 (2012): pp. 71–98.

Jaén, Isabel. 'Teaching Cervantes's *Don Quixote* from a Cognitive Historicist Perspective'. *Interdisciplinary Literary Studies* 16, no. 1 (2014): pp. 110–26.

Jaén Portillo, Isabel. 'Cervantes on Human Development: *Don Quixote* and Renaissance Cognitive Psychology'. In *Don Quixote: Interdisciplinary Connections*, edited by Matthew D. Warshawsky and James A. Parr (Newark: Juan de la Cuesta, 2013), pp. 35–57.

Jehenson, Myriam Yvonne and Peter N. Donne. *The Utopian Nexus in* Don Quixote (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2006).

Johnson, Carroll B. *Cervantes and the Material World* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000).

Johnson, Carroll B. Don Quijote*: Across Four Centuries: 1605–2005* (Newark: Juan de la Cuesta, 2006).

Johnson, Paul Michael. 'A Soldier's Shame: The Specter of Captivity in "La historia del cautivo" '. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 31, no. 2 (2011): pp. 153–84.

Johnson, Paul Michael. 'Expulsión forzada e integración forzosa: Reflexiones quijotescas sobre la tolerancia multicultural histórica y actual'. *Gaceta Hispánica de Madrid* 3 (2006): pp. 1–16.

Kahn, Aaron M. 'Even Further Towards a Theory of Attribution: Advancing the Cervantine Attribution of *La conquista de Jerusalén* por Godofre de Bullón'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 33, no. 1 (2013): pp. 133–65.

Kahn, Aaron M. 'Representation and Interpretation of Historical Characters in Cervantes's *La Numancia*: Jugurtha and Viriatus'. *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 84, no. 5 (2007): pp. 573–87.

Kahn, Aaron M. 'Towards a Theory of Attribution: Is *La conquista de Jerusalén* by Miguel de Cervantes?' *Journal of European Studies* 40, no. 2 (2010): pp. 99–128.

Kristiansen, Michael Phillip. 'Gender and Interpretation: An Empirical Study of Reader Response to Golden Age Literature'. Dissertation (Tucson: University of Arizona, 2001).

La Rubia Prado, Francisco (ed.). *Cervantes for the 21st Century/Cervantes para el siglo XXI: Studies in Honor of Edward Dudley* (Newark: Juan de la Cuesta, 2000).

Laguna, Ana María G. *Cervantes and the Pictorial Imagination: A Study on the Power of Images and Images of Power in Works by Cervantes* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2009).

Lathrop, Tom (trans.). *Don Quixote de la Mancha*, by Miguel de Cervantes (New York: Signet, 2011).

Latorre, Jorge, Antonio Martínez, and Oleksandr Pronkévich (eds). *El telón rasgado: El* Quijote *como puente cultural con el mundo soviético y postsoviético* (Pamplona: EUNSA, 2015).

Lauer, A. Robert. 'Altisidora y "la ley de la madre": Una lectura lacaniana del *Quijote*'. In *Visiones y revisiones cervantinas*, edited by Christoph Strosetzki and José Montero-Reguera (Alcalá de Henares: Centro de Estudios Cervantinos, 2011), pp. 433–41.

Lauer, A. Robert. 'Las estrategias retórico-narrativas de *La Dorotea* de Cervantes: *Don Quijote* I.24, 28–30, 36–37, 46'. In *Hispanic Studies in Honor of Robert L. Fiore*, edited by Chad M. Gasta and Julia Domínguez (Newark: Juan de la Cuesta, 2009), pp. 295–309.

Lauer, A. Robert. 'The Protean Dorotea and the Spanish Baroque Novel'. *Central Institute of English and Foreign Languages Bulletin* 15–16, no. 2–1, (2005): pp. 85–102.

Leahy, Chad. ' "Dineros en cruzados": The Morisco Expulsion, Numismatic Propaganda, and the Materiality of Ricote's Coins'. *Hispanic Review* 84, no. 3 (2016): pp. 273–98.

Lee, Christina H. 'The Forgotten Chinese Experience in the Early Modern Hispanic World and Why It Matters'. *Cervantes in China on His 400th Anniversary*. University of Chicago Center in Beijing. Beijing, China. 21 June 2016.

Lewis, Elizabeth Franklin. 'Mapping Don Quixote's Route: Spanish Cartography, English Travelers and National Pride'. *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 46 (2017): pp. 35–48.

Lewis-Smith, Paul. 'Literature and Sin: Moral-Theological Wisdom and Literary Ethics in Cervantes's *El licenciado Vidriera*'. *Modern Language Review* 105, no. 2 (April 2010): pp. 439–54.

Lezra, Jacques. 'Translated Turks on the Early Modern Stage'. In *Transnational Exchange in Early Modern Theater*, edited by Robert Henke and Eric Nicholson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 159–78.

López Alemany, Ignacio. 'Courting Don Quixote: An Aulic Frame of Reading'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 33, no. 2 (2013): pp. 49–70.

López Alemany, Ignacio. 'Ut Pictura Non Poesis: *Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda* and the Construction of Memory'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 28, no. 1 (2008): pp. 103–18.

López-Baralt, Luce. 'Apostillas árabes a un chiste cervantino: Cide Hamete Berenjena'. In *Studies in Spanish Literature in Honor of Daniel Eisenberg*, edited by Tom Lathrop (Newark: Juan de la Cuesta, 2009), pp. 153–60.

López-Baralt, Luce. 'El sabio encantador Cide Hamete Benengeli: ¿Fue un musulmán de Al-Andalus o un morisco del siglo XVII?'. In *Cervantes y las religiones*, edited by Ruth Fine and Santiago López Navia (Madrid; Frankfurt: Iberoamericana; Vervuert, 2008), pp. 339–60.

López-Baralt, Luce. 'Un morisco Ricote de carne y hueso nos habla de la angustia secreta de su exilio en Berbería'. *Studi Ispanici* 32 (2007): pp. 73–88.

López-Baralt, Luce and Marikay McCabe. 'The Supreme Pen (Al-Qalam Al-A'lā) of Cide Hamete Benengeli in *Don Quixote*'. *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 30, no. 3 (2000): pp. 505–18.

Lorca, Daniel. 'The Function of Skepticism in Part I of *Don Quixote*'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 30, no. 2 (2010): pp. 115–48.

Lozano-Renieblas, Isabel. 'Género e identidad de el *Quijote*'. In *Cervantes y su mundo, II*, edited by Kurt Reichenberger and Darío Fernández-Morera (Kassel: Reichenberger, 2005), pp. 295–308.

Lozano-Renieblas, Isabel. 'Huellas y nostalgias: La presencia elíptica de Andalucía en el segundo *Quijote* y en el *Persiles*'. *Tintas: Quaderni di Letterature Iberiche e Iberoamericane* 1 (2011): pp. 25–41.

Lucía Megías, José Manuel, dir. *Banco de imágenes del Quijote (1605–1915)*. http://www.qbi2005.com.

Lucía Megías, José Manuel. 'Don Quijote de la Mancha, caballero andante: El acto de investidura a partir de sus imágenes'. *Lingüística y literatura* 28, no. 51 (2007): pp. 149–89.

Lucía Megías, José Manuel. *La juventud de Cervantes: Una vida en construcción* (Madrid: EDAF, 2016).

Lucía Megías, José Manuel. *La madurez de Cervantes: Una vida en la corte* (Madrid: EDAF, 2016).

Lucía Megías, José Manuel. *La plenitud de Cervantes: Una vida en papel* (Madrid: EDAF, 2019).

Madroñal, Abraham. 'Entremeses intercalados en *El Quijote*'. In El Quijote *y el pensamiento teórico-literario*, edited by Miguel Ángel Garrido Gallardo and Luis Alburquerque (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2008), pp. 265–77.

Maestro, Jesús G. *Cervantes en escena: Nuevas interpretaciones del teatro cervantino* (Vigo: Academia del Hispanismo, 2017).

Maestro, Jesús G. 'Cervantes y el teatro del *Quijote*'. *Hispania* 88, no. 1 (2005): pp. 41–52.

Maestro, Jesús G. *El mito de la interpretación literaria: Rojas, Cervantes y Calderón: La ética de la literatura y sus dogmas contemporáneos* (Madrid; Frankfurt: Iberoamericana; Vervuert, 2004).

Maestro, Jesús G. 'El triunfo de la heterodoxia: El teatro de Cervantes y la literatura europea'. *Theatralia* 5 (2003): pp. 19–48.

Maestro, Jesús G. *La escena imaginaria: Poética del teatro de Miguel de Cervantes* (Madrid; Frankfurt: Iberoamericana; Vervuert, 2000).

Maestro, Jesus G. 'Miguel de Cervantes y el teatro'. *Theatralia* 5 (2003): pp. 467–502.

Majfud, Jorge. '*Diarios de Motocicleta* y los rebeldes de nuestro tiempo'. *A Parte Rei: Revista de filosofía* 44 (2006): pp. 1–3.

Malfatti, Sarah. 'El deseo de ser sí mismo: *Don Quijote* y la mímesis girardiana'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 33, no. 2 (2013): pp. 193–215.

Mancing, Howard. 'Applying Theory of Mind to *Don Quixote*'. In *Approaches to Teaching* Don Quixote, edited by James A. Parr and Lisa Vollendorf (New York: Modern Language Association, 2015), pp. 147–52.

Mancing, Howard. 'Embodied Cognitive Science and the Study of Literature'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 32, no. 1 (2012): pp. 25–69.

Mancing, Howard. *The Cervantes Encyclopedia, I, A–K* (Westport: Greenwood, 2004).

Mancing, Howard. *The Cervantes Encyclopedia, II, L–Z* (Westport: Greenwood, 2004).

Mancing, Howard. 'The Mind of a Pícaro: Lázaro de Tormes'. In *Cognition, Literature, and History*, edited by Mark J. Bruhn and Donald R. Wehrs (New York: Routledge, 2014), pp. 174–89.

Mann, Charles. *1493: Uncovering the New World Columbus Created* (New York: Vintage, 2012).

Manning, Patricia W. 'Present Dogs, Absent Witches: Illustration and Interpretation of *El coloquio de los perros*'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 27, no. 2 (2007): pp. 125–54.

Márquez Villanueva, Francisco. 'Eufemismos del *Viaje del Parnaso*'. *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 82, no. 5 (2005): pp. 683–700.

Martín, Adrienne L. 'Berganza, comediante: El animal escénico en el Siglo de Oro'. *Insula: Revista de letras y ciencias humanas* 799–800 (2013): pp. 28–30.

Martín, Adrienne L. *An Erotic Philology of Golden Age Spain* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2008).

Martín, Adrienne L. 'Onstage/Backstage: Animals in the Golden Age *Comedia*'. In *A Companion to Early Modern Hispanic Theater*, edited by Hilaire Kallendorf (Leiden: Brill, 2014), pp. 127–44.

Martín Morán, José Manuel. *Cervantes y el* Quijote *hacia la novela moderna* (Alcalá de Henares: Biblioteca de Estudios Cervantinos, 2009).

Martínez Góngora, Mar. *El hombre atemperado: Autocontrol, disciplina y masculinidad en textos españoles de la temprana modernidad* (New York: Peter Lang, 2005).

Martínez-Góngora, Mar. 'Un unicornio en la corte de una reina virgen: "Ginecocracia" y ansiedades masculinas en "La española inglesa" '. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 20, no. 1 (2000): pp. 27–46.

Martínez Torrón, Diego and Bernd Dietz. *Cervantes y el ámbito anglosajón* (Madrid: SIAL, 2005).

Mata Indurain, Carlos. 'Elementos religiosos en la poesía de Cervantes'. In *Cervantes y las religiones*, edited by Ruth Fine and Santiago López Navia (Madrid; Frankfurt: Iberoamericana; Vervuert, 2008), pp. 175–98.

Maughan, Rona Lee. 'The Object of the Gaze and Masculinity: The Portrayal of Don Quixote in Film. Dissertation (Salt Lake City: University of Utah, 2005).

McGaha, Michael. '*La Gran Sultana*: La "delicia turca" de Cervantes'. In *Studies in Spanish Literature in Honor of Daniel Eisenberg*, edited by Tom Lathrop (Newark: Juan de la Cuesta, 2009), pp. 213–30.

McGaha, Michael. 'Reading *Don Quixote* in Istanbul'. *Central Institute of English and Foreign Languages Bulletin* 15–16, nos. 2–1 (2005): pp. 155–18.

McGraw, Mark David. 'The Universal Quixote: Appropriations of a Literary Icon'. Dissertation (College Station: Texas A&M University, 2013).

McMorran, Will. 'From Quixote to Caractacus: Influence, Intertextuality, and *Chitty Chitty Bang Bang*'. *Journal of Popular Culture* 39, no. 5 (2006): pp. 756–79.

McMorris, Elizabeth and Isabel Bohrer. 'Cine, nacionalismo y literatura: La representación de Don Quijote'. *Gaceta Hispánica de Madrid* 7 (2008): pp. 1–34.

Miñana, Rogelio. *Monstruos que hablan: El discurso de la monstruosidad en Cervantes* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007).

Miñana, Rogelio. 'The Don Quixote of the Streets: Social Justice Theater in São Paulo, Brazil'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 31, no. 1 (2011): pp. 159–70.

Morillo, María Dolores. '*El retablo de las maravillas*: Ver para hacer creer'. *Cuadernos Cervantes de la lengua española* 9, no. 45 (2003): pp. 26–31.

Nadeau, Carolyn A. *Food Matters: Alonso Quijano's Diet and the Discourse of Food in Early Modern Spain* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016).

Nadeau, Carolyn A. *Women of the Prologue: Imitation, Myth, and Magic in* Don Quixote I (Cranbury: Associated University Press, 2002).

Navas Ocaña, Isabel. 'Cervantes y la crítica feminista'. In *El* Quijote *y el pensamiento teórico-literario*, edited by Miguel Ángel Garrido Gallardo and Luis Alburquerque García (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2008), pp. 573–89.

Navas Ocaña, Isabel. 'Lecturas feministas de Cervantes'. *Romanische Forschungen* 124, no. 2 (2012): pp. 222–38.

Novillo-Corvalán, Patricia. 'Androgynous Desire: Flaubert, Joyce, Puig, and the Tradition of the Female Quixote'. *Modern Language Review* 107, no. 1 (2012): pp. 1–19.

Ohanna, Natalio. 'Heterodoxos en cautiverio: De Cipriano de Valera a los protestantes del norte de África'. *Hispanic Review* 80, no. 1 (2012): pp. 21–40.

Ohanna, Natalio. 'Lamentos de doble filo: *El trato de Argel* y la dimensión geopolítica de la lucha por la unidad religiosa'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 30, no. 1 (2010): pp. 141–61.

Pant, Preeti. 'The Natyashashtra and the *Quixote* on the Understanding of Fiction'. In *Quixotic Encounters: Indian Response to the Knight from Spain*, edited by Shyama Prasad Ganguly (New Delhi: Shipra, 2006), pp. 29–45.

Pant, Preeti. 'Un encuentro polémico de la novela moderna y el género caballeresco en Chandrakanta (una novela india del siglo XIX)'. In *400 años de* Don Quijote*: Pasado y perspectivas de futuro*, Actas del XL Congreso Internacional de la Asociación Europea de Profesores de Español, edited by Sara M. Saz (Valladolid: AEPE, 2006), pp. 71–9.

Parker Aronson, Stacey L. ' "Quizá Volverán": Four Incidents of Rape (Or Threatened Rape) in *Don Quijote de la Mancha*'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 34, no. 1 (2014): pp. 121–40.

Parr, James A. 'Celebrating 400 years of *Don Quixote*'. *Hispania* 88, no. 1 (2005): pp. 1–113.

Parr, James A. and Salvador J. Fajardo, eds. *El Ingenioso Hidaldo Don Quijote de la Mancha*, by Miguel de Cervantes, 2 vols. (Ashville: Pegasus; University of North Carolina, Ashville, 2009).

Parr, James A. and Lisa Vollendorf, eds. *Approaches to Teaching Cervantes's* Don Quixote, 2nd ed. (New York: Modern Language Association, 2015).

Pérez, Ashley Hope. 'Into the Dark Triangle of Desire: Rivalry, Resistance, and Repression in "El Curioso Impertinente" '. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 31, no. 1 (2011): pp. 83–107.

Perez, Karen Patricia. 'On Both Sides of the Atlantic: Re-Visioning Don Juan and Don Quixote in Modern Literature and Film'. Dissertation (Riverside: University of California, Riverside, 2013).

Pérez de León, Vicente. 'Síndromes cervantinos en "El asesinato de Jesse James por el cobarde Robert Ford" de Andrew Dominik'. *Voz y letra* 19, no. 2 (2008): pp. 51–68.

Pérez Magallón, Jesús. *Cervantes, monumento de la nación: Problemas de identidad y cultura* (Madrid: Cátedra, 2015).

Pinet, Simone. *Archipelagoes: Insular Fictions from Chivalric Romance to the Novel*. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 2011.

Pinet, Simone. 'On the Subject of Fiction: Islands and the Emergence of the Novel'. *Diacritics* 33, nos. 3–4 (2003): pp. 173–87.

Pinet, Simone. 'Theatrum Mundi: Cervantes, el teatro y la cartografía'. *Theatralia* 5 (2003): pp. 133–42.
Powell, Matthew. 'On Ah Gan's *Don Quixote* (魔俠傳之唐吉德, 2010): Successes and Endings of a Movie'. *Cervantes in China on His 400th Anniversary*. University of Chicago Center in Beijing. Beijing, China. 22 June 2016.
Presberg, Charles D. *Adventures in Paradox:* Don Quixote *and the Western Tradition* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001).
Puig, Idoya, ed. *Tradition and Modernity: Cervantes's Presence in Spanish Contemporary Literature* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2009).
Quinn, Mary. '"Un cierto claro escuro": Night and the Performance of Class in the Palace Episodes of *Don Quijote*, II'. *Ehumanista* 22 (2012): pp. 330–41.
Quint, David. *Cervantes's Novel of Modern Times: A New Reading of* Don Quijote (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003).
Ramírez, Álvaro. '*Don Quijote* and the Age of Simulacra'. *Hispania* 88, no. 1 (2005): pp. 82–90.
Randall, Dale B. J. and Jackson C. Boswell. *Cervantes in Seventeenth-Century England: The Tapestry Turned* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).
Redondo, Augustin. *Releyendo el* Quijote*, cuatrocientos años después* (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Cervantinos, 2005).
Reed, Cory A. 'Scientific and Technological Imagery in *Don Quixote*'. In *Approaches to Teaching* Don Quixote, edited by James A. Parr and Lisa Vollendorf (New York: Modern Language Association, 2015), pp. 66–70.
Reguera, José Montero. 'Un cervantista mexicano: Francisco A. de Icaza'. *Foro Hispánico* 40 (2010): pp. 113–29.
Rico, Francisco, ed. *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, by Miguel de Cervantes (Madrid: Real Academa Española, 2015).
Rico, Francisco. 'El título del *Quijote*'. *Bulletin of Spanish Studies* 81, no. 4–5 (2004): pp. 541–51.
Rico, Francisco. 'Poética de la antífrasis (Sobre la dedicatoria del primer *Quijote*)'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 25, no. 1 (2005): pp. 69–77.
Rico, Francisco. *Tiempos del Quijote* (Barcelona: Acantilado, 2012).
Rouhi, Leyla. 'A Handsome Boy among Those Barbarous Turks: Cervantes's Muslims and the Art and Science of Desire'. In *Islamicate Sexualities: Translations across Temporal Geographies of Desire*, edited by Kathryn Babayan and Afsaneh Najmabadi (Cambridge, MA: Center for Middle Eastern Studies, Harvard University, 2008), pp. 41–71.
Rudrum, David. 'Narrativity and Performativity: From Cervantes to *Star Trek*'. In *Theorizing Narrativity*, edited by John Pier and José Angel García Landa (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2008), pp. 253–76.
Ruhe, Cornelia. 'Prekäre Exemplarität: Geschlechterkonfigurationen in *Las dos doncellas* von Miguel de Cervantes'. *Romanische Forschungen* 119, no. 3 (2007): pp. 317–45.
Ruiz, Carrie L. 'Ver o no ver: "El celoso extremeño" "algún misterio tiene escondido"'. In *Novelas ejemplares: Las grietas de la ejemplaridad*, edited by Julio Baena (Newark: Juan de la Cuesta, 2008), pp. 187–99.
Ruiz, Eduardo. 'Counter-Discursive and Erotic Agency: The Case of the Black Slaves in Miguel de Cervantes's "El celoso extremeño"'. *Hispania* 97, no. 2 (2014): pp. 194–206.
Rutherford, John (trans.). *Don Quixote*, by Miguel de Cervantes (New York: Penguin, 2000).
Sáenz, María Ascensión. '*El juez de los divorcios* o la institución matrimonial en entredicho(s)'. In *Memoria de la palabra: Actas del VI congreso de la Asociación internacional Siglo de Oro,*

II, edited by María Luisa Lobato and Francisco Domínguez Matito (Madrid; Frankfurt: Iberoamericana; Vervuert, 2004), pp. 1569–76.

Sáez, Adrián J. 'De soldados, putas, y sífilis: Modelos y géneros literarios en torno al Alférez Campuzano en "El casamiento engañoso"'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 34, no. 1 (2014): pp. 41–57.

Sáez, Adrián J. 'Fortunas y adversidades de Pedro de Urdemalas, un pícaro dramático'. *Etiópicas: Revista de letras renacentistas* 10 (2014): pp. 111–27.

Saéz, Adrián J. 'Vida del capitán Ruy Pérez de Viedma: La autobiografía soldadesca en *Don Quijote* (I.39)'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 36, no. 1 (2016): pp. 85–104.

Sagastume, Jorge R. G. *Cervantes novelador: Las* Novelas ejemplares *cuatrocientos años después* (Málaga: Fundación Málaga, 2014).

Sawhney, Minni. 'Desire and Its Facilitators in Cervantes's *Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda*'. *Anuario de Estudios Cervantinos* 5 (2009): pp. 295–306.

Scham, Michael. *Lector Ludens: The Representation of Games and Play in Cervantes* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014).

Schmidt, Rachel. *Critical Images: The Canonization of* Don Quixote *through Illustrated Editions of the Eighteenth Century* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999).

Schmidt, Rachel. *Forms of Modernity:* Don Quixote *and Modern Theories of the Novel* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011).

Schmidt, Rachel. 'The Intersection of Desire, Erotics, and National Identity in Gustave Doré's *Don Quixote*'. *Review of Japanese Culture and Society* 18 (2006): pp. 12–31.

Schmitz, Ryan. 'Cervantes's Language of the Heart in the *Novelas ejemplares* and *Don Quijote*'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 32, no. 2 (2012): pp. 171–95.

Schmitz, Ryan. 'Sancho's Courtly Performance: Discreción and the Art of Conversation in the Ducal Palace Episodes of *Don Quijote* II'. *Modern Language Notes* 128, no. 2 (2013): pp. 445–55.

Scholz, László and László Vasas. *Cervantes y la narrativa moderna* (Debrecen: Kossuth Egyetemi Kiadó, 2001).

Sears, Theresa Ann. 'Sacrificial Lambs and Domestic Goddesses; or, Did Cervantes Write Chick Lit? (Being a Meditation on Women and Free Will)'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 20, no. 1 (2000): pp. 47–68.

Shuger, Dale. *Don Quixote in the Archives: Madness and Literature in Early Modern Spain* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012).

Simerka, Barbara. 'Mirror Neurons, Subjectivity, and Social Cognition in Don Quixote'. In *Don Quixote: Interdisciplinary Connections*, edited by Matthew D. Warshawsky and James A. Parr (Newark: Juan de la Cuesta, 2013), pp. 59–82.

Simerka, Barbara and Christopher Weimer. 'Don Quixote and Postmodern Film'. In *Approaches to Teaching* Don Quixote, edited by James A. Parr and Lisa Vollendorf (New York: Modern Language Association, 2015), pp. 126–32.

Simerka, Barbara and Christopher Weimer. 'Duplicitous Diegesis: *Don Quijote* and Charlie Kaufman's *Adaptation*'. *Hispania* 88, no. 1 (2005): pp. 91–100.

Simerka, Barbara and Christopher Weimer. '"Ever Want to Be Someone Else?" Self-Fashioning in *Don Quijote* and *Being John Malkovich*'. *Anuario de Estudios Cervantinos* 2 (2005): pp. 45–54.

Simerka, Barbara and Christopher Weimer. 'Two Characters Defying Their Authors: *Don Quijote* and *Stranger Than Fiction*'. *Anuario de Estudios Cervantinos* 4 (2008): pp. 281–97.

Simon, Julien. 'Introduction to "Cognitive Cervantes": Integrating Mind and Cervantes's Texts'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 32, no. 1 (2012): pp. 11–23.

Simon, Julien. 'The Intersection of Mind and *Don Quijote*: Overview and Prospects'. In *Don Quixote: Interdisciplinary Connections*, edited by Matthew D. Warshawsky and James A. Parr (Newark: Juan de la Cuesta, 2013), pp. 19–34.

Simon, Julien, et al. 'Cognitive Cervantes [Special Issue]'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 32, no. 1 (2012): pp. 11–275.

Sliwa, Krzysztof. *Documentos cervantinos: Nueva recopilación: Lista e índices* (New York: Peter Lang, 2000).

Smith, Dawn L. 'Transformation and Fluidity in the Translation of Classical Texts for Performance: The Case of Cervantes's *Entremeses*'. In *The Comedia in English: Translation and Performance*, edited by Susan Paun de García and Donald R. Larson (Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2008), pp. 95–107.

Smith, Wendell P. ' "Ver mundo": Enchanted Boats, Atlases, and Imperial Magic in the Second Part of *Don Quijote*'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 32, no. 2 (2012): pp. 37–80.

Stackhouse, Kenneth A. 'Beyond Performance: Cervantes's Algerian Plays, *El trato de Argel* and *Los baños de Argel*'. *Bulletin of the Comediantes* 52, no. 2 (2000): pp. 7–30.

Stam, Robert. *Literature through Film: Realism, Magic, and the Art of Adaptation* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005).

Stam, Robert. *Reflexivity in Film and Literature: From* Don Quixote *to Jean-Luc Godard* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1985).

Swanson, Philip. 'Don Quijote y el detective postmoderno en la narrativa hispanoamericana'. *Foro Hispánico* 40 (2010): pp. 263–79.

Syrovy, Daniel. *Tilting at Tradition: Problems of Genre in the Novels of Miguel de Cervantes and Charles Sorel* (Amsterdam, Netherlands: Rodopi, 2013).

Thacker, Jonathan. *A Companion to Golden Age Theatre* (Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2007).

Thacker, Jonathan. 'Lope de Vega, *El cuerdo loco*, and "la más discreta figura de la comedia" '. *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 81, no. 4 (2004): pp. 463–78.

Thacker, Jonathan. 'Sex, Treachery, and Really Big Moustaches: Cervantes's *Entremeses* at the Edinburgh Fringe Festival'. *Comedia Performance* 3, no. 1 (2006): pp. 185–99.

Thacker, Jonathan. ' "Véote, y no te conozco": The Unrecognizable Form of Cervantes's *El rufián dichoso*'. *Hispanic Research Journal* 10, no. 3 (2009): pp. 206–26.

Urbina, Eduardo. *Anuario bibliográfico cervantino IV* (Palma: Universitat de les Illes Balears, 2001).

Urbina, Eduardo, dir. *Proyecto Cervantes*. http://www.cervantes.tamu.edu.

Urbina, Eduardo, et al. 'Visual Knowledge: Textual Iconography of the *Quixote*, a Hypertextual Archive'. *Literary and Linguistic Computing* 21, no. 2 (2006): pp. 247–58.

Velasco, Sherry. 'Magic, Medicine, Mythology, and the Male Member in *Don Quixote* I.43'. In *Don Quixote: Interdisciplinary Connections*, edited by Matthew D. Warshawsky and James A. Parr (Newark: Juan de la Cuesta, 2013), pp. 225–49.

Velasco, Sherry. *Male Delivery: Reproduction, Effeminacy, and Pregnant Men in Early Modern Spain* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2006).

Velasco, Sherry. 'Marimachos, Hombrunas, Barbudas: The Masculine Woman in Cervantes'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America*, 20, no. 1 (2000): pp. 69–78.

Velasco, Sherry. 'The Dueña Dolorida: Policing Gender, Desire, and Entertainment'. *Hispanic Review* 77, no. 2 (2009): pp. 221–44.

Vélez-Sainz, Julio and Nieves Romero-Díaz. *Cervantes and/on/in the New World* (Newark: Juan de la Cuesta, 2007).

Vélez Quiñones, Harry. 'Barefoot and Fallen: Dorotea, Athena, Cervantes, and Homer'. *Romance Quarterly* 52, no. 4 (2005): pp. 281–93.

Vélez Quiñones, Harry. ' "Templa, pequeño joven, templa el brío": Pretty Boys and Queer Soldiers in Miguel de Cervantes's *Numancia*'. In *The Poetics of Masculinity in Early Modern Italy and Spain*, edited by Gerry Milligan, et al. (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2010), pp. 241–65.

Vila, Juan Diego and Augustin Redondo. *Peregrinar hacia la dama: El erotismo como programa narrativo del* Quijote (Kassel: Reichenberger, 2008).

Vollendorf, Lisa. 'Reading Gender in *Don Quixote*'. In *Approaches to Teaching* Don Quixote, edited by James A. Parr and Lisa Vollendorf (New York: Modern Language Association, 2015), pp. 71–7.

Wagschal, Steven. 'Digging up the Past: The Archeology of Emotion in Cervantes's "Romance de los celos" '. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 27, no. 2 (2007): pp. 213–28.

Wagschal, Steven. *The Literature of Jealousy in the Age of Cervantes* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2006).

Walters, D. Gareth. 'Performances of Pastoral in "La ilustre fregona": Games within the Game'. In *A Companion to Cervantes's* Novelas ejemplares, edited by Stephen Boyd (Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2005), pp. 207–20.

Wehrs, Donald R. 'Affective Dissonance and Literary Mediation: Emotion Processing, Ethical Signification, and Aesthetic Autonomy in Cervantes's Art of the Novel'. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 32, no. 1 (2012): pp. 201–30.

Weimer, Christopher B. 'Going to Extremes: Barthes, Lacan, and Cervantes's *La Gran Sultana*'. In *Gender, Identity, and Representation in Spain's Golden Age*, edited by Dawn L. Smith and Anita K. Stoll (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2000), pp. 47–60.

Weimer, Christopher B. 'Leaping New Media in a Single Bound: The Quixotic Would-Be Superhero in Contemporary Graphic Fiction and Film'. In *Don Quixote: Interdisciplinary Connections*, edited by Matthew D. Warshawsky and James A. Parr (Newark: Juan de la Cuesta, 2013), pp. 85–106.

Weinberger, Christopher S. 'Critical Desire and the Novel: Ethics of Self-Consciousness in Cervantes and Nabokov'. *Narrative* 20, no. 3 (2012): pp. 277–300.

Weiner, Jeffrey Neil. 'Amazement and the Experience of Transformation in the Romances of Cervantes and Shakespeare'. Dissertation (Berkeley: University of California, Berkeley, 2015).

Wilson, Diana de Armas. *Cervantes, the Novel, and the New World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

Yamada, Yumiko. *Ben Jonson and Cervantes: Tilting Against Chivalric Romances* (Tokyo: Maruzen, 2000).

Zafra, Enriqueta. 'La prostituta y la prostitución en *Don Quijote*: Modelos de "mujeres libres" '. *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 86, no. 5 (2009): pp. 625–40.

Zafra, Enriqueta. *Prostituidas por el texto: Discurso prostibulario en la picaresca femenina* (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2009).

Zimic, Stanislav. *Los cuentos y las novelas del* Quijote (Madrid; Frankfurt: Iberoamericana; Vervuert, 2003).

Index

For the benefit of digital users, indexed terms that span two pages (e.g., 52–53) may, on occasion, appear on only one of those pages

A

Academia de los Entronados 531
  Mistranslation from Italian 531
Academia de los Humildes de Villamanta 535
Academia de los Imitadores 532–3, 535
Academia del Parnaso 537–8
Academia de Saldaña 532
Academia Imitatoria 535
Academia Selvaje 13, 537–8
'Adjunta al Parnaso' (1614) xxviii, xxxv–xxxvi, 336, 340, 391–3, 445–6, 461–3, 468–9, 472, 475, 521–4, 527, 531, 533–4, 537–8
Aethiopica by Heliodorus 18, 242 n21, 258–61, 258 n2, 265, 267, 269–75, 277–8, 283, 507–8, 527–8, 641–2
Aguilar, Gaspar (1561–1623) 447
'A la entrada del Duque de Medina en Cádiz' 42–3
Alba, Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, Duke of (1507–82) 57–8, 342
Alcázar, Baltasar del (1530–1606) 535
Alcuña, Hernando de (1520–80) 228
Aldana, Francisco de (1540–78) 228
Alemán, Mateo (1547–1615) 16, 240–1, 264–5, 328–9, 400, 493–4, 535, 542, 626
  Guzmán de Alfarache, Part I (1599) 16, 176 n7, 240–2, 264–5, 327–9, 400, 493–4, 626
  Guzmán de Alfarache, Part II (1604) 632–3
Alpujarras, *morisco* revolt (1568–71) 133–4
'Al túmulo de Felipe II en Sevilla' 43, 518
Álvarez de Soria, Alonso (1573–1603) 535
Amadís de Gaula (1508) by Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo 43–4, 88–9, 95, 176–7, 202, 480, 492–3, 495, 498–9, 501
Amyot, Jacques (1513–93) 259–60
Angelica: or Quixote in Petticoats (1758) by Anonymous 556
Ángulo, Andrés de 539–40
Anne of Austria, Queen of France (1601–66) 17
Arabic literary tradition 176
Aretino, Pietro (1492–1556) 450
  'Carta a Gianiacopo Lionardi' (1536) 451
Argensola, Bartolomé Leonardo de (1562–1631) 176 n7, 447, 456, 533
Argensola, Lupercio Leonardo de (1559–1613) 176 n7, 391, 447, 456, 470, 497, 516, 526, 533–5
Arguijo, Juan de (1567–1622) 535–6
Arias, Ron (1941–) 579
  Road to Tamazunchale, The (1975) 579
Ariosto, Ludovico (1474–1533) 89, 96, 103, 105–6, 228, 275, 361–2, 450, 501–2, 524
  Orlando furioso (1516–32) 89, 96, 103, 105–6, 228, 275, 361–2, 450, 501–2, 524
Aristophanes (d. c.386BC) 449–50
Aristotle 105–6, 122–3, 170, 194, 208–9, 259–60, 300–1, 315–16, 456, 504–6, 523–4
  Poetics 105–6, 259–60, 315–16, 504–5, 523–4
Artieda, Andrés Rey de (1549–1613) 347, 391, 470, 516, 539–40
Astrana Marín, Luis (1889–1959) 596–8
Auden, W.H. (1907–73) 142–3
Austen, Jane (1775–1817) 555–6
  Northanger Abbey (1798) 556
Avellaneda, Alonso Fernández de xxxi, 6–7, 15–18, 28, 47, 136–8, 144–5, 149–72, 186, 242, 306–7, 498–9, 501–2, 522, 528, 541, 638–40
  Identity question 149–50, 541

Avellaneda, Alonso Fernández de (*cont.*)
Segundo tomo del ingenioso hidalgo don Quixote de la Mancha (1614) xxxi, 6–7, 15–18, 28, 47, 136–8, 144–5, 149–72, 186, 242, 306–7, 501–2, 522, 528, 541, 638–40
Comparison with *Don Quixote* 152–3, 155, 157–72
El rico desesperado 151
Los felices amantes 151
Madness in 155–6, 306–7
Prologue 157, 528
Reception of 149–50
Aviñon, Juan de (1381–1418) 300–1
Sevillana medicina (1545) 300–1
Ayres, James 553
Sancho at Court; or, The Mock Governor (1742) 553
Aznar, José María (1953–) 611, 614–15

B

Bakhtin, Mikhail (1895–1975) 153–4, 209, 306, 319, 329, 653–4
Balbuena, Bernardo de (1568–1627) 452
El Bernardo (1610) 451
Bandello, Matteo (c.1480–1562) 238, 500–1, 634
Novelle (1554–73) 238, 500–1, 634
Barrett, Eaton Stannard (1786–1820) 556
Heroine, The (1813) 556
Baudoin, Nicholas 548–9
Le Curieux Impertinent (1608) 548–9
Beaumont, Francis (1584–1616) 118, 548–50, 565–6
Coxcomb, The (1608–10) with Fletcher 118, 548–9
Knight of the Burning Pestle, The (1612) 548–9, 565–6
Love's Pilgrimage (1615) 549–50
Beauvoir, Simone de (1908–86) 204
Belanís de Grecia (1545) by Jerónimo Fernández 43–4, 176–7
Bellay, Joachim du (1522–60) 499
Bembo, Pietro (1470–1547) 450, 502
Bermúdez, Jerónimo (1530–1605) 341–2, 470
Bernardo del Carpio 39, 361–2, 474–5, 480–1
Berni, Francesco (1497–1536) 450
Boccaccio, Giovanni (1313–75) 238, 277 n73, 495, 498–502, 634
Decameron, The (c.1348–53) 238, 277 n73, 499–500, 634
De mulieribus claris (1374) 499–500
Elegia di Madonna Fiammetta (1343) 495, 499–500
Il corbaccio (c. 1355) 499–500
Boccalini, Traiano (1556–1613) 451
I Ragguagli di Parnaso (1612) 451
Boiardo, Mateo (1441–94) 23–4, 361–2, 501–2, 506–7
Orlando Innamorato (1483–95) 23, 361–2, 501–2, 506–7
Borges, Jorge Luis (1899–1986) 114–15, 143–4, 170, 577
'Libraries of Babel, The' (1941) 143–4
'Pierre Menard, author of *Don Quixote*' (1939) 577
Boscán, Juan (1490–1542) 228, 291, 418, 499
Bunyan, John (1628–88) 552
Pilgrim's Progress, The (1678) 552
Buñuel, Luis (1900–83) 603–4
Burgess, Anthony (1917–1933) 564–5
'A Meeting in Valladolid' (1982) 564–5
Burton, Robert (1577–1640) 551
Anatomy of Melancholy, The (1621) 551
Bush, George W. (1946–) 580
as quixotic 580
Butler, Bishop John (1692–1752) 191
Butler, Samuel (1613–80) 552
Hudibras (1663–64, 1678) 552

C

Caesar Augustus (63 BC–14 AD) 282
Calderón de la Barca, Pedro (1600–81) 409–10, 422–3
Camões, Luís de (1524–80) 24, 642–3
Camus, Mario (1935–) 610–11, 614
Fortuna y Jacinta (1980) 610–11
Canavaggio, Jean (1936–) 598–9
'Canción primera a la Armada Invencible' 42
Caporali, Cesare (1531–1601) 446–7, 449–50, 461, 502
'Avisii di Parnaso' (1582) 450, 461
Viaggio di Parnaso (1582) 449–51, 461, 502
Carvalho, Antonio (1590–1650) 384 n15
Un discurso sobre si conviene que los predicadores reprehendan príncipes y ministros (1626) 384–5

Carvallo, Luis Alfonso de (1571–1635) 452–3
El cisne de Apolo (1602) 452–3
Casa, Giovanni della (1503–56) 450
Casas, Bartolomé de las (1484–1566) 285–6, 592
Castiglione, Baldassare (1478–1529) 291, 504–5
Il Cortegiano (1528) 291, 504–5
Castillejo, Cristóbal de (1490–1550) 228
Castro, Guillén de (1569–1631) 447
Catallus (c. 84–c. 54 BC)
Cela, Camilo José (1916–2002) 603
La Colmena (1951) 603
Celestina (1499) 16, 260–1, 325
Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de (1547–1616)
Americas, The, in Cervantes's works 574–6
Ambiguity xxviii–xxix, 25
Ancestry of 5
Attributions xxxv, 467–84
Theatre 468–76
Entremeses 476–8
Baptism xxvii, 4–5
Biographers of xxxvi, 587–98
Biography of xxx, 3–19
Biopics of 605–11
Birth of 4–5
Captivity (1575–80) xxvii–xxviii, xxx–xxxi, 7–8, 26–7, 39–40, 51–78, 237, 247, 339, 363
Childhood xxvii, 4–6
Criticism (scholarly) of *see* Criticism
Death xxix, 19, 257
and Empire xxx, 38–48
and Genre xxxiii, 315–29
and Greek Philosophers 192–5
Imprisonment 10–11
Influences and sources xxxv, 176–7
and Literary circles xxxv–xxxvi, 531–43
and Madness (see also *Don Quixote de la Mancha*)xxxiii, 297–311
Marriage 8–9
Other, the 394–407
and Philosopy xxxii
Poetry of xxxiv, 433–40
Reception of 433–6
Portrait of (attributed to Jáuregui) 13–14, 14 n22, 535–6
Pre-Lopean Drama (1580s) 335–48
Reception in Britain xxxvi, 546–67
Reception in Europe 17
Reception in the Americas xxxvi, 572–81, 650–1
Sources 491–510
and Warfare xxx, 21–36
Exemplary Warfare 33–6
Céspedes, Pablo de (1538–1608) 535
Chaparro Valderrama, Hugo (1961–) 577
'El sueño de Cide Hamete Benengeli' (2004) 577
Chapman, Robin (1933–) 559, 561–3, 566
Duchess's Diary, The (1980) 561–2
Pasamonte's Life (2005) 561–3
Sancho's Golden Age (2004) 561–3
Shakespeare's Don Quixote (2011) 564, 566
Charles I, King of Spain (1516–1556) *see* Charles V
Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor (1519–1558) xxx, xxxv, 4–5, 38–44, 47–8, 260–1, 339, 515
as Aeneas 42
Death of 260–1
as Julius Caesar 39
as Marcus Aurelius 39
Chaucer, Geoffrey (1343–1400) 500
Canterbury Tales, The (1399) 500
Chesterton, G.K. (1874–1936) 559–61
Ball and the Cross, The (1910) 560
Napoleon of Notting Hill, The (1905) 560
'Parody of Don Quixote, The' (1901) 559–60
Return of Don Quixote, The (1927) 559–61
Chrétien de Troyes (1135?–85?) 88–9, 134–5
Cide Hamete Benengeli xxviii–xxix, 94–6, 99, 112, 119–20, 127–9, 144, 165, 167–9, 176, 178–86, 194, 198, 243, 307, 558, 561–2, 577, 580–1, 651–3
Colman, George (1732–94) 556
Polly Honeycomb (1760) 556
Comedia nueva xxviii, xxxiv, 319–21, 355–8, 361, 366–7, 371–2, 391–407, 468–9, 471, 474–5, 497, 516, 518–21, 525–6, 529, 637–8
Congregación del Santísimo Sacramento (Academia) 537
Constantinople, Fall of (1453) 44–5, 473–4
Córdoba, Juan de (1503–95) 230
Correas, Gonzalo (1571–1631) 409
Arte de la lengua española (1592) 409

Cortés, Hernán (1485–1547) 574–5
Council of Trent (1545–63) 4–5, 105–6
Counter-Reformation 151–2, 171, 190, 353–67, 369, 391–2, 498, 515
Criticism (scholarly) of xxxvi, 5, 625–43, 648–64
Crowne, John (1641–1712) 551
Married Beau: or, The Curious Impertinent, The (1694) 551
Cruz, San Juan de la (1542–91) 344–5, 436
Cántico espiritual (1579) 344–5
Cueva, Juan de la (1543–1612) xxxiii, 335, 338, 341–2, 347, 391, 418, 452 n23, 470, 535
El Coro Febeo de Romances historiales (1587) 452 n23
Viaje de Sannio (1585) 452
Cueva y Silva, Francisco de la (1550–1621) 536

D

Dante Alighieri (d. 1321) 228, 338, 450–2, 498–9, 501–2, 506–7, 579, 642–3
Divine Comedy (1320) 338, 451–2, 498–9, 506–7
Darío, Rubén (1867–1916) 576–7
'Letanía de nuestro señor don Quijote' (1605) 576–7
Dekker, Thomas (1572–1632) 548–50
Spanish Gipsy, The (1623) 549–50
Witch of Edmonton, The (1623) 548–9
Derrida, Jacques (1930–2004) 194–5
Descartes, René (1596–1650) 191, 197–200, 203
Discourse on Method (1637) 197–8
Meditations on First Philosophy (1641) 197–8
Desicorides, Pedanius (d. 90 AD) 300–1, 475
Materia medica translated by Andrés Laguna (1554) 300–1, 475
'Diálogo entre Cilenia y Selanio sobre la vida del campo sacado en limpio' (attributed) 478–80
Date of Composition 478–80
as Las semanas del jardín 478–80
Díaz Rengifo, Juan (1553–1615) 409
Ars poética española (1592) 409
Dickens, Charles (1812–70) 555, 558
Posthumous Papers of the Pickwick Club, The (1837) 558
Oliver Twist (1837–8) 558
Dido, Queen of Carthage 265, 276–7, 506–7
Don Quixote de la Mancha, Part I (1605) and Part II (1615) xxvii–xxix, xxxi, xxxiii, xxxv–xxxvi, 6–7, 11–12, 16–18, 23, 26–8, 36, 42–6, 48, 51–2, 57–9, 75–6, 87–115, 118–19, 152–3, 159, 223, 233–4, 236–7, 240–2, 257–9, 266–7, 286, 292, 316–20, 327–9, 340, 391, 393, 422–3, 433, 436–9, 456, 463–4, 472, 474–6, 481, 491–4, 496–7, 499, 501–9, 519–22, 524, 526–9, 532–4, 538–41, 546–7, 551, 553–64, 572–81, 602–3, 626–33, 636–41
Altisadora 131, 141–2, 165, 498–9
Ambiguities in 127–8, 133–4, 138
Ana Félix 138–9, 164
Anagnorisis in 317
and Art of fiction, the 105–7
Barataria, Island of 132–4, 160–1, 503
and Baroque Philosophy 197–9
Camacho's wedding 126
Canon of Toledo 104–7, 157, 193, 497, 505–6, 519–20, 522–4
Cardenio (Interpolated Tale) 100–1, 240, 495, 498–9, 507–9
'Cart of the Parliament of Death' 124–7
Cave of Montesinos 126–8, 135, 464, 498–9, 506–9
Clavileño 192, 506–7
Countess Trifaldi 131, 192, 194
Death of Don Quixote 144
Dolorous Duenna 131
Duke and Duchess 129–36, 141–2, 161, 192, 307, 506–7
Economics in 142
El curioso impertinente 7, 31–2, 51–2, 101, 118, 237–9, 238 n11, 243, 309–10, 501–2, 548–51, 631–3
Madness in 309–11
Suicide in 309–10
Translation into French (1608) by Nicholas Baudoin 548–9
Film adaptation of (1949) by Rafael Gil (1913–86) 602–5
Ginés de Pasamonte 16, 32–3, 128–9, 328–9, 493–4, 551–2, 563, 641
Grisóstomo 99–100, 309–10, 494–9, 506, 631–2

'La canción desesperada' 309–10, 496–7
Suicide of 309–10
Hamartia 123–4
and King Arthur 88
La historia del cautivo (Captive's Tale) 32–3, 57–9, 61–3, 71, 76, 101–2, 237, 240, 243, 366, 472, 558, 631–3
and Libros de caballeria (Books of chivalry) 88–99, 106–7, 114, 131, 135, 142, 176–7
Madness in 89–92, 107–10, 123–4, 134–5, 143–4, 146, 298–9, 301–10
Marcela 99–100, 494
Maese Pedro 16, 128–9, 493–4, 551–2, 563
and Metafiction 94–6
and Modernism and Postmodernism 195–7
Narrative structure in xxxii, 98–105, 175–86
Peripeteia in 123–4, 316–17
Perspectivism in 96–9
Philosophy and humour 189–209
Poetry in 433, 436–9
Prologue to Part I 112–15, 144, 157, 179, 183–4, 208, 319–20, 493, 503–4, 519, 521, 523–4
Cervantes's literary isolation in 521
Lope de Vega in 519
Prologue to Part II 145, 157–8
Ricote 133–4, 138–9
and Romances of chivalry 88–9
Sansón Carrasco 118–20, 125, 139–41, 143–4, 164–5, 182–3, 194, 243, 298–9, 306–9, 603–4
as Knight of the White Moon 139–41, 145, 164, 303, 306, 551–2
Translation into English by Thomas Shelton (1612) 13, 118, 546, 564, 577–8
Translation into English by Tobias Smollett (1755) 554–5, 578
Translation into French (1615) 199
Warfare in 21, 23, 26–31
Drake, Sir Francis (c. 1540–96) 518
Dryden, John (1631–1700) 550–1
Fables Ancient and Modern (1700) 550–1
Rival Ladies, The (1664) 551
D'Urfey, Thomas (1653–1723) 548, 551–2
Comical History of Don Quixote, The (1694–6) 548, 551–2

E

Ebreo, León (1464–1530) 504–5
Dialogues of Love (1530) 504–5
Edgeworth, Maria (1768–1849) 556
'Angelina' (1801) 556
Egido, Luciano G. (1928–) 604–5
Los caminos de Don Quijote (1961) 604–5
El amante liberal (1613) 26–7, 32–6, 46, 51–2, 55, 65–9, 245, 248 n36, 253, 500–1, 634–6
El bosque amoroso (lost play) 336, 469, 474–5
as La casa de los celos 474–5
El Buscapié (attributed) 483
El casamiento engañoso (1613) 72, 244–5, 251, 500–1, 549–50, 634–6
El celoso extremeño (1613) 10, 13–14, 239, 244–5, 244 n29, 253, 309–11, 316–17, 321–9, 482, 500–1, 574–5, 631–2, 634–5
Jealousy in 309–11, 322–3
El coloquio de los perros (1613) 72, 241, 244–7, 251, 253–4, 327–8, 391, 433, 493–4, 500–1, 503, 505, 532–3, 535, 539, 577, 634–6
Poetry in 433
El Conde Lucanor (1335) by Don Juan Manuel (1282–1348) 238
El entremés de Doña Justina y Calahorra (attributed) 476–7
El gallardo español (1615) 51–2, 62–5, 363–8
El Greco (1541–1614) 344–5
Alegoría de la Liga Santa (1579) 344–5
El hospital de los podridos (attributed) 476–8
Eliot, George (1819–80) 555, 558
Middlemarch (1871–2) 558
Mill on the Floss, The (1860) 558
Elisio de Medinilla, Baltasar (1585–1620) 541
Elizabeth I, Queen of England (1558–1603) 34, 46–8, 70–1
El juez de los divorcios (1615) 382–4, 389, 424, 477–8
El laberinto de amor (1615) 358–63, 365
Labyrinth motif in 360–1
Representation of women in 360
El licenciado Vidriera (1613) 7, 199, 245–7, 253, 298–9, 305–6, 327–8, 433, 464, 493–4, 503, 574–5, 634–5
Madness in 298–9, 305–6
Poetry in 433
Elorrieta, José María (1921–74) 604–5
Por tierras de Don Quijote (1946) 604–5

El retablo de las maravillas (1615) 60, 76–7, 378, 384–7, 389, 424, 497
El rufián dichoso (1615) 10, 14–15, 320–1, 368–73, 393–4, 420, 424, 523–7, 637–8
  Allegorical characters in 369, 525, 637–8
  as a *comedia de santos* / *comedia divina* 320–1, 368–70, 525
  Meta-theatre in 369–70
  Versification in 420
El rufián viudo llamado Trampagos (1615) 379, 383–4, 389, 425–6, 438, 477
  Poetry in 438
El trato de Argel, see *Los tratos de Argel*
El trato de Constantinopla y muerte de Selím (1585; lost play) 473
El viejo celoso (1615) 322–3, 384–5, 387, 389, 424–5, 549–50
El vizcaíno fingido (1615) 384–5, 387, 389–90, 424
Encina, Juan del (1468–1529?) 424
Epístola a Mateo Vázquez (1577?) 639
Erasmus(Desiderius Erasmus (1469–1536) xxvii, 132–3, 154, 303–6, 502–5, 534–5
  De copia (1512) 388–9
  Education of a Christian Prince (1516) 504–5
  Encomium Matrimonii (1518) 503
  Praise of Folly (1509) 155, 303–6, 503
Ercilla, Alonso de (1533–94) 23–4, 26–7, 31–2, 229, 418, 480, 497
  Araucana, La (1569–89) 23, 26–7, 31–2, 229, 418, 480, 497
Escrivá, Vicente (1913–99) 606
  Dulcinea (1963) 606
Espinosa, Pedro de (1578–1650) 542–3
  Flores de poetas ilustres en España (1605) 542
Essex, Robert Devereux, Earl of (1565–1601) 639
Examen de ingenios para las ciencias [Scientific Examination of Men's Wits] (1575) by Juan Huarte de San Juan (1529–88) 178, 298–9, 302–3
Expulsion of the *moriscos* (1609) xxviii–xxix, 13–14, 74–5, 133–4, 138, 260–1, 286

F

Famoso Bernado (lost work) 480–1
Faulkner, William (1897–1962) 579
Fernández de Navarrete, Martín (1785–1844) 592–3
Fernández Santos, Jesús (1926–88) 607–8
  El licenciado Vidriera (1974) 607–8
Ferrer, Luis (d. 1641) 447
Field, Nathan (1587–1620) 548–9
  Amends for Ladies (1611) 548–9
Fielding, Henry (1707–54) 552–5, 627–8
  Don Quixote in England (1728) 552–3
  History of the Adventures of Joseph Andrews, The (1742) 553–4, 627–8
  History of Tom Jones, a Foundling (1749) 555
Fitzmaurice-Kelly, James (1857–1923) 593–6
Flaubert, Gustave (1821–80) 630
  Madame Bovary (1857) 629–30
Fletcher, John (1579–1625) 118, 548–50, 552, 564, 566–7
  Chances, The (1613–25) 549–50
  Coxcomb, The (1608–10) with Beaumont 118, 548–9
  Custom of the Country, The (1625) 258, 550–1
  History of Cardenio, The (1613) with Shakespeare 118, 548–9, 552, 564–7
    Double Falsehood by Theobold *as* 552, 564–6
  Love's Pilgrimage (1615) 549–50
  Rule a Wife and Have a Wife (1624) 549–50
Ford, John (1586–1639) 516–18
  Fair Maid of the Inn, The (1625) 549–50
  Spanish Gipsy, The (1623) 549–50
  Witch of Edmonton, The (1623) 548–9
Forqué, José María (1923–95) 607
  Un diablo bajo la almohada (1968) 607
Foucault, Michel (1926–84) 191–2, 197, 204, 298
  The Order of Things (1966) 191
Fowles, John (1926–2005) 559
  French Lieutenant's Woman, The (1969) 559
Francis I, King of France (1515–47) 4–5
Franco, Francisco (1892–1975) 601–2
  Franco dictatorship (1936–75) 601–2
Franklin, Benjamin (1706–90) 578
Freud, Sigmund (1856–1939) 203–4

G

Galatea, La (1585) xxxii–xxxiii, xxxv, 6–7, 9, 11–12, 16, 26–7, 42, 51–2, 54, 56–7,

215–30, 233, 237–8, 240–1, 259, 316–17, 422–3, 433, 436–7, 454–5, 474–5, 478–9, 491–2, 495–7, 499, 504–5, 507–8, 516–17, 527–8, 533–5, 625–7, 632–3
'Canto de Calíope' 218–19, 228–31, 418, 436–7, 454–5, 497, 517–18, 539, 541
Homicide in 219, 220, 221*t*
Interpolated stories in 240
Kidnapping in 220, 221*t*
Lope de Vega in 516–17
Meta-literary dialogues in 316–17
Orphic Poet 215–30
Petrarchan tropes in 316–17
Poetry in 433, 436–7
Prologue 216, 223, 228
Rota Virgilii 215–30
Suicidal thoughts in 220, 221*t*
Galatea, La, Part II (lost novel) 481–2
Galileo Galilei (1564–1642) 191
Galvadón, Roberto (1909–86) 608–9
Don Quijote cabalga de nuevo (1973) 608–9
Gayton, Edmund (1608–66) 551–2
Pleasant Notes upon Don Quixote (1654) 551–2
Generation of '98 205, 600–1, 628
Gil, Rafael (1913–86) 602–5
Don Quixote (1947) 602–5
Gilliam, Terry (1940–) 546–7, 566, 612
Man who Killed Don Quixote, The (2018) 546–7, 566–7, 612
Failed attempt (see also *Lost in La Mancha*), 546–7, 566, 612
Gil Polo, Gaspar (1540–84) 494, 626
Diana enamorada (1565) 494
Giraldo Cinthio, Giovanni Battista (1504–73) 238, 634
Hecatommithi (1565) 238
Goffman, Erving (1922–82) 199–204
The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life (1956) 204
Gómez Valderrama, Pedro (1923–92) 572–3
'En un lugar de las Indias' (1973) 572–3
Góngora, Luis de (1561–1627) 178, 267–9, 422–3, 497, 518–19, 533–6, 539
Las soledades (1613) 267, 269
González, Felipe (1942–) 610–11
Graves, Richard (1715–1804) 556–7
Spiritual Quixote, or The Summer's Ramble of Mr Geoffrey Wildgoose, The (1773) 556–7
Greene, Graham (1904–91) 559, 561
Monsignor Quixote (1982) 561
Guerras civiles de Granda (1606) by Ginés Pérez de Hita (1544–1619) 63
Guevara, Antonio de (1481–1545) 39, 44, 259–60, 285–7, 292, 499–500
Relox de príncipes (1529) 286, 499–500
'Villano del Danubio' 286
Gutiérrez Aragón, Manuel (1940–) 613–15
El caballero Don Quijote (2002) 614
La noche más Hermosa (1984) 613–14
Maravillas (1981) 613–14

H

Hartley, L.P. (1895–1972) 559
Love Adept, The (1969) 559
Henry VIII, King of England (1509–47) 4–5
Herrera, Fernando de (1534–97) 409, 422–3
Anotaciones (1580) 409
Herrera, Francisco de (1576–1656) 178
Hobbes, Thomas (1588–1679) 197–8
Homer 44, 228, 230, 273, 276–7, 505–7, 509
Iliad, The 505–6
Odyssey, The 273, 276–7, 505–7
Horace (64–8 BC) 228, 315–16, 324, 372, 454–6, 523–4
Ars poetica 315–16, 324
Hospitals and Medical Texts 298–303
La casa del nuncio (hospital) 306–7
La casa de los locos (hospital) 298–9
Hurtado de Mendoza, Diego (1504–75) 228, 497

I

Index of Prohibited Books (1559) 4–5, 238, 634
Isabel de Valois, Queen of Spain (1545–68) 5–6
Islamic invasion of Spain (711 AD) 286

J

Jacinto, St (1183–1257) 533
Canonization of (1596) 533
Poem by Cervantes 533
James, Henry (1843–1916) 555

Jáuregui, Juan de (1583–1641) 535–6
Portrait of Cervantes 535–6
Jefferson, Thomas (1743–1826) 578, 580
Use of term 'quixotic' 580
Jerusalém, *La see La conquista de Jerusalén*
Jonson, Ben (1572–1637) 548–9
Epicoene (1610) 548–9
Juan de Austria, Don (1547–78) 4, 7, 40, 237, 470, 472, 539
Justa literaria 533–4
Justa poética 532–3

K

Kafka, Franz (1883–1924) 143–4
Kierkegaard, Søren (1813–55) 204–8
Fear and Trembling (1843) 205–6
Johannes de Silentio (pseudonym) 205–6

L

La Amaranta o La del Mayo (lost play) 336, 469, 474–5
La batalla naval (lost play) 336, 468–9, 472–3, 522–3
La cárcel de Sevilla (attributed) 476–7
La casa de los celos y las selvas de Ardenia (1615) 358–63, 418, 474–6, 501–2, 526
Date of Composition 474–5
La confusa (1585; lost play) 469, 475
as El laberinto de amor 475
La conquista de Jerusalén por Godofre de Bullón(1586; attributed) xxxiii, 335–6, 340, 345–8, 394, 404–7, 410, 469, 471–3, 480, 505
Allegorical characters in 346
Attribution to Cervantes 346–8, 471–2
as La Jerusalém 471
Papeles de actor 345–6, 348
La cueva de Salamanca (1615) 380, 384–7, 389, 424, 439
Poetry in 439
La elección de los alcaldes de Daganzo (1615) 379, 383–4, 389, 424, 426, 477–8
La entretenida (1615) 358–63, 366–7, 420, 422–4, 526, 637
Representation of women in 359
Subversiveness in 359–60
Versification in 420, 422–4
La española inglesa (1613) 26–8, 32–6, 46–7, 69–72, 245, 247–8, 251, 253, 325–6, 500–1, 634–5
Economics in 70
La fuerza de la sangre (1613) 245, 247, 250–1, 549–50, 634–5
La gitanilla 126, 245, 247–50, 321, 325–6, 433, 438, 549–50, 634–5
Poetry in 433, 438
La gran sultana doña Catalina de Oviedo (1615) 51–2, 72–6, 78, 347–8, 363–8, 394, 396–400, 406–7, 417, 471–2, 475
Ambiguities in 74–5
La gran turquesca (lost play) 336, 469, 474
Date of composition 474
as La gran sultana 474
La guarda cuidadosa (1615) 384, 389, 424
La ilustre fregona (1613) 245, 247, 251, 320–1, 325–8, 422–3, 433, 493–4, 549–50
Poetry in 433
Las dos doncellas (1613) 245, 500–1, 549–50, 634–5
La señora Cornelia (1613) 245, 251 n41, 500–1, 549–50, 634–5
Las semanas del jardín (lost work) 467, 478–81
Las Sergas de Esplandián (1510) by Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo 23, 95, 492–3
La tía fingida (attributed) 239, 482–3
La única, y la bizarra Arsinda (lost play) 336, 469, 476
Lazarillo de Tormes (1554) 16, 75, 128–9, 178, 240, 328–9, 457, 493–4
Leaden Books of Granada 195–6
Ledesma, Alonso de (1552–1623) 541
as Avellaneda 541
Lemos, Pedro Fernández de Castro, Count of (1576–1622) 12–13, 16–18, 118–19, 145, 234–6, 249, 258, 447–9, 456, 533–4, 537, 542–3
Lennox, Charlotte (1730–1804) 555–6
Female Quixote, or, The Adventures of Arabella, The (1752) 555–6
León, Fray Luis de (1527–91) 436
Lepanto, Battle of (1571) xxvii–xxviii, xxx, 6–7, 21, 26–8, 32, 38–9, 52–3, 57–9, 67, 237, 470, 472–3, 516, 521–2, 539, 606–7
Lerma, Francisco Gómez de Sandoval y Rojas, Duke of (1553–1625) 537, 628

Leucippe and Clitophon by Achilles Tatius 18, 258 n4
Limpieza de sangre (blood purity) 4–5, 339, 355–6, 358–9, 364, 392–5, 398–400, 403–5
Liñán de Riaza, Pedro (1557–1607) 541
Lobo Lasso de la Vega, Gabriel (1559–1623) 341–2, 347, 391, 470, 473–4
  Tragedia de la destruyción de Constantinopla (1587) 473–4
Locke, John (1632–1704) 551
  Essay Concerning Human Understanding (1690) 551
López de Úbeda, Francisco 542
  La pícara Justina (1605) 542, 632
López de Zárate, Francisco (1580–1658) 283
  Poema heroico de la invención de la cruz, por el emperador Constantino Magno (1648) 283
López Maldonado, Gabriel (d. 1615) 518, 541
  El cancionero (1586) 541
Los baños de Argel, (1615) 7–8, 51–2, 54–5, 59–62, 73–4, 347–8, 363–8, 394, 396–7, 400, 402–4, 406–7, 420, 471–2, 539–40, 549–50
  Ambiguities in 61–2
  Meta-theatre in 366–7
  Versification in 420
Los habladores (attributed) 376–7, 380, 388–9, 476, 478
Los mirones (attributed) 476–7
Los romances (attributed) 476
  Connection to *Don Quixote* 476
Lost in La Mancha (2002) 546–7, 566, 612, 658–9
Los tratos de Argel (also *El trato de Argel*) (c.1581) xxxiii, 8–9, 40, 48, 51–6, 62–3, 259, 335–41, 346–8, 366, 394, 396, 400–2, 406–7, 410, 468–73, 475, 497, 522–3
  Allegorical characters in 338
  Ambiguities in 56, 339
  Date of composition 336–7
  Manuscript of 335–6
  Papel de actor 348, 469–70
  Political reading of 339
Louis XIII, King of France (1610–43) 17
Lucas, Charles (1769–1854) 556–7
  Infernal Quixote: a Tale of the Day, The (1801) 556–7
Lucian of Samosata (c.125–80 AD) 269–70, 285–7, 292, 449–50, 459, 506–7
  and Persiles y Sigismunda see *Persiles y Sigismunda*
Lynch, David (1946–) 580
  Mulholland Drive (2001) 580

M

Machiavelli, Niccolò (1469–1527) 502–3
  The Prince (1532) 502–3
Madden, John (1949–) 616
  Shakespeare in Love (1998) 616
Magnus, Johannes (1488–1544) 284–5, 291
Magnus, Olaus (1490–1557) 284–5, 291
  Historia de Gentibus Septentrionalibus (1555) 284–5
Malón de Chaide, Pedro (1530–89) 626
  La conversion de la Magdalena (1588) 626
Man of La Mancha 170, 608
  Film adaptation of (1972) 608–9
Manrique, Jorge (c.1440–79) 436
Margarita of Austria, Queen of Spain (1584–1611) 537
Mariana of Austria, Queen of Spain (1634–96) 200–1
Martínez Espinel, Vicente Gómez (1550–1624) 537, 539
  Diversas rimas (1591) 539
Martorell, Joanot (1410–68) 493
  Tirant lo Blanch (1490) 493
Massinger, Philip (1583–1640) 258, 548–50
  Custom of the Country, The (1625) 258, 550–1
  Fair Maid of the Inn, The (1625) 549–50
  Fatal Dowry, The (1619) 549–50
  Renegado, The (1624) 549–50
  Virgin Martyr, The (1622) 548–9
Masuccio Salernitano (1410–75) 500–1
  Novelle 500–1
Maximilian II, Holy Roman Emperor (1564–76) 474
Mayáns y Siscar, Gregorio (1699–1781) 529
Medinilla, Pedro de (d. 1621) 536
Melville, Herman (1819–91) 578–9
  Moby Dick (1851) 578–9
  Piazza Tales, The (1856) 578–9

Mena, Juan de (1411–56) 323–4
Laberinto de Fortuna (1444) 323–4
Mercado, Pedro de 300–1
Diálogos de philosophía natural y moral (1558) 300–1
Mesa, Cristóbal de (1559–1633) 391, 518, 533–4
Middleton, Thomas (1580–1627) 546, 548–50
Lady's Tragedy, The (1611) 548–9
Spanish Gipsy, The (1623) 549–50
Your Five Gallants (1607) 546, 548–9
Milton, John (1608–74) 557, 642–3
Ministerio de Tiempo, El 617–18
Mira de Amuesca, Antonio (1577–1636) 456
Molina, Josefina (1936–) 610–11
Teresa de Jesús (1984) 610–11
Montaigne, Michel de (1533–92) 285–6
Montemayor, Jorge de (1520–61) 9, 16, 216, 218–20, 301–2, 493–5, 625–7
Diana, La (1559) 9, 16, 216, 218–20, 301–2, 493–5, 625–7
Mora, Jerónimo de (d. 1615) 535–6
Morales, Ambrosio de (1513–91) 509
Crónica general de España (1574) 509
Morán, Jerónimo (1817–72) 593
More, Thomas (1478–1535) xxvii, 503, 507–8
Utopia (1516) 503, 507–8

N

Navarre, Marguerite de (1492–1549) 500
Heptaméron (1588) 500
Nietzsche, Friedrich (1844–1900) 194–5
Nine Worthies / Nine Paragons (los nueve de la fama) 200–1, 471 n10
Novelas ejemplares (1613) xxxii–xxxv, 13–16, 18, 46, 199, 233–54, 258–9, 316–17, 321, 436–8, 445, 475, 499, 507–8, 527–8, 549–51, 632–6, 638–9
Ambiguities in 246
Anagnorisis in 250
Chronology of 245–6
Exemplarity in 246–9, 251–3
'Mystery' in 249–50, 253–4
Poetry in 436–8
Prologue 237, 246, 249, 445, 634
Translation into English (1640) 551
Translation into English (1644) 549–50
Translation into French (1615) 549–50
Warfare in 21
Numancia, La (c. 1583) xxxiii, 8–9, 21–6, 36, 40–2, 286, 336, 340–6, 392–3, 395, 410, 418–19, 468–73, 475, 497, 509, 522–5, 637
and Aeneid, The (c. 19 BC) by Virgil 22–3, 508–9
Allegorical characters in 341, 343–4, 637
Ambiguities in 25, 40–1, 319–20, 341–3, 395
and Araucana, La 23, 418
and Empire 40–2
and Epic poetry 22–4, 40–2
Hamartia in 342–3
Justice in warfare 343
and Las Sergas de Esplandián 23
and Persians, The by Aeschylus 41–2
and Pharsalia (AD 65) by Lucan 22–3
Political reading of 341–2
Suicide in 310, 341
Verse forms in 418–19
Warfare in 21–6
Justice in 22–3, 25
Siege warfare in 23–4
Nussbaum, Raphael (1931–93) 608–9
The Amorous Adventures of Don Quixote and Sancho Panza (1976) 608–9

O

Ocho comedias, y ocho entremeses nuevos, nunca representados (1615) xxxiii–xxxiv, 15, 242, 335–6, 340, 348, 352–73, 376–90, 392–3, 410, 427, 438, 468–9, 472, 515–16, 518–19, 522, 525, 538, 549–50, 638–9
Ocho comedias 352–73, 525
as Anti-Lope 355, 358–9, 525, 616–17
Political reading of 355–6
Unorthodox form 357–8, 372–3
Ocho entremeses 376–90, 462
Apologia in 384
Cervantes's Innovations in 379
Characters in 380–1
Entremés before Cervantes 377–9
Language in 379–80
Resolution in 381–2

Rhetoric in 384–5, 387–90
Versification in 424–7
Prologue 335–6, 377–8, 427, 515–16, 518–19, 522–4
Poetry in 438
Ochoa, Juan de (1554–1606) 535
One Thousand and One Nights (*Arabian Nights*) 238
Oran, Defence of (1563) 364–5
Representation of history in 364–5
Ortega y Gasset, José (1883–1955) 629–30
Meditaciones del Quijote (1914) 629–30
Ovid 44, 360, 495, 508–9
Heroides (c. 25–16 BC) 495, 508–9
Metamorphoses (c. 8AD) 508–9

P

Pacheco, Francisco (1564–1644) 518, 535
Padilla, Fray Pedro (1540–1600?) 518, 541
Tesoro de varias poesías (1580) 541
Palmerín de Inglaterra (1543) by Francisco de Moraes (1500–72) 480
París, Inés (1963–) 615–16
Miguel y William (2007) 615–16
Patino, Basilio Martín (1930–2017) 607–8
Rinconete y Cortadillo (unfinished film) 607–8
Pedro de Urdemalas (1615) 60, 75, 361, 368–73, 393–4, 412–14, 419–22, 427, 525–7, 539–40, 577, 637–8
Petrarchan tropes in 421–3
as Pseudo-picaresque 368, 370
Versification in 412–14, 419–22, 427
Pellicer y Pilares, Juan Antonio (1739–1806) 591–2
Persiles y Sigismunda, Los trabajos de (1617) xxix, xxxii–xxxv, 7, 18, 42, 47–8, 51–2, 54–5, 76–8, 223, 236–8, 240, 242, 244–5, 244 n29, 253–4, 257–92, 316–17, 324–6, 433, 439, 475, 491–2, 496, 499, 507–8, 527–8, 531, 538, 541, 547–8, 550, 575–6, 631–2
and the Aeneid 273, 276–7
Ambiguity in 76
Anacharsis in 269 n59
Genre in 258
False captives in 76–8
Interpolated 'novels' in 240
Lucian of Samosata 264–93
Faux naïf in 269–70, 269 n59, 282
and the Odyssey 273, 276–7
Plot Overview of 261–4
Poetry in 433, 439
Reception of 258
Rhetoric in 389
Translation into English (1619) 550
Petrarch, Francesco (1304–74) 228, 494, 498–9, 502, 539, 626
Il canzoniere 499
Pharsalia (AD 65) by Lucan 22–3, 509
Philip II, King of Spain (1556–98) xxviii, xxxv, 5–6, 8–9, 11, 14, 39–46, 48, 62–3, 195–6, 286, 339, 344–5, 470, 472, 474, 480–1, 493, 515, 518, 542, 628, 639
as Aeneas 42–4
Annexation of Portugal (1580) 344, 470
as Augustus 39
as Bernardo del Carpio 39
as Cid 39
as Constantine 39
as King David 42
as Philip I, King of Portugal (1580–98) xxviii, 8, 40–1
Philip III, King of Spain (1598–1621) xxxv, 11–12, 45–6, 138, 195–6, 233, 266–7, 542, 625–6
Pax Hispanica 266–7
Philip IV, King of Spain (1621–65) 195–6, 200–1
Philosophical Quixote, or Memoirs of Mr David Wilkins (1782) by Anonymous 556–7
Piamonte, Nicolao de 323–4
Historia del emperador Carlo Magno, y de los doze pares de Francia (1521) 323–4
Pilon, Frederick (1750–88) 553
Barataria; or, Sancho Turn'd Governor (1785) 553
Pinciano, El, Alonso López (1547–1627) 178, 241, 259–60, 283, 379–80, 409, 504–5
Philosophía antigua poética (1596) 241, 379–80, 409, 504–5
Pius V, Pope (1566–72) 52
Plato 193–5, 300–1, 504–5, 523–4
Republic 192, 504–5

Propertius (d. 15 BC) 228
Purbeck, Jane and Elizabeth 556–7
History of Sir George Warrington, or the Political Quixote, The (1797) 556–7
William Thornborough, or the Benevolent Quixote (1791) 556–7

Q

Quevedo, Francisco de (1580–1645) 424, 461, 493–4, 497, 537, 539
El Buscón (1604) 461, 493–4
Quiñones de Benavente, Luis (1581–1651) 424

R

Rabelais, François (1494?–1553) 154
Raphael Sanzio (1483–1520) 498
Rinconete y Cortadillo (1613) 10, 13–14, 237, 239, 243–7, 244 n29, 327–8, 482, 493–4, 558
Rioja, Francisco de (1583–1659) 535–6
Ríos, Nicolás de los (d. 1610) 539–40
Ríos, Vicente de los (1736–79) 589–91
Rodrigo, King of the Visigoths (688–711) 286
Rodríguez de Ardila, Pedro (d. 1621) 452–3
Baco y sus bodas en España 452–3
Rodríguez Zapatero, José Luis (1960–) 614–15
Rojas Zorrilla, Francisco de (1607–48) 344
Romancero general (1600) 461
Ronsard Pierre de (1524–85) 499
Rowley, William (1586–1626) 548–9
Witch of Edmonton, The (1623) 548–9
Rueda, Lope de (c. 1510–65) xxxiii, 60, 352, 366–7, 377–8, 393, 424, 497, 515–16, 539–40
Rufo, Juan (1547–1620) 535
La Austríada (1584) 539
Las seiscientas apotegmas (1596) 535
Rushdie, Salman (1947–) 559
Moors Last Sigh, The (1995) 559

S

Saavedra, Isabel de (1584–1652) 8–9, 11–13
Sack of Cádiz (1596) 42–3, 46, 70–1, 639
Sack of Rome (1527) 40–1, 498
Salas de Barbadillo, Alonso Jerónimo de (1580–1635) 537, 549–50
El sagaz Estacio (1620) 549–50
Salazar, Catalina de (1565–1626) xxviii, 8–9, 257
Saldaña, Don Diego Gómez de Sandoval y Rojas, Conde de 532, 538
Salinas, Don Diego de Silva y Mendoza, Count of (1564–1630) 538
Sandoval, Bernardo de, Archbishop of Toledo (1546–1618) 518
Sannazaro, Jacopo (1458–1530) 494, 625–6
Arcadia (1504) 494, 625–6
San Pedro, Diego de (1437–98) 495–6
Arnalte y Lucenda (1491) 495
La cárcel de amor (1492) 495–6
Santiago (St James) 195–6, 480–1
as Matamoros 480–1
Sartre, Jean-Paul (1905–80) 203–5
Scott, Sir Walter (1771–1832) 555, 557
Waverley (1814) 557
Sebastian I, King of Portugal (1557–78) 470
Second Spanish Republic (1931–39) 602
Selim II, Ottoman Sultan (1566–74) 473–4
Seneca (d. 65AD) 449–50, 523–4
Serra, Albert (1975–) 615–16
Honor de cavallería (2006) 615–16
Sessa, Duke of (1582–1642) 532
Letter from Lope de Vega (1612) 532
Shakespeare, William (1564–1616) xxix, 118, 154, 238, 500, 548–9, 552, 564, 566–7, 616–17, 625
As You Like It 208
History of Cardenio, The (1613) with Fletcher 118, 548–9, 552, 564–7
Double Falsehood by Theobold *as* 552, 564–6
Midsummer Night's Dream 378
Othello 616
Romeo and Juliet (1595) 500
Sharman, Vincent (1906–2006) 606
Cervantes (1967) 606–7
Shelley, Mary Wollstonecraft (1797–1851) 557–8
Frankenstein (1818) 558
Lives of the Most Eminent Literary and Scientific Men of Italy, Spain, and Portugal (1837) 557–8
Siege of Orán and Mers-el-Kebir (1563) 62–4
Silva y Mendoza, Francisco de 537–8
Smollett, Tobias (1721–71) 554–6, 578
Adventures of Sir Launcelot Greaves (1760) 555–6

Expedition of Humphry Clinker, The (1771) 554–5
Peregrine Pickle (1751) 554–5
Roderick Random (1748) 554–5
Translation of *Don Quixote* (1755) 554–5, 578
Southerne, Thomas (1660–1746) 551
Disappointment, The (1684) 551
Spanish American War (1898) 205, 600–1
Spanish Armada (1588) 9, 42, 516
Spanish Civil War (1936–9) 602
Spenser, Edmund (1552–99) 225, 557
Amoretti and Epithalamion (1595) 225
Faerie Queen, The (1590) 225
Rota Virgilii in 225
Shepherds Calendar, The (1579) 225
Sterne, Laurence (1713–68) 554–5
Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman, The (1759–67) 554
Stowe, Harriet Beecher (1811–96) 578
Uncle Tom's Cabin (1852) 578
Straparola, Giovanni Francesco (c.1485–1558) 238
Le piacevole notti (1550–3) 238
Suárez de Figueroa, Cristóbal (1571–1644) 533–4, 541
as Avellaneda 541
El pasajero (1617) 541
La constante Amarilis (1609) 541
Plaza universal de todas ciencias y artes (1615) 541
Suicide 309–10
Suleiman the Magnificent, Ottoman Sultan (1527–66) 473
Swift, Jonathan (1667–45) 552
Battle of the Books, The (1704) 552

T

Tasso, Torquato (1544–95) 259–60, 282–3, 345–6, 480, 505–6, 642–3
Discourses on the Heroic Poem (1594) 505
Gerusalemme liberata (1581) 283, 345–6, 505
Teresa de Jesús, St (1515–82) 533
Beatification of 533
Thackeray, William (1811–63) 555
Theobold, Lewis (1688–1744) 552, 564
Double Falsehood, or The Distressed Lovers (1727) 552, 564–6
as History of Cardenio, The by Fletcher and Shakespeare 552, 564–6
Timoneda, Juan de (1520?–83) 238, 377
El Patrañuelo (1567) 238
Tirso de Molina (1579–1648) 409–10
Topografía e historia natural de Argel (1612) by Antonio de Sosa 7–8, 55, 467
Torres Naharro, Bartolomé de (1485–1530) 228, 638
Translatio imperii 45
Twain, Mark (1835–1910) 579
Huckleberry Finn (1884) 578–9

U

Unamuno, Miguel de (1864–1936) 142–3, 205–8, 629
En torno al casticismo (1895) 629
Tragic Sense of Life (1912) 207–8
Vida de don Quijote y Sancho (1914) 90, 205, 207, 629
Ungría, Alfonso (1942–) 609–11
Cervantes (1981) 609–11

V

Valdivieso, José de (1565–1638) 269
Vanegas, Daniel 579
Adventures of Don Chipote, The (1928) 579
Vargas Manrique, don Luis (1566–93) 218–19
Vázquez, Mateo (1542?–91) 639
Vega Carpio, Félix Lope de (1562–1635) xxviii, xxxiii–xxxiv, 11–16, 42, 61, 157–8, 178, 241–2, 260–1, 267, 269–70, 278, 335, 348, 353–5, 357–9, 366–7, 391–2, 409–10, 420, 422–3, 437–8, 456–7, 468–9, 497, 500, 514–29, 532, 535–7, 636–7
Arauco domado (1625) 395–6
Arte nuevo de escribir comedias en este tiempo (1609) 409–10, 420, 438, 456, 497, 519–20, 525–6
Capa y espada formula 358–9, 526
and Cervantes 514–29
Letter about Cervantes (1604) 519–20
Rupture with 518–19

Vega Carpio, Félix Lope de (1562–1635) (*cont.*)
Targeted by Cervantes 520–1
Childhood 515
El cerco de Santa Fe (1604) 395–6
El cordobés valeroso (1604) 395–6
El hidalgo bencerraje (1605) 395–6
El hijo de Reduán (1603–4) 395–6
El Isidro (1599) 521
El nuevo mundo descubierto por Cristóbal Colón (1603) 395–6
El peregrino en su patria (1604) 267, 269–70, 521
El remedio en la desdicha (1604) 395–6
El sol parado (1622) 395–6
Exile from Madrid (1588–95) 517
on Galatea, La by Cervantes 517–18
La Arcadia (1598) 517, 521
La dama boba (1613) 522
La divina vencedora (1624) 395–6
La Dorotea (1632) 522
La Dragontea (1602) 518
Cervantes's sonnet in 518
La viuda valenciana (1620) 500, 517
Letter to the Duke of Sessa (1612) 532
Novelas a Marcia Leonarda(1621) 529
Rimas (1604) 521–2
Trial of (1588) 437
Vega, Garcilaso de (1501–36) 228, 267, 272, 287–8, 342, 422–3, 426, 436, 496–7, 499, 539, 626
Églogas 288–9, 291, 496–7
Velázquez, Diego (1599–1660) 200–1, 204, 208–9, 251–2
Apolo en la Fragua de Vulcano (*Apollo in the Forge of Vulcan*; 1629–30) 251–2
Las Meninas (1656) 200–1, 208–9
Los borrachos (*The Drunkards*; 1626–28) 251–2
Vélez de Guevara, Luis (1579–1644) 535, 537
Verisimilitude 18, 78, 105–6, 112, 138–9, 165, 177, 243 n21, 250–1, 259, 284, 290, 315–16, 318, 483, 504–7, 524, 555, 626–7
Versification in Drama xxxiv, 409–27
Italianate verse forms 414–18
Viaje del Parnaso (1614) xxviii, xxxv–xxxvi, 18, 28, 91, 257, 267, 336, 341, 418, 433–4, 436–7, 439, 445–61, 468–9, 475–6, 480, 497, 502, 531, 533–42, 638–9
Influences for 449–53
Plot summary of 446–9
Reception of 445–6
Vicente, Gil (1465–1536) 452–3
Nao de amores (1527) 452–3
Villegas, Esteban Manuel de (1589–1669) 542
Eróticas o amatorias (1618) 542
Virgil (70–19 BC) 22–3, 42, 44, 47–8, 215–30, 265, 273, 276–7, 282, 284, 451, 498–9, 505–7, 509
Aeneid, *The* (c. 19 BC) 22–3, 42, 44, 47–8, 216, 227–8, 273, 276–7, 505–7, 509
Bucolics 493–4
Ecologues 224, 226–7
Georgics 216, 224–7, 282, 284
Rota Virgilii in *Galatea, La* see *Galatea, La*
Rota Virgilii in Spenser, *see* Spenser, Edmund
Virués, Cristóbal de (1550–1609) 341–2, 347, 391, 418, 447, 497, 516, 523–4, 539–40
Vives, Juan Luis (1493–1540) xxvii, 301–2, 502–3
Education of a Christian Woman (1523) 503

W

Waddington, Andrucha (1970–) 616–17
Lope (2010) 616–17
Washington, George (1732–99) 578
Webster, John (1580–1632) 549–50
Fair Maid of the Inn, The (1625) 549–50
Welles, Orson (1915–85) 612–13
Incomplete film of *Don Quixote* 612–13
Wilkins, George (1576–1618) 546, 548–9
Miseries of Inforst Marriage, The (1607) 546, 548–9
Winstanley, William (1628–98) 552
Essex Champion: or, The Famous Hisotry of Sir Billy of Billerecay and his Squire Ricardo (1690) 552
Wittgenstein, Ludwig (1889–1951) 203
Wyatt, Thomas (1503–42) 499

X

Xenophon 208–9